



Encyclopedia of

Tudor England

John A. Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid, Editors

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Encyclopedia of Tudor England

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Encyclopedia of Tudor England

Volume I

A–D

John A. Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid, Editors



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*To my brother, Scott,
who loves history,
and to Tammy and Haley, who love him*

For Paul, who provided a home when it was most needed

what did Henry say to Anne,
when they spoke of love,
and both still thought the other one
a blessing from above?
and what did Henry say to Jane,
when he had changed his mind,
and had to make it seem to her
like something God designed?
and what did Henry say to Kate,
when she betrayed his lust,
and left him wounded with no choice
that left her more than dust?
and what did Henry tell himself,
when he was nearing fate,
and next to God he recognized
Anne and Jane and Kate?

Anonymous

Learn this for a rule: so long as we ourselves are present there is
no other general but ourselves

Henry VIII to Sir Peter Carew

The word “must” is not to be used to princes.

Elizabeth I to Sir Robert Cecil

I believe he doth as singularly love me, as any subject within his realm; however . . .

I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in
France, it would not fail to go off.

Sir Thomas More on Henry VIII

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Preface

The *Encyclopedia of Tudor England* provides its users with clear and concise basic descriptions and definitions of people, events, ideas, and terms relating in some significant way to the history of Britain and Ireland in the years between the accession of Henry VII in 1485 and the death of his granddaughter Elizabeth I in 1603. The *Encyclopedia* was written primarily for high school and college students and for public library patrons and other nonspecialist readers with an interest in this period of history. Besides providing a quick and handy resource for looking up names and terms encountered in reading or during study, the *Encyclopedia* offers an excellent starting point for classroom or personal research into Tudor subjects. The entries contain the basic information required to choose or hone a research topic, to answer questions of fact, and to identify additional information resources. The *Encyclopedia* also serves as a useful reader's companion for users whose Tudor reading or viewing is more for enjoyment than for study.

This three-volume work includes almost 900 entries, averaging about 600–700 words in length. Unsigned entries were drawn from two earlier ABC-CLIO publications, *Bosworth Field to Bloody Mary: An Encyclopedia of the Early Tudors* (2003) and the *Historical Dictionary of the Elizabethan World: Britain, Ireland, Europe, and America* (1999). All these entries have been thoroughly revised and updated. Almost 130 new entries, written by the editors or by some 20 scholars in Tudor history, have also been added. All bibliographies, appendices, and other sections have also been updated to include the best Tudor scholarship of the past decade.

The Tudor Period

Although the actual reigns of the five Tudor monarchs lasted from Henry VII's victory at Bosworth Field on 22 August 1485 to Elizabeth I's death on 24 March 1603, the *Encyclopedia* includes relevant entries on persons and events of the fifteenth

century and traces careers, trends, and movements to their conclusion in the seventeenth century. Thus, the *Encyclopedia* offers entries both on the Wars of the Roses, the important series of fifteenth-century civil wars that led to the accession of the Tudor dynasty, and on James I, Elizabeth's Scottish successor.

Geographic Scope

The *Encyclopedia* views the Tudor world as encompassing more than the kingdom of England. These volumes, therefore, include entries on the other states of the British Isles—Scotland, Wales, and Ireland—and the most important states of continental Europe with which Tudor England maintained diplomatic and economic relations, such as France, Spain, Brittany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Some entries also cover the growing Tudor contacts with America in the sixteenth century. The *Encyclopedia* also includes entries on important foreign rulers, such as Philip II of Spain, Francis I of France, and Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, and on conflicts in or with other states, such as the sixteenth-century Anglo-French wars, the Netherlands Revolt, and the Nine Years War in Ireland. Other entries cover such general topics as foreign trade, foreign relations and diplomacy, and non-English humanists and reformers who lived and worked in England, such as Desiderius Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, and Martin Bucer. Through the inclusion of such entries, the *Encyclopedia* allows readers to trace the great expansion of England's political, commercial, and religious contacts with Europe and the rest of the world during the Tudor period.

Criteria for Inclusion

To be included in the *Encyclopedia*, a topic, event, or person had to have a role in some significant element of Tudor life or activity. Broad topics, such as education, were included to give readers general overviews of a particular aspect of the Tudor world. Biographical entries were carefully chosen to provide a mix of well-known, highly important figures, such as Thomas Wolsey, Henry VIII's powerful minister of state, and William Shakespeare, the iconic Elizabethan playwright, and less well-known people who nonetheless contributed in interesting ways to Tudor life, such as Richard Topcliffe, the notorious torturer of imprisoned Catholics, and Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, who told Henry VIII to his face not to divorce Queen Catherine of Aragon.

Drawn from a wide variety of respected reference and monograph sources, and from the editors' and contributors' own archival research, the information in these entries will provide readers with the fundamental grounding in sixteenth-century English history that will allow them to more effectively pursue their own reading, viewing, and study of the Tudor world.

Structure of Entries

Many of the *Encyclopedia*'s almost 900 entries are illustrated with photographs and tables. Each entry contains numerous **bold-faced** cross-references to related entries and concludes with one or more recommendations for further reading. The additional reading recommendations include both scholarly works and useful popular treatments. In some cases, older books have been included if no more recent study has been published or if the older work remains the accepted scholarly standard on the subject, as is the case, for instance, with biographies of some lesser-known figures. The general bibliography at the back of the last volume has been completely updated and also contains numerous other worthwhile books on Tudor history. A reader interested in further reading on a particular person or topic should check both the general bibliography and the further reading listings at the ends of relevant entries.

Except in those cases where birth dates are unknown, life dates are supplied for all biographical entries. When exact birth years are not known, the "c." notation, meaning "circa" or "at or about that time," precedes the date to indicate that the year given is approximate. When a single year is preceded by "d.," the year given is the death date and the birth year is totally unknown. The "fl." abbreviation, meaning "flourished," is used to indicate the dates of known activity for those few persons whose birth and death dates are completely unknown. The date ranges supplied for ruling monarchs are birth and death dates, not the years of their reign, which are given in the text of the entry. Finally, the spelling for titles of Tudor publications has been modernized.

Additional Features

By using the Guide to Related Topics and by following the cross-references in the text of the entries, the reader can trace a broad theme, such as the Reformation, Anglo-Scottish relations, or Tudor Ireland, through all its most important events, ideas, and personalities and thus quickly build up a sound basic understanding of the subject. The *Encyclopedia* also offers maps, genealogical charts, and a detailed Tudor chronology. Nine appendices include lists of European monarchs; bishops of the English Church; popes of the Tudor period; sessions and Speakers of Parliament; and important rebellions, battles, and uprisings. Also provided are a discussion on accessing Tudor information on the Web, descriptions of recent films and television programs with Tudor characters and themes, and a bibliography of recent works of historical fiction with Tudor settings. The *Encyclopedia* also includes a current bibliography of important and accessible popular and scholarly works on Tudor history, as well as a detailed subject index to give access to names and terms mentioned in the entries that do not have separate entries of their own.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the staffs at Arizona State University's Hayden Library and at the Scottsdale (Arizona) Public Library for assisting in the search for important document collections, research materials, and possible illustrations. At ABC-CLIO, I want to thank Mariah Gumpert, David Tipton, Vicki Moran, and Robin Tutt for agreeing to take on this project and for bringing it successfully to press. I am deeply grateful to my coeditor, Susan Walters Schmid, for agreeing to work with me on this project. She brought to the work a fresh and vigorous perspective, much clear thinking, and an elegant writing style that immensely improved both the final product and the process of creating it. It has been a pleasure to work with her. My sincere thanks also to all the fine scholars who contributed entries to the work, especially Retha Warnicke, professor of history at Arizona State University and mentor to both Susan and myself. The best of what appears in these pages is a reflection of her influence upon us. Finally, my thanks beyond words to my wife, Donna, for in the end, it is her constant love and support that make a project like this possible for me.

John Wagner

After you have worked long enough at something, it is not always easy to separate the personal from the professional when reflecting on how you got where you are. Certainly no one gets anywhere without at least a little help from her mother and father, and mine have over the years helped far more than just "a little." Most recently and perhaps most importantly, I owe a great deal of thanks to my husband, Pat, for making it possible for me to finish my dissertation, for celebrating my graduation, and for helping me begin to understand just what it means to work from a home office. I am most appreciative to John Wagner for asking me to work with him on this project. The quality and quantity of informative and accessible writing he has done over the years is remarkable and invaluable for students and

enthusiasts of the Tudors and their time. I am grateful for having been able to play a small part in this project. A number of people in academia helped me get to this point by challenging, inspiring, and supporting me, despite the odds: Mack Holt and Jeffrey Chamberlain at George Mason University helped set me on the path; at Appalachian State University, Mike Moore, editor emeritus of *Albion*, taught me the difference between “that” and “which,” instilled in me a love of editing, and deftly modeled important skills needed for negotiating the academic world, while Larry Bond, Tom Keefe, and Scott Jessee made it possible for me to be a medieval public historian when few thought such a thing was possible; at Arizona State University, Noel Stowe and Beth Luey brought me into the fold and helped me build on my love of public history and publishing, while Retha Warnicke exhibited the patience of Job while I worked on my dissertation. I am saddened to realize that nearly half of these people are no longer with us, yet pleased to say that *all* are proof that the mark of a good teacher stays with you always.

Susan Walters Schmid

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1485

- 7 August* Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, lands in Wales with small force of English exiles and foreign mercenaries
- 22 August* Richmond wins the English Crown at Battle of Bosworth Field, becoming Henry VII, first monarch of House of Tudor

1486

- 18 January* Henry VII marries Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, symbolically uniting the Houses of Lancaster and York
- 19 September* Birth of Prince Arthur Tudor

1487

- 16 June* Battle of Stoke—Henry VII defeats Yorkist supporters of Lambert Simnel

1489

- February* Treaty of Redon with Brittany provides for mutual defense against France
- 27 March* Treaty of Medina del Campo, providing for marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, concluded with Spain
- April–May* Yorkshire Rebellion against collection of parliamentary tax for war in Brittany suppressed
- 29 November* Birth of Princess Margaret Tudor; Prince Arthur created Prince of Wales

1491

28 June Birth of Prince Henry Tudor (later Henry VIII)
November Perkin Warbeck, another pretended son of Edward IV, appears in Ireland

1492

October Henry VII leads army to Continent in an attempt to prevent French absorption of Brittany
3 November Henry VII concludes Treaty of Etaples with France
Perkin Warbeck acknowledged by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV

1493

Perkin Warbeck received by Emperor Maximilian in Vienna

1494

October Prince Henry created Duke of York
December Irish Parliament enacts Poynings' law

1495

February Sir William Stanley executed for treason
July Perkin Warbeck launches unsuccessful invasion of Kent
November Warbeck recognized as rightful king of England by James IV of Scotland

1496

24 February Intercursus Magnus concluded
18 March Birth of Princess Mary Tudor
May John Cabot embarks on his first voyage of American exploration
September James IV of Scotland launches unsuccessful invasion in support of Perkin Warbeck

1497

17 June Battle of Black Heath—Henry VII crushes Cornish rebels
7 September Perkin Warbeck invades Cornwall

- 30 September* Seven-year truce with Scotland ends Scottish support for Warbeck
- 5 October* Warbeck surrenders and confesses his imposture of the son of Edward IV

1498

- May* John Cabot launches second voyage to North America

1499

- July* Anglo-Scottish truce of 1497 renewed
- 16 November* Execution of Perkin Warbeck
- 29 November* Execution of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, last heir of House of York in the direct male line

1501

- 14 November* Prince Arthur marries Catherine of Aragon at St. Paul's in London

1502

- 24 January* Treaty of Ayton commits James IV of Scotland to marry Margaret Tudor
- 2 April* Death of Prince Arthur

1503

- 11 February* Death of Queen Elizabeth of York
- 23 June* Prince Henry betrothed to his former sister-in-law, Catherine of Aragon
- 8 August* Princess Margaret marries James IV of Scotland

1504

- 18 February* Prince Henry declared Prince of Wales

1505

- March* Pope Julius II issues papal bull dispensing any impediments to a marriage between Prince Henry and Catherine of Aragon
- 27 June* Prince Henry makes formal protest against his proposed marriage with Catherine of Aragon

1506

30 April

Intercursus Malus concluded with Duke Philip of the Netherlands, who also agrees to surrender the Yorkist pretender, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk

1509

21 April

Death of Henry VII; accession of Henry VIII

24 April

Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson imprisoned

11 June

Henry VIII marries Catherine of Aragon

24 June

Coronation of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon

29 June

Death of Margaret Beaufort
John Colet founds St. Paul's School

1510

17 August

Executions of Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson

1511

1 January

Birth of Prince Henry, Duke of Cornwall

22 February

Death of Prince Henry, Duke of Cornwall

August

Desiderius Erasmus named first professor of Greek and divinity at Cambridge

17 November

England joins pope, Venetian Republic, and Spain in Holy League against France

1512

April

Henry VIII declares war on France

1513

4 May

Execution of Yorkist heir Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk

30 June

Henry VIII lands at Calais to lead English invasion of France

16 August

Battle of the Spurs

22 August

Town of Therouanne surrenders to Henry VIII

9 September

Battle of Flodden Field—English army defeats and kills James IV of Scotland

1514

2 February

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, created Duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon created Duke of Suffolk

<i>7 August</i>	Peace treaty with France signed at St. Germaine-en-Laye
<i>15 September</i>	Thomas Wolsey becomes archbishop of York
<i>October</i>	Mary Tudor marries Louis XII of France
<i>14 December</i>	London merchant Richard Hunne found hanged in bishop's prison at St. Paul's

1515

<i>February</i>	Mary Tudor, newly widowed queen of France, secretly marries Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk
<i>12 July</i>	Queen Mother Margaret Tudor removed from the Scottish regency
<i>September</i>	Thomas Wolsey named cardinal of the Church
<i>24 December</i>	Thomas Wolsey named lord chancellor

1516

<i>18 February</i>	Birth of Princess Mary (later Mary I)
<i>December</i>	Publication of Sir Thomas More's <i>Utopia</i>

1517

<i>30 April</i>	Evil May Day riots erupt in London
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1518

<i>17 May</i>	Thomas Wolsey made papal legate a latere
<i>23 September</i>	Royal College of Physicians founded in London
<i>5 October</i>	Treaty of London makes peace among powers of Europe

1519

<i>c. February</i>	Birth of Henry Fitzroy, illegitimate son of Henry VIII by Elizabeth Blount
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1520

<i>May</i>	Charles V journeys to England for personal meeting with Henry VIII
<i>7 June</i>	Field of Cloth of Gold opens in France with meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I
<i>July</i>	Henry VIII and Charles V meet again at Calais

1521

<i>12 May</i>	Martin Luther's writings burned in St. Paul's churchyard
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17 May	Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, executed for treason
12 July	Henry VIII publishes condemnation of Luther's teachings, the <i>Assertio Septem Sacramentorum</i> (<i>Defense of the Seven Sacraments</i>)
11 October	Pope Leo X confers title <i>Fidei Defensor</i> (Defender of the Faith) on Henry VIII
November	Anglo-Imperial Treaty of Bruges concluded
1522	
19 June	Anglo-Imperial Treaty of Windsor concluded
1523	
16 April	Sir Thomas More elected Speaker of House of Commons
6 July	Parliament grants half the subsidy demanded by king for war with France
15 December	Failure of English advance on Paris
1524	
21 January	Thomas Wolsey made papal legate for life
c. November	Government demands payment of Amicable Grant
1525	
25 February	Charles V defeats and captures Francis I at Battle of Pavia
13 May	Amicable Grant withdrawn due to widespread protests
	William Tyndale's English Bible printed in Cologne
1526	
March	Thousands of copies of Tyndale's English Bible seized and burned in London
August	Anne Boleyn receives first public signs of royal favor
	German painter Hans Holbein welcomed at English court
1527	
30 April	Anglo-French Treaty of Westminster concluded
May	Responding to the king's doubts about his marriage, Wolsey cites Henry to appear before an ecclesiastical court on charges of illicit cohabitation
6 May	Charles V's troops sack Rome, dashing hopes for quick papal approval of Henry VIII's divorce from Charles's aunt

1528

September Cardinal Campeggio arrives in England to try the king's annulment suit

1529

18 June Legatine court headed by Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio convenes at Blackfriars to rule on legality of Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon

31 July Cardinal Campeggio adjourns Blackfriars court, effectively ending Henry's divorce suit

18 October Wolsey's resignation as lord chancellor signals his fall from power

25 October Sir Thomas More appointed lord chancellor

3 November Reformation Parliament assembles

1530

8 April Universities of Oxford and Cambridge declare in favor of royal divorce

24 November Death of Wolsey at Leicester Abbey while being taken to the Tower of London

Thomas Cromwell appointed to Royal Council

1531

January Pope Clement orders Henry VIII not to remarry until divorce suit is settled

February Whole English clergy charged with praemunire for submitting to papal authority; clergy granted royal pardon after Convocation agrees to pay enormous fine

February–March King demands Convocation recognize his title as "protector and only supreme head of the English Church"; Convocation accepts Henry as supreme head of the Church only "as far as the law of Christ allowed"

1532

25 January Pope Clement threatens Henry VIII with excommunication

March First Act in Restraint of Annates passed

18 March *Supplication against the Ordinaries* presented to Henry by Parliament

12 April	Henry refers <i>Supplication</i> to the bishops, who respond defiantly with <i>Answer of the Ordinaries</i>
10 May	King demands that Convocation surrender its legislative independence
11 May	Henry orders Parliament to act against clerical independence should Convocation not submit willingly to the king
15 May	Convocation submits to royal authority
16 May	Sir Thomas More resigns as lord chancellor
1 September	Anne Boleyn created Marquise of Pembroke
20 October	Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn meet Francis I at Calais

1533

25 January	Henry VIII secretly marries Anne Boleyn
February	Thomas Cranmer appointed archbishop of Canterbury
March	Act in Restraint of Appeals passed
13 April	Anne Boleyn publicly proclaimed queen
23 May	Archbishop Cranmer annuls king’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon
1 June	Coronation of Anne Boleyn
25 June	Death of Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII
11 July	Pope Clement VII excommunicates Henry VIII
7 September	Birth of Princess Elizabeth (later Elizabeth I)

1534

January–March	Reformation Parliament enacts Second Act in Restraint of Annates, Dispensations Act, Act for Submission of the Clergy, and First Succession Act
23 March	Pope Clement declares marriage with Catherine of Aragon valid
April	Thomas Cromwell appointed king’s principal secretary
17 April	Sir Thomas More sent to Tower
20 April	Elizabeth Barton, Edward Bocking, and their most prominent associates executed at Tyburn
21 April	John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, sent to Tower
September	Rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, begins in Ireland
17 November	Act of Supremacy passed
December	Act Concerning First Fruits and Tenths passed

1535

<i>January</i>	Thomas Cromwell appointed king's vicegerent and vicar-general in spiritual matters
<i>22 June</i>	Execution of Bishop John Fisher
<i>July</i>	Compilation of <i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i> , surveying wealth of English Church
<i>6 July</i>	Execution of Sir Thomas More

1536

<i>7 January</i>	Death of Catherine of Aragon
<i>29 January</i>	Queen Anne Boleyn miscarries a male child
<i>March</i>	Act of Suppression for dissolution of lesser monasteries passed
<i>14 April</i>	Act uniting England and Wales passed
<i>2 May</i>	Anne Boleyn committed to Tower
<i>17 May</i>	Execution of George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, and other men accused of adultery with Queen Anne Boleyn
<i>19 May</i>	Execution of Anne Boleyn
<i>30 May</i>	Henry VIII marries Jane Seymour
<i>July</i>	Second Act of Succession declares Princesses Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate and vests succession in heirs of Henry VIII and Queen Jane Seymour; promulgation of Ten Articles, first official Henrician statement of faith
<i>22 July</i>	Death of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond
<i>August</i>	Issuance of first set of royal injunctions regarding religion and ritual
<i>October</i>	Pilgrimage of Grace begins in Lincolnshire
<i>6 October</i>	William Tyndale executed for heresy in the Netherlands
<i>8 December</i>	Pilgrimage of Grace rebels accept royal pardon

1537

<i>January</i>	New Pilgrimage of Grace uprisings disrupt northern England
<i>February–March</i>	Pilgrimage of Grace rebels executed
<i>July</i>	Execution of Robert Aske, leader of Pilgrimage of Grace, at York
<i>September</i>	Publication of <i>Bishops' Book</i> , a new formulary of faith
<i>12 October</i>	Birth of Prince Edward (later Edward VI)
<i>24 October</i>	Death of Queen Jane Seymour

1538

<i>18 June</i>	France and Holy Roman Empire sign Treaty of Nice
<i>August</i>	Arrest of Yorkist nobles for involvement in so-called Exeter Conspiracy
<i>9 December</i>	Execution of leading Exeter conspirators
<i>17 December</i>	Pope Paul III excommunicates Henry VIII

1539

<i>May–June</i>	Parliament enacts Act of Suppression for dissolution of greater monasteries, Act of Proclamations, and Act of Six Articles
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1540

<i>6 January</i>	Henry VIII marries Anne of Cleves
<i>10 June</i>	Arrest of Thomas Cromwell
<i>July</i>	King orders every parish church to obtain an English Bible
<i>12 July</i>	Annulment of king’s marriage to Anne of Cleves
<i>28 July</i>	Henry VIII marries Katherine Howard; execution of Thomas Cromwell

1541

<i>18 June</i>	Irish Parliament declares Henry VIII king of Ireland
<i>18 October</i>	Death of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII
<i>14 November</i>	Queen Katherine Howard arrested for adultery
<i>10 December</i>	Execution of accused lovers of Katherine Howard

1542

<i>13 February</i>	Katherine Howard executed
<i>24 November</i>	Battle of Solway Moss—English victory over Scots
<i>14 December</i>	Death of James V of Scotland; accession of six-day-old Princess Mary as Queen of Scots
	Government begins debasement of English coinage

1543

<i>May</i>	<i>King’s Book</i> , a new formulary of faith, published
<i>June</i>	War with France declared
<i>1 July</i>	Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Greenwich concluded
<i>12 July</i>	Henry VIII marries Katherine Parr
<i>11 December</i>	Scots Parliament rejects Treaty of Greenwich

1544

- c. February* Third Act of Succession restores Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to succession
- 14 July* Henry VIII lands in Calais to lead English armies against France
- 18 September* English take French town of Boulogne; Charles V abandons his English allies and makes peace with France

1545

- 20 July* *Mary Rose* sinks while preparing to engage French fleet
- 24 December* Henry VIII addresses Parliament and calls for religious unity

1546

- 7 June* Treaty of Campe ends Anglo-French War
- 16 July* Anne Askew burned for heresy
- 12 December* Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and his father, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, arrested for treason

1547

- 21 January* Execution of Surrey
- 28 January* Death of Henry VIII; accession of Edward VI
- 31 January* Regency Council declares king's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, lord protector
- 16 February* Hertford created Duke of Somerset
- 20 February* Coronation of Edward VI
- May* Katherine Parr marries Thomas Seymour, uncle of Edward VI
- 10 September* Battle of Pinkie—Somerset defeats Scots
- December* Chantry Act passed

1548

- 1 June* Enclosure commission created
- 7 August* Mary of Scotland sent to France
- 7 September* Death of former queen Katherine Parr

1549

- January* Parliament approves first Book of Common Prayer and passes Act of Uniformity mandating its use

<i>20 March</i>	Thomas Seymour executed for treason
<i>June</i>	Prayer Book Rebellion begins in West Country
<i>12 July</i>	Kett's Rebellion begins in Norfolk
<i>18 August</i>	Battle of Sampford Courtenay quells Prayer Book Rebellion
<i>27 August</i>	Battle of Dussindale crushes Kett's Rebellion
<i>October</i>	Somerset overthrown and imprisoned in Tower

1550

<i>21 February</i>	John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, assumes control of regency government
<i>24 March</i>	Anglo-French Treaty of Boulogne concluded

1551

<i>11 October</i>	Warwick created Duke of Northumberland
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1552

<i>22 January</i>	Execution of Somerset
<i>April</i>	Parliament passes Second Act of Uniformity
<i>1 November</i>	Second Book of Common Prayer published

1553

<i>21 May</i>	Lady Jane Grey marries Guildford Dudley
<i>6 July</i>	Death of Edward VI
<i>10 July</i>	Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen
<i>19 July</i>	Queen Jane deposed; accession of Mary I
<i>22 August</i>	Execution of Northumberland
<i>September</i>	Arrest of Archbishop Cranmer
<i>1 October</i>	Coronation of Mary I
<i>October–November</i>	Parliament passes Act of Repeal abolishing Edwardian religious legislation and restoring Catholic Mass and rituals and clerical celibacy
<i>16 November</i>	Mary decides to marry Prince Philip of Spain
<i>December</i>	Mary formally relinquishes her father's title of supreme head of English Church

1554

<i>January–February</i>	Wyatt's Rebellion—Sir Thomas Wyatt leads an unsuccessful uprising against Mary's proposed marriage to Prince Philip
<i>12 February</i>	Execution of Lady Jane Grey

<i>18 March</i>	Princess Elizabeth imprisoned in Tower
<i>19 May</i>	Princess Elizabeth confined at royal manor of Woodstock
<i>25 July</i>	Mary marries Prince Philip of Spain
<i>November</i>	Parliament enacts Second Act of Repeal, which undoes all antipapal legislation since 1529 and all major acts of Henrician reformation; Queen Mary is reported to be pregnant
<i>28 November</i>	English Church formally reconciled with Rome by Cardinal Reginald Pole

1555

<i>4 February</i>	Execution of John Rogers, first Marian martyr burned for heresy
<i>April</i>	Princess Elizabeth returns to Court
<i>July–August</i>	Mary leaves confinement, thereby silently acknowledging that her pregnancy was false
<i>August</i>	Prince Philip departs England
<i>October</i>	Princess Elizabeth withdraws to her house at Hatfield
<i>16 October</i>	Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley are burned for heresy

1556

<i>21 March</i>	Cranmer burned for heresy
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1557

<i>20 March</i>	Philip II returns to England
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1558

<i>7 January</i>	Calais falls to the French
<i>24 April</i>	Mary of Scotland marries the son of Henri II of France
<i>17 November</i>	Death of Mary I; accession of Elizabeth I
<i>20 November</i>	Elizabeth appoints Sir William Cecil secretary of state and principal secretary

1559

<i>15 January</i>	Coronation of Elizabeth I
<i>29 April</i>	Act of Supremacy passed
<i>7 July</i>	Scottish Protestants occupy Edinburgh, beginning civil war between Protestant lords of Scotland and French-backed

Catholic regency government of Marie de Guise, mother of Mary of Scotland

24 September Scottish Protestants appeal to Elizabeth for help in Scottish civil war

1560

22 February Elizabeth signs Treaty of Berwick with Scottish Protestants

6 July Treaty of Edinburgh concluded

24 August Scottish Parliament establishes a Protestant Church

8 September Amy (Robsart) Dudley, wife of Robert Dudley, favorite of Elizabeth, dies under mysterious circumstances

1561

19 August Queen Mary returns to Scotland

1562

24 August Recoinage of debased English currency restores confidence in English money

20 September Elizabeth concludes treaty with French Protestants, providing military assistance in exchange for English possession of Le Havre

October Elizabeth falls seriously ill with smallpox and names Dudley protector in event of her death

John Hawkins launches first slaving expedition to Africa and first trading expedition to Spanish America

1563

Publication of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, known popularly as the “Book of Martyrs”

1564

March Elizabeth proposes Robert Dudley as husband for Mary of Scotland

11 April Calais officially recognized as a French possession in the Anglo-French Treaty of Troyes

23 April Birth of William Shakespeare

28 September Elizabeth raises Robert Dudley to peerage as Earl of Leicester

18 October John Hawkins launches his second voyage to Africa and America

1565

25 July Mary of Scotland marries Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley

1566

March Various London clergy are suspended for refusing to wear vestments

9 March A group of Protestant lords murder David Rizzio, Queen Mary's French secretary; Mary placed under arrest

20 March Mary of Scotland resumes control of the Scottish government

19 June Birth of Prince James of Scotland (later James I of England)

1567

10 February Lord Darnley murdered

24 April James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, abducts and imprisons Queen Mary

15 May Mary of Scotland marries Bothwell

15 June Scottish nobles defeat Queen Mary at Carberry Hill; Bothwell flees Scotland

24 July Queen Mary abdicates the Scottish Crown in favor of her son

2 October John Hawkins launches his third voyage to Africa and America

1568

16 May Mary of Scotland flees into England and is imprisoned by Elizabeth

21 September John Hawkins is routed by Spanish at San Juan de Ulloa
December Elizabeth orders seizure of Spanish bullion on board ships driven by privateers into Plymouth and Southampton

1569

June James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald leads rebellion against English rule in southern Ireland

14 November Northern Rebellion erupts

1570

February Pope Pius V issues bull *Regnans in Excelsis*

1571

25 February Sir William Cecil raised to peerage as Lord Burghley

April Ridolfi Plot uncovered

3 September Duke of Norfolk imprisoned for his involvement in Ridolfi Plot

1572

1 March Elizabeth closes English ports to Dutch sea beggars

1 April Sea beggars capture Dutch port of Brill

21 April Anglo-French Treaty of Blois concluded

22 April Sea beggars capture Dutch port of Flushing

2 June Norfolk executed

24 August Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of Protestants begins in France

1573

9 July Elizabeth grants Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, right to colonize Ulster in northern Ireland

9 August Francis Drake returns from America with enormous treasure taken from Spanish

December Sir Francis Walsingham becomes secretary of state

1574

Arrival of first seminary priests in England

1575

26 July Essex’s army in Ireland massacres inhabitants of Rathlin Island

24 December Edmund Grindal becomes archbishop of Canterbury

1576

15 March Peter Wentworth imprisoned for criticizing the queen and demanding Parliament’s right to freedom of speech

7 June Martin Frobisher launches his first voyage of exploration to America

20 December Archbishop Grindal refuses to suppress prophesyings

1577

- James Burbage opens The Theatre, first permanent professional theater in England
- 25 May* Martin Frobisher launches his second voyage of exploration to America
- June* Archbishop Grindal placed under house arrest and suspended from his office
- 13 December* Francis Drake launches his voyage of circumnavigation

1578

- 31 May* Martin Frobisher launches his third voyage of exploration to America
- June* Elizabeth entertains marriage proposal from Francis, Duke of Alençon
- 21 September* Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, marries Lettice (Knollys) Devereux, Countess of Essex, without Elizabeth's knowledge
- 26 September* Sir Humphrey Gilbert launches his first voyage of exploration to America

1579

- July* James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald and a papal force land at Smerwick in southern Ireland
- August* Duke of Alençon arrives in England

1580

- June* Jesuit missionaries Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons arrive in England
- 26 September* Drake enters Plymouth Harbor, completing his three-year circumnavigation of the globe
- 10 November* English forces capture rebel fortress at Smerwick and crush Irish rebellion

1581

- Parliament imposes ruinous fines on Catholic recusants and makes converting or being converted to Catholicism treason
- 2 November* Duke of Alençon arrives in London to finalize marriage agreement with Elizabeth
- 1 December* Execution of Jesuit priest Edmund Campion

1582

February Alençon leaves England after Elizabeth backs out of marriage

1583

11 June Sir Humphrey Gilbert launches his second voyage of exploration to America

July–August Sir Humphrey Gilbert discovers and explores Newfoundland

23 September John Whitgift becomes archbishop of Canterbury

November Throckmorton Plot discovered

1584

25 March Sir Walter Raleigh obtains patent from the queen to plant English colonies in America

27 April Sir Walter Raleigh sends out an exploratory mission to America under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe

10 June Death of Duke of Alençon; assassination of William of Orange, the Dutch Protestant leader

October Formation of Bond of Association, whose members pledge to protect Elizabeth from her enemies
Parliament banishes all Catholic priests, recalls all Englishmen in Catholic seminaries in Europe, and prescribes death for anyone conspiring to overthrow or assassinate the queen

1585

9 April Sir Walter Raleigh sends out a colonizing expedition that establishes the first English colony at Roanoke

May Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorate to war

7 June John Davis launches his first voyage of exploration to America

10 August Elizabeth concludes a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, promising the Dutch military assistance against Spain

December Leicester sails to the Netherlands with an army of 7,000

1586

7 May John Davis launches his second voyage of exploration to America

June Sir Francis Drake evacuates the English colonists from Roanoke
20 September Babington Plot conspirators executed
14 October Mary found guilty of treason for involvement in the Babington Plot
 Parliament petitions the queen to go forward with Mary's execution

1587

8 February Execution of Mary of Scotland
21 April Drake attacks Cadiz
8 May Sir Walter Raleigh sends out a second expedition to Virginia that establishes second colony on Roanoke Island
19 May John Davis launches his third voyage of exploration to America
18 August Birth at Roanoke of Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America

1588

20 May Spanish Armada leaves for England
June Preparations begin to repel Spanish Armada; Leicester placed in command of English defense forces
19 July Spanish Armada sighted
28 July English fleet meets Armada in a series of naval battles in the English Channel that last until 8 August
4 September Death of Leicester
11 September Storms off Ireland destroy many remaining Armada vessels
October Marprelate Tracts begin to circulate in London

1589

8 April Drake and Sir John Norris launch ultimately unsuccessful Portugal Expedition against Spain

1590

Edmund Spenser publishes first three books of *The Faerie Queen*
6 April Sir Francis Walsingham dies; Robert Cecil (son of Burghley) succeeds Walsingham as secretary of state

<i>17 August</i>	John White’s relief expedition lands at Roanoke, but finds no trace of the colonists or their whereabouts
1591	
<i>3 August</i>	Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, leads an English military expedition to France to assist Henri IV
1592	
<i>7 August</i>	Sir Walter Raleigh imprisoned for seducing one of the queen’s ladies-in-waiting
<i>September</i>	William Shakespeare working as an actor and playwright in London, where he will write some of his most famous plays in the 1590s
1593	
<i>6 April</i>	Radical Protestants Henry Barrow and John Greenwood are hanged for sedition
<i>30 May</i>	Death of Christopher Marlowe in a mysterious tavern brawl
<i>31 May</i>	John Penry hanged for his role in publishing the Marprelate Tracts
<i>June–July</i>	Severe visitation of the plague
<i>July</i>	Henri IV of France converts to Catholicism
1594	
<i>Summer</i>	Three-year period of rainy summer weather and bad harvests begins
1595	
<i>25 January</i>	Beginning of Irish rebellion led by Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone
<i>6 February</i>	Sir Walter Raleigh launches a voyage of American exploration to search for El Dorado
<i>22 February</i>	Execution of Jesuit Robert Southwell
<i>28 August</i>	Drake and Hawkins launch raiding expedition against the Spanish West Indies
1596	
<i>6 July</i>	Earl of Tyrone raises new rebellion in southern Ireland
<i>20 June</i>	Earl of Essex captures Cadiz

July Sir Robert Cecil made principal secretary
October Second Spanish Armada wrecked by storms

1597

July Raleigh and the Earl of Essex launch the ultimately
 unsuccessful Islands Voyage
October Third Spanish Armada is wrecked by storms

1598

4 August Death of William Cecil, Lord Burghley
14 August Irish rebels under the Earl of Tyrone defeat the English at
 Battle of Yellow Ford
13 September Death of Philip II of Spain

1599

Richard Burbage builds the Globe Theatre; Shakespeare
 is a shareholder
12 March Earl of Essex made lord lieutenant of Ireland
8 September Essex arranges truce with Tyrone in Ireland
24 September Essex returns to England without queen's permission

1600

5 June Elizabeth pardons Essex but deprives him of most of his
 offices and places him under house arrest
26 August Essex released from confinement but barred from the Court

1601

7 February Supporters of Essex request a special performance of
 Shakespeare's *Richard II*
8 February Essex raises rebellion in London
25 February Essex executed
April Sir Robert Cecil opens secret correspondence with James VI
 of Scotland
September Spanish fleet lands at Kinsale in Ireland to aid Tyrone and
 the Irish rebels
30 November Elizabeth delivers her Golden Speech on monopolies to a
 deputation from Parliament
24 December Mountjoy defeats Tyrone at Kinsale

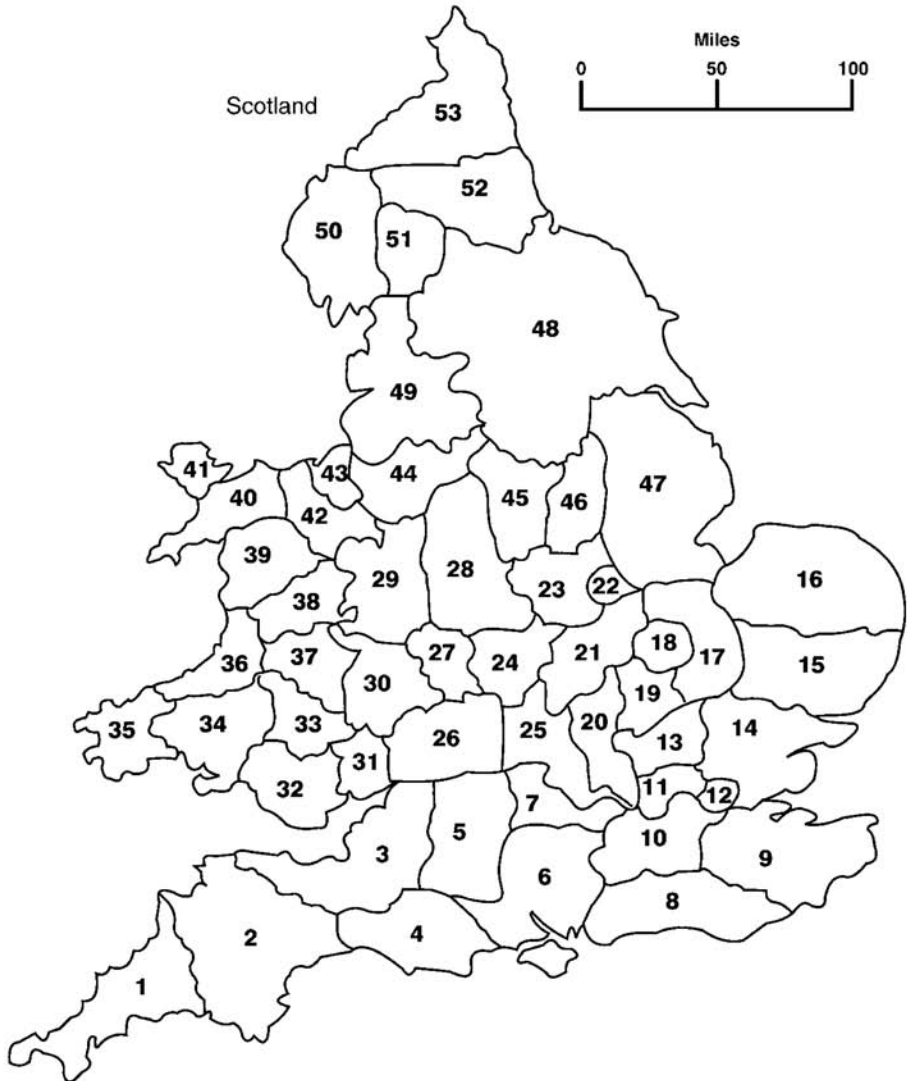
1602

2 January Spanish commander at Kinsale in Ireland surrenders to Mountjoy

1603

24 March Death of Elizabeth I; accession of James VI of Scotland as James I

Sixteenth-Century Counties of England and Wales



Southwest

- 1 Cornwall
- 2 Devonshire
- 3 Somerset
- 4 Dorset
- 5 Wiltshire
- 6 Hampshire
- 7 Berkshire

Southeast

- 8 Sussex
- 9 Kent
- 10 Surrey
- 11 Middlesex
- 12 London
- 13 Hertfordshire
- 14 Essex
- 15 Suffolk
- 16 Norfolk

Midlands

- 17 Cambridgeshire
- 18 Huntingdonshire
- 19 Bedfordshire
- 20 Buckinghamshire
- 21 Northamptonshire
- 22 Rutland
- 23 Leicestershire
- 24 Warwickshire
- 25 Oxfordshire
- 26 Gloucestershire
- 27 Worcestershire
- 28 Staffordshire
- 29 Shropshire
- 30 Herefordshire

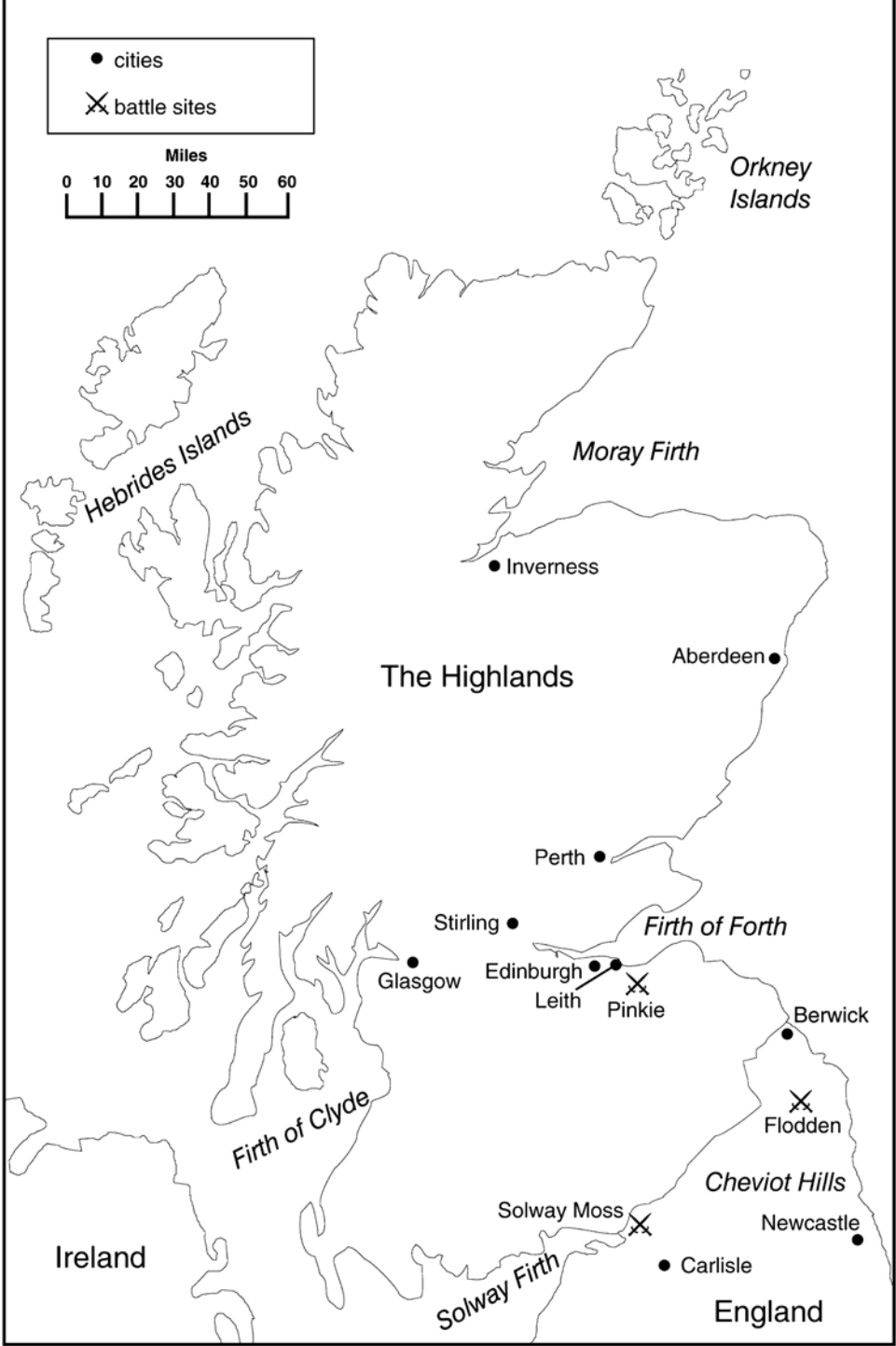
Wales

- 31 Monmouthshire
- 32 Glamorgan
- 33 Brecknockshire
- 34 Carmarthenshire
- 35 Pembrokeshire
- 36 Cardiganshire
- 37 Radnorshire
- 38 Montgomeryshire
- 39 Merionethshire
- 40 Caernarvonshire
- 41 Anglesey
- 42 Denbighshire
- 43 Flintshire

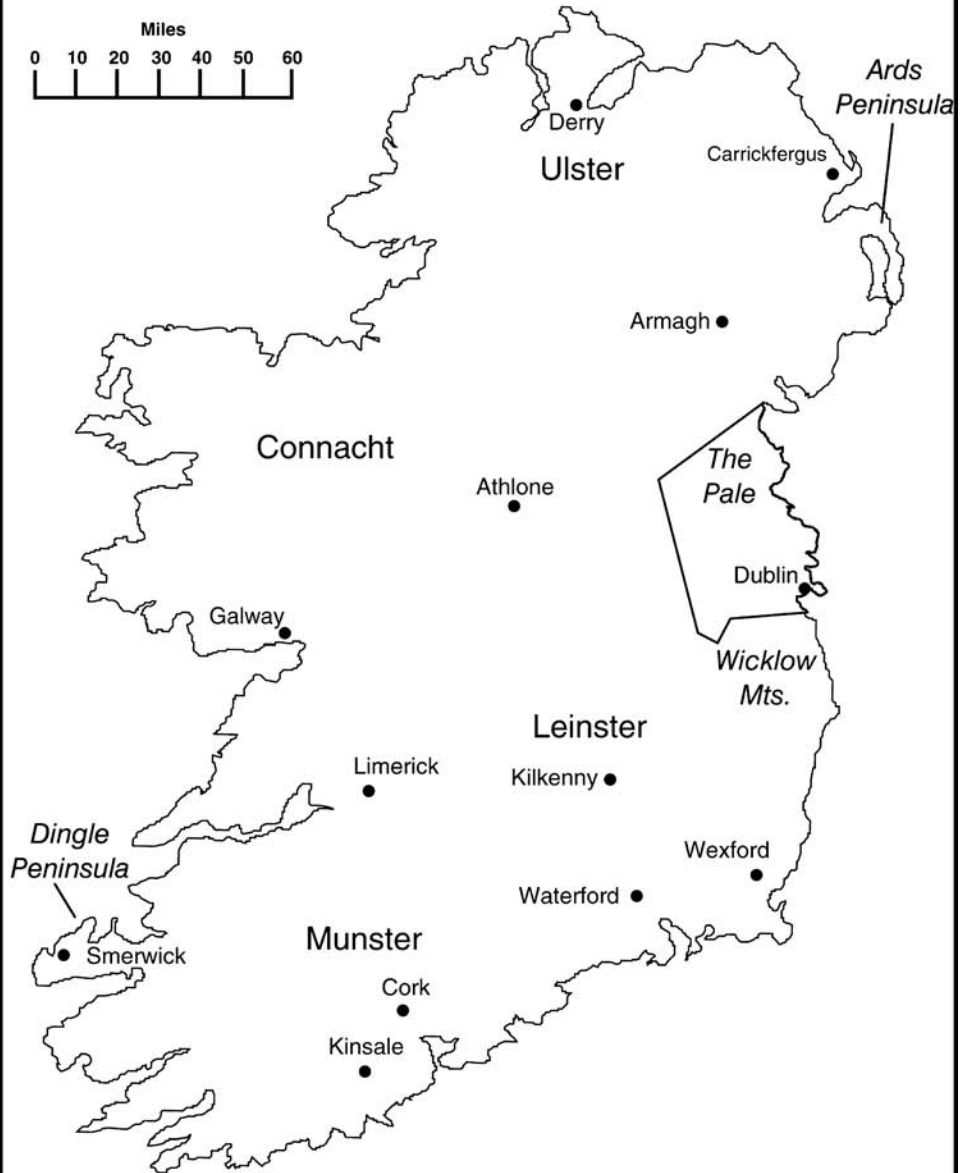
North

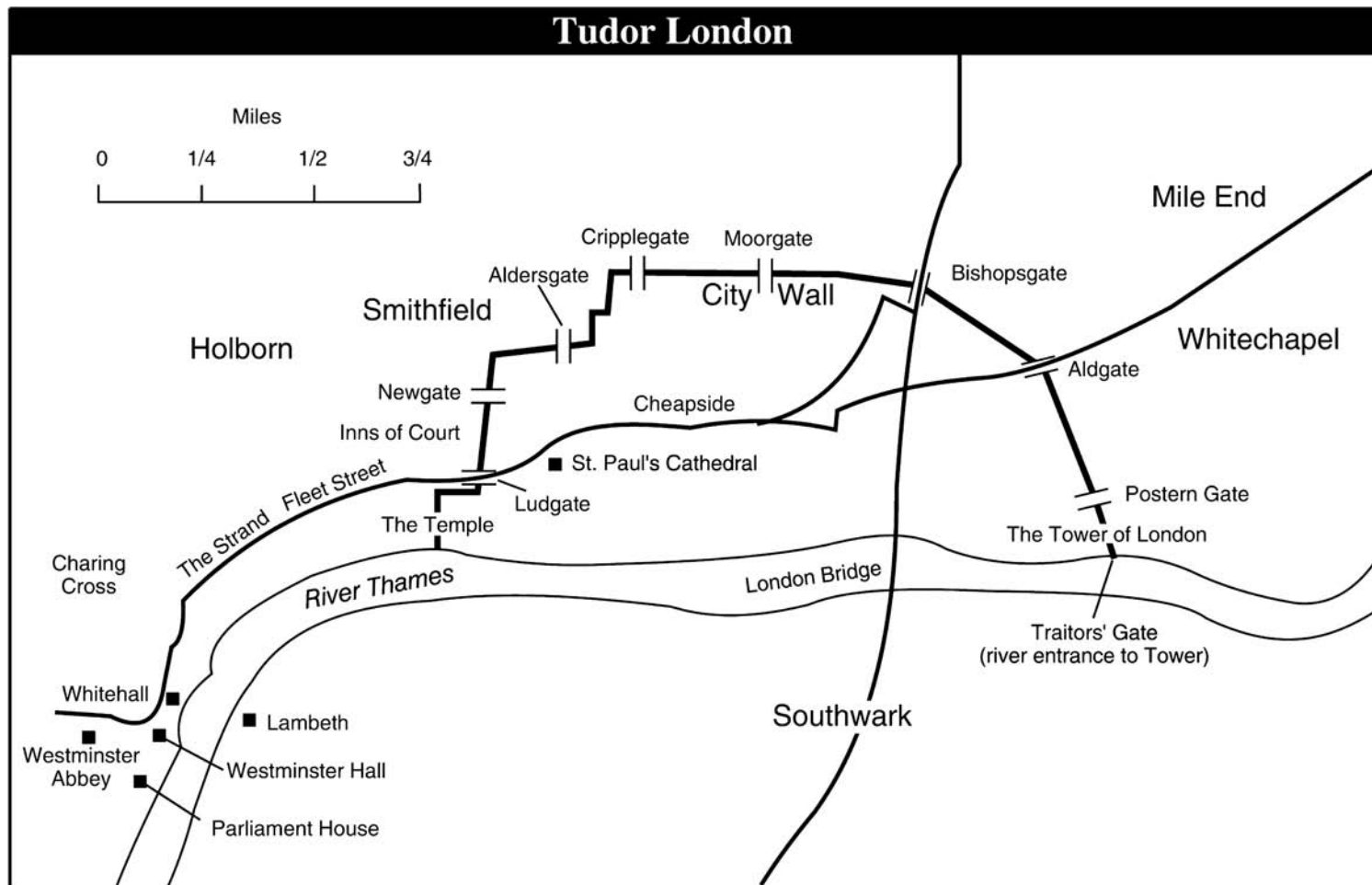
- 44 Cheshire
- 45 Derbyshire
- 46 Nottinghamshire
- 47 Lincolnshire
- 48 Yorkshire
- 49 Lancashire
- 50 Cumberland
- 51 Westmorland
- 52 Durham
- 53 Northumberland

Sixteenth-Century Scotland



Early Tudor Ireland





A

Absenteeism

See Pluralism and Absenteeism

Accession Day

The anniversary of **Elizabeth I**'s accession to the throne on 17 November 1558 was one of the few truly secular **holidays** in the English **calendar**. In the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, Accession Day, also known as Queen's Day or Coronation Day, was celebrated with the ringing of bells and the building of bonfires. After the defeat of the **Northern Rebellion** in 1570, the anniversary became a day of national thanksgiving and festival. The Accession Day tilts, elaborate tournaments held before thousands of spectators at the Westminster tiltyard, allowed young courtiers to display their martial prowess and their devotion to queen and country. After the start of war with **Spain** in 1585, the holiday became a patriotic celebration of Protestant England and its glorious queen. Accession Day celebrations were revived under Elizabeth's successor, **James I**, when her reign began to be seen as a golden age of national greatness. The date remained emotionally significant and was an occasion for patriotic celebrations well into the eighteenth century.

See also Christmas; Court, Royal; Easter; Protestantism; Virgin Queen; Westminster Palace

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Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days

See “Book of Martyrs”

Adiaphora

In Christian theology the term *adiaphora*, or things indifferent, refers to something that is an important element of religious observance but is not an article of faith and therefore not critical to personal salvation or subject to a rule of the church. Adiaphora, which can be beliefs, rites, or even objects, are deemed to have no scriptural basis and are neither required nor prohibited by doctrine; they are things about which disagreement is allowed. A person or position is often described as adiaphorist if it tends to reduce the number of items held to be critical to faith.

Although an old concept, the idea of adiaphora took on much greater importance during the **Reformation** as reformist thinkers struggled to define doctrine and practice. Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon specifically drew a critical distinction between “necessary and immutable things” and things indifferent. In England Thomas **Starkey** wrote in *An Exhortation to the People Instructing Them to Unity and Obedience* in 1535 that the religious troubles in Germany could be traced to conflict over “ceremonies and traditions” that were not critical to salvation, and he is likely the one who introduced Melanchthon’s idea of adiaphora to Anglicanism.

Most of the codifications of doctrine developed in England during the sixteenth century, including the **Ten Articles** of 1536, the **Forty-two Articles** under **Edward VI**, and the religious settlement reached under **Elizabeth I**, have been described by historians as adiaphorist, not because they all said the same thing, but because they were statements of doctrine for the Church of England that in comparison with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church overall reduced the number of elements critical to salvation.

While it may have been relatively easy for many people to agree that things such as holidays, fasts, and vestments (robes worn by churchmen) were adiaphora, there were more radical thinkers who believed **transubstantiation** and purgatory also fell into that category. John **Frith**, one of the first Protestant martyrs, was burned at the stake in 1533 for those very ideas, and such thinking continued to be dangerous for decades.

An important distinction within the concept of adiaphora is the difference between being able to dictate policy regarding something already determined to be adiaphora and being able to determine something to be adiaphora. For example, John **Jewel** and Richard **Hooker** both argued that by virtue of her position as governor of the English people—people being synonymous with both state and church—Elizabeth was entitled to make decisions in regard to adiaphora, such as requiring churchmen

to wear vestments, which were already determined to be adiaphora; however, she did not have the power to declare them no longer to be adiaphora.

In the twenty-first century, it is tempting to see the concept of adiaphora as representing toleration, but at least one historian has argued that while such thinking theoretically could have led to understanding and compromise, in the sixteenth century it did not. The prevailing belief was still that there was only one correct religion, and anyone believing otherwise was not just wrong but dangerous because they threatened their own and others' eternal salvation. Thus, few would have seen toleration as an option.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Lutheranism; Vermigli, Peter Martyr; Vestiarian Controversy

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Admiral

See Officers of State

Admonition Controversy

The Admonition Controversy was an acrimonious pamphlet debate between English Protestants over the best form of church governance and the proper relationship between church and state. The controversy began in 1572 when **Elizabeth I** suppressed a parliamentary bill that would have allowed Anglican bishops to exempt ministers from using sections of the **Book of Common Prayer** to which they objected.

After the queen killed the measure, two Puritan preachers in **London**, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, published a pamphlet titled *Admonition to the Parliament*. Although cast in the form of an address to **Parliament**, the *Admonition* was a vehicle for presenting the authors' views to the general public. The pamphlet was well received, going through several editions by the end of 1572. Wilcox's portion of the work was moderate and restrained, but Field castigated the **Anglican Church** in no uncertain terms, denouncing its practices and the prayer book as "popish" (i.e., Roman Catholic) and attacking its bishops as ungodly. Field's harsh tone led many **Puritans**, including John **Foxe** and Thomas **Lever**, to denounce the pamphlet.

In November 1572, after city authorities had imprisoned Wilcox and Field, an anonymous *Second Admonition* appeared in London. Archbishop Matthew **Parker** commissioned John **Whitgift**, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to respond to the second pamphlet. Whitgift's *Answer to a Certain Libel Instituted, an Admonition to the Parliament* prompted a reply from Thomas **Cartwright**, a former divinity professor at Cambridge who had been deprived of his position by Whitgift in 1570 for his criticisms of the Anglican Church. Cartwright's *Reply to an Answer Made of M Doctor Whitgift against the Admonition* was published in April 1573, only a year after he had returned from European exile. Although Cartwright fled again in December 1573 when a warrant was issued for his arrest, the pamphlet war continued, with Whitgift publishing his *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition* in 1574, and Cartwright publishing his *Second Reply* in 1575 and his *The Rest of the Second Reply* in 1577.

In his writings, Whitgift supported **royal supremacy** by making no distinction between the English Church and a Christian commonwealth, while Cartwright advocated a Presbyterian church distinct from the state whose officials would be subordinate to church leaders in spiritual matters. The Admonition Controversy split the Puritans and demonstrated the depth of some Puritans' opposition to the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559.

See also Catholicism, English; Presbyterian Movement; Protestantism; Royal Supremacy; Universities

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Advancement of True Religion, Act for the

Enacted by **Parliament** in May 1543, the Act for the Advancement of True Religion (or Act Concerning Bible Reading) restricted the reading of English **Bibles** to the upper classes. Officially a measure for promoting religious unity and abolishing false doctrine, the act, which was probably instigated by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, was an attempt by the conservative party, then in favor at **court**, to halt the spread of English Protestantism.

Introduced into the House of Lords on 8 May as a bill "concerning the printing of books," the measure had by 10 May become a bill for banning "erroneous books." From its final form, which received royal assent on 12 May, the measure

appears to have been hastily drafted and frequently amended. The need for the act is rehearsed in the preamble, which declares that great diversity of opinion has arisen because many subjects have been misled by false opinions and errors spread by heretical books, plays, songs, “and other fantasies” (Lehmberg, *Later Parliaments*, 186). To end such diversity, the act forbade all subjects from reading William **Tyndale**’s translation of the Bible and any other English books that taught doctrines contrary to those established by the Crown since 1540. Anyone who printed or sold such books was liable to three months’ imprisonment and fines of £10 per book for first offenses and perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of goods for repeat offenses. Possession of an English Bible, except for Tyndale’s, was permitted so long as it contained no annotations or had such annotations blotted out. English translations of the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and the Ave Maria were also permitted, as were religious books with royal approval and any songs, plays, or writings that did not discuss doctrine.

The heart of the act was the section prohibiting, upon pain of a month’s imprisonment, the reading of any English Bible, either in public or private, by anyone except upper-class males (i.e., noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants). In what were clearly later amendments, this strict prohibition was tempered by provisions allowing male heads of upper-class families to read the scriptures to their households and women of noble and gentle birth to read the Bible to themselves but not to others. The final section of the act prescribed burning for clergymen who taught false doctrine and refused to recant. Laypersons teaching such doctrines were subject to perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of goods.

The statute also confirmed the conservative Act of **Six Articles** (1539) and empowered **Henry VIII**, but not his successors, to alter any part of the act without recourse to Parliament. By making Henry the final judge of correct doctrine, Gardiner and the conservatives were willing to accept a significant expansion of the royal **prerogative** to inhibit the teaching of reformist ideas. While the act threatened prominent reformers such as Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and, later, Queen Katherine **Parr**, it contained too many exceptions to be an effective deterrent to the reading of scripture and the teaching of Protestant doctrine.

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Advowson

An advowson was the right to appoint a clergyman to a **benefice**. The right could be held by church officials, such as bishops, or by laypeople, from the monarch

to town corporations and individual property owners. Laypeople began acquiring rights of advowson in the Middle Ages when landholders built churches on their own property and appointed the priests to serve those churches. After the **dissolution of the monasteries** in the 1530s, many advowsons passed to the Crown or to the lay purchaser of the former monastic lands. By law, an advowson was treated as a piece of property, the ownership of which could be transferred by sale or grant. Patrons who were unwilling to sell their advowson outright could sell the right to make a one-time appointment to the benefice they controlled. In this way, people of even relatively small means could provide positions in the English Church for relatives or friends or could appoint a clergyman who upheld their particular doctrinal views.

The Reformation made control of advowsons extremely important. Under **Elizabeth I**, Puritan clergymen were sometimes dismissed from their benefices by their bishops for refusing to conform to the doctrine or practice of the **Anglican Church** as established by the queen and **Parliament**. Although an Elizabethan statute outlawed accepting money for appointing someone to a clerical position, Puritan nobles and gentlemen could use their advowsons to appoint dismissed Puritan ministers and preachers to positions under their control, thereby circumventing both the Crown and the ecclesiastical hierarchy and maintaining the propagation of Puritan thought and practice.

See also Anglican Settlement; Common Law; Gentry; Lectureships; Puritans; Reformation, English

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Agriculture

See Economy; Enclosures

Alba, Duke of

See Alvarez de Toledo, Fernandez, Duke of Alva

Alençon, Duke of

See Valois, Francis (Hercules), Duke of Alençon

Alesius, Alexander (1500–1565)

Alexander Alesius (or Aless) was an early Scottish adherent of **Lutheranism** who lectured on divinity at Cambridge and translated the **Book of Common Prayer** into Latin at the behest of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**.

Born in Edinburgh, Alesius was educated at the University of St. Andrews, where he became a canon (a member of the cathedral's clerical staff). In 1527, Alesius's learning and skill in disputation led to his selection as one of the divines charged with persuading Patrick **Hamilton**, the abbot of Ferne, to abandon his Lutheran opinions. However, instead of returning Hamilton to orthodoxy, Alesius found himself converted to Protestantism by the abbot's arguments and the heroic manner of his death at the stake in 1528. Shortly thereafter, Alesius angered the provost of St. Andrews by delivering a Latin oration on clerical incontinence to a provincial synod. Believing the rebuke directed at himself, the provost imprisoned Alesius. Freed by his fellow canons, who feared for his life, Alesius fled **Scotland** for Germany in 1532. In 1533, Alesius, after meeting Martin Luther and his colleague Philip Melancthon, signed the Lutheran confession of faith. In 1534, Alesius, having published a treatise against a decree of the Scottish bishops that denied the laity access to a vernacular **Bible**, was excommunicated by James Hay, bishop of Ross.

Alesius arrived in England in 1535 to convey a letter from Melancthon to **Henry VIII**. Warmly welcomed by Cranmer and Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister, Alesius was appointed lecturer of divinity at Cambridge. Because his views aroused opposition among conservatives, Alesius soon left the university for **London**, where he trained with a noted physician and established a thriving medical practice. Upon passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** in 1539, Alesius returned to Germany, where he became professor of theology at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. He attended the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541 and took part in several other attempts at religious reconciliation before moving, in 1543, to Leipzig, where he again taught theology. After the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Alesius returned to England, where Cranmer, anxious for the non-English-speaking reformers Martin **Bucer** and Peter Martyr **Vermigli** to comment on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, commissioned Alesius to prepare a Latin translation. By the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Alesius was back in Leipzig, where he continued to teach and write until his death on 17 March 1565.

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Allen, William (1532–1594)

William Allen was the religious leader in exile of Elizabethan Catholics. He was largely responsible for the foundation of the first English colleges on the European continent for the training of priests to be sent back into England as missionaries. His writings about religious and political matters in England inspired controversy as did his involvement in plans to invade England to restore **Catholicism**.

Allen was born in Lancashire in 1532. A student at Oriel College, Oxford, Allen completed his BA in 1550. He was then made a fellow and obtained his MA in 1554. Allen continued at Oxford as principal at St. Mary's Hall but resigned his position in 1561. Allen then worked as a tutor in Oxford and elsewhere in England while also trying to persuade others to adhere to Catholicism. At this time, Allen also traveled to Louvain to study. He left England for the last time in 1565 and became a priest in

Malines. Allen obtained his doctorate of divinity in 1570.

With other English scholars in exile, Allen set up an English college in Douai in 1568. The college was to be a place for English academics at the new University of Douai. Eventually, this school became the first of the English seminaries founded for the training of missionary priests and Allen was its president until 1585. During that period, Allen established another school in Rome and oversaw the Douai college's move to Reims in 1578 when the Douai authorities forced the English to leave. His colleague, the Jesuit Robert **Parsons**, later carried on with the foundation of educational institutions and established several English seminaries in **Spain**. Of the students who attended the seminaries during **Elizabeth I's** reign, 800 went on to



William Allen fled England and a promising career in the English Catholic Church when Elizabeth I came to the throne. Charles S. Isaacson *The Story of English Cardinals*. London: Elliot Stock, 1907)

receive ordination into the priesthood and many of these returned to England to fulfill Allen's idea of a mission.

The schools, however, often had financial difficulties and Allen was only able to solve these to a certain degree through the donations and grants from such patrons as the pope and **Philip II** of Spain. Dissension among the students and faculty at the English college in Rome was another problem that Allen had to manage. The cleric traveled there in 1579 after trouble erupted among a group of students over issues of the school's purpose, their dislike of the rector, and the running of the institution. Allen's other aim in making the trip to Rome was to meet with the Jesuit superior general and discuss the possibility of Englishmen in that order joining the mission in their homeland. The following year the first English Jesuit missionaries, Edmund **Campion** and Robert Parsons, arrived in England.

Along with his administrative duties, Allen was busy with a number of publications. He was a contributor to the Reims English translation of the New Testament, published in 1582. Other writings of his were more pointedly related to affairs in England and were often apologetics for the activities of the English Catholic community, especially those happening abroad. According to his 1581 *Apology and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges*, these schools were places of education, not of treasonous plotting. The next year Allen published *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*, a work about the missionary priests recently executed in England. In the mid-1580s, Allen's writings engaged in matters even more political. His *A Defense of English Catholics* was a reply to *The Execution of Justice in England Not for Religion but for Treason* by William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. In this work, Burghley argued that the government was not persecuting Catholics for their religion but for acts of treason. Allen protested that the missionary priests were not committing any treason, and that the treason laws were not legitimate, so Catholics were being executed for their religion after all. The *Defense of English Catholics* further contained Allen's arguments supporting the papal power to deprive monarchs of their thrones and to take direct military action against monarchs. An even more controversial work was his 1587 defense of Sir William Stanley, an English Catholic officer who handed over the Dutch town under his authority to the opposing Spanish.

Although Allen claimed that seminarians were taught nothing of a political nature at the colleges, he himself took part in plotting against the Elizabethan regime. Allen was in contact with other English and Scottish exiles, the **papacy**, Philip of Spain, the **Guise family** in **France**, and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. In the early 1580s Allen participated in the forming of invasion plans that relied on papal or Spanish forces to be joined by English Catholics. These plans fell through for lack of backing from those who would be supplying the troops. Allen left

Reims for Rome in 1585 and there he continued to prepare for action against the English government. His 1588 *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland* was written in support of the coming **armada** and encouraged his countrymen to support a Spanish invasion.

Through Philip II's influence, Pope Sixtus V made Allen a cardinal in 1587 and he became known as the cardinal of England. Allen also held the canonries of the cathedrals of Chambray and Rouen and in 1589 Philip II named him archbishop of Malines, though Allen never took up this position. Pope Gregory XIV appointed Allen apostolic librarian. Allen also worked on an edition of the Vulgate and at the end of his life he was editing the works of Saint Augustine.

Allen's death in Rome in October 1594 left the English Catholic Church without a leader. Soon problems surrounding the organization of the mission in England and the running of the college in Rome arose. The mission and the seminaries, however, survived his passing and remained an integral part of the English Catholic Church.

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See also Jesuit Mission; Seminary Priests

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Alleyn, Edward (1566–1626)

Edward Alleyn was an English actor and a major figure in the Elizabethan theater. He was also founder of Dulwich College and Alleyn's School. Born in **London**, he began his career as an actor around 1583, first as a member of the Earl of Worcester's players, and later as leader of the Lord Admiral's Men at both the **Rose Theatre** and the Fortune. Rivaling Richard **Burbage** in fame, Alleyn was one of the most popular actors of his age, although he profited more from investments in real estate and entertainment ventures than from his artistic genius. He retired from the stage in 1598, only to return in 1600. His performances brought him universal

admiration and praise from contemporary authors such as Thomas **Nashe** and Ben **Jonson**.

Edward Alleyn was born on 1 September 1566 in Bishopsgate, London, the son of an innkeeper. He was known to his friends and family as “Ned,” and his surname is found variously spelled as “Allen” or “Alleyne.” Alleyn was married twice. His first marriage was to Joan Woodward, stepdaughter of his business partner, Philip **Henslowe**, in 1592. She died in 1623 and that same year he married Constance Donne, daughter to poet and dean of St. Paul’s, John Donne. He had no children from either marriage.

While it is not known when Alleyn began his career as an actor, his name appears on the list of the Earl of Worcester’s Men in 1583—a company best known, at this time, for its provincial tours. He eventually became one of the foremost actors of his age, heading the troupe of players known as the Admiral’s Men. Alleyn’s interest in theater may have been inspired by his older brother, John, who by 1580 was involved in the theater business both as an actor and as leader of a troupe. John Alleyn never achieved the prominence of his younger brother; however, his combined interest in theater and commerce provided a model for his younger brother. Edward Alleyn became not only one of the most celebrated actors but one of the most powerful theater entrepreneurs of his time.

By 1594, Alleyn had achieved celebrity status and was the leader of one of the most prominent London troupes, the Lord Admiral’s Men. Alleyn is best known for his portrayal of Tamburlaine in the two parts of Christopher **Marlowe**’s drama *Tamburlaine the Great*. He continued to play the lead roles in Marlowe’s plays, including the title character in *Doctor Faustus* and Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*. It has been speculated that Marlowe wrote these roles specifically for Alleyn. Alleyn’s contemporaries would have also seen him play King Edgar in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, Orlando in Robert **Greene**’s *Orlando Furioso*, Cutlack in *Cutlack the Dane*, Sebastian in *Frederick and Basilea*, Muly Mahamet in *The Battle of Alcazar*, and Tamar Cham in *I Tamar Cham*. He also played many other undocumented



Londoner Edward Alleyn was one of the most popular actors on the Elizabethan stage and a theater owner and manager. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare’s England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

roles; it is likely, for example, that he played Hieronimo in Thomas **Kyd**'s *The Spanish Tragedy*. Such success was consuming for Alleyn; during a six-month period he would have performed between three and four days a week, on over 80 occasions, and in over 50 percent of the performances. During this same six-month period, he easily would have performed in 9 or 10 different plays.

Distinguished by his unusual height (he was over six feet tall) and his thundering voice, Alleyn excelled in magisterial roles that required an intense stage presence. He was, according to one contemporary source, known for his “strutting and bellowing” on the stage. Alleyn’s status as a celebrity and his success in performing a specific type of character shaped the repertory of the Lord Admiral’s Men and the Rose throughout the 1590s.

Alleyn retired at the height of his fame in 1598 to pursue ventures off the stage. He went into business with Philip Henslowe, his father-in-law, and eventually became very wealthy due to their investments in profitable playhouses (such as the Rose, the Paris Garden, and the Fortune Theatre) and the Bear Garden, a site for bearbaiting, a popular entertainment. In 1600, Alleyn and Henslowe constructed the Fortune Theatre north of London to compete with the **Globe Theatre**. When this new home for the Admiral’s Men opened, Alleyn returned to the stage. Alleyn finally retired in 1604, when he and Henslowe received a joint patent as master of the royal game of bears, bulls, and mastiff dogs. As part of his title, Alleyn was the master of ceremonies for lion baiting at the **Tower of London** and for bearbaiting at **court**. Also in 1604, Alleyn was one of the first performers to greet **James I** as he entered London, performing the role of the “Genius of the City” in the public ceremonies staged to welcome the new king.

Alleyn’s entertainment ventures were so lucrative that in 1605 he was able to purchase the manor of Dulwich from Sir Francis Calton. Alleyn began building and endowing the College of God’s Gift at Dulwich, which was completed in 1617. In 1614, Henslowe and Alleyn built the Hope Theatre on the Bankside on the site of the Bear Garden. It had an adaptable arena that functioned as both a theater and, with its removable stage, as an animal-baiting ring. When Henslowe died in 1616, he bequeathed most of his assets to Alleyn, who also inherited Henslowe’s papers, including Henslowe’s diary, which now resides in the library at Dulwich College.

Alleyn died on 25 November 1626 and was buried in the chapel of the college he had founded. Before his death, he lamented that his profession as a “mere player” had stood in the way of achieving a knighthood, which he never received. A portrait of the actor is on display at Dulwich Picture Gallery along with a large collection of paintings and manuscripts that he collected during his lifetime.

Nicola M. Imbracsio

See also Animal Sports

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Alva, Duke of

See Alvarez de Toledo, Fernandez, Duke of Alva

Alvarez de Toledo, Fernandez, Duke of Alva (1508–1582)

As **Philip II**'s governor-general of the **Netherlands** from 1567 to 1573, Fernandez Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva (or Alba), crushed the first stage of the **Netherlands Revolt**, driving thousands of Protestant artisans and craftspeople to emigrate from the Netherlands to England. Governor of a Spanish province at 17, Alva so distinguished himself at the Battle of Pavia in Italy in 1525 and against the Turks in Hungary and North Africa in the early 1530s that **Charles V** made him a general in 1534 and commander in chief of the imperial armies four years later, when Alva was only 30. In 1547, he was instrumental in helping Charles V defeat the German Protestants at Mühlberg, and in the late 1550s, Alva conducted successful campaigns in Italy for Charles's son, Philip II of **Spain**.

Philip sent Alva to the Netherlands in 1567 to restore Spanish authority after the violent outbreak there of Protestant iconoclasm (i.e., destruction of Catholic religious art and imagery) in the previous year. His Spanish troops defeated the rebel military forces, driving **William, Prince of Orange**, the rebel leader, into exile in Germany. Through the vigorous use of his so-called Council of Blood, a ruthless judicial tribunal, Alva established a repressive military regime in the Netherlands that restored order by summarily executing rebels and heretics and driving many Protestants, especially from the urban merchant and artisan classes, to flee to Protestant England.

In 1572, when **Elizabeth I** ordered all **sea beggars** (bands of Dutch rebels who had been committing indiscriminate acts of piracy in the English Channel) to leave English ports, they fell suddenly on the Dutch ports of Flushing and Brill, thus reviving the Netherlands rebellion against Spanish rule in the northern provinces of Holland and Zeeland. In 1573, unable to crush the new uprising and faced with the destruction of his fleet by rebel forces, Alva, then in his mid-60s, asked to be

recalled to Spain. From there, he led a successful invasion of Portugal in 1580, thereby giving Philip control of the Portuguese Crown and fleet and making possible the attempted naval invasion of England in 1588. Alva died in Spain in 1582.

See also Armada; Cautionary Towns

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Amadas-Barlowe Expedition

In March 1584, Walter **Raleigh** secured a six-year patent from Queen **Elizabeth I** to establish an English colony in North **America**. The patent, like the one given earlier to Raleigh's half brother, Sir Humphrey **Gilbert**, granted Raleigh's colonists "all the privileges of free Denizens and persons native of England" as if "they were born and personally resident within our said Realm of England." Before sending out colonists, Raleigh decided to reconnoiter the North American coast to find a likely settlement site and to learn something of the natives, climate, and products of the area.

On 27 April 1584, two small vessels left Plymouth under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, two young gentlemen in Raleigh's household. Arriving in the West Indies in June, the expedition took on fresh water and then sailed north along the coasts of the present-day states of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. In July, they landed on Hatteras Island, where they observed fruit trees and an abundance of wildlife. After claiming the area for England, Amadas and Barlowe made contact with the Roanoke Indians, whose main village lay on nearby Roanoke Island.

By trading clothing, wine, and meat for fish, the Englishmen established friendly relations with Wingina, the local chief. A small party of Englishmen then visited Wingina's village, where they were warmly welcomed and treated to a great feast. On 23 August, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two young Roanoke men who volunteered to go to England, Amadas and Barlowe set sail for home, reaching England by 15 September.

Barlowe wrote a glowing account of the Roanoke region where, he declared, "the earth brings forth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toil or labor," and of the natives, who were "most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason." Raleigh quickly distributed Barlowe's report to stimulate interest in his colonial venture. To attract the queen's financial participation, Raleigh requested and received permission to name the newly claimed area Virginia in honor of the **Virgin Queen**. Although Elizabeth's investment was not forthcoming,

Barlowe's report of the expedition's experiences helped make possible the establishment of Raleigh's first Roanoke colony in 1585.

See also *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*; Exploration and Discovery; Harriot, Thomas; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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America

Before the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, English interest in America waxed and waned, but after that date a growing desire to compete with **Spain** for trade and colonies stimulated increased American exploration. In the late 1480s, Christopher Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to ask **Henry VII** to fund a voyage of westward exploration. Henry was interested, but he waited too long to act and Columbus concluded an agreement with **Ferdinand and Isabella** of Spain. In place of that lost opportunity, Henry backed another Italian navigator, John **Cabot**, whose expedition left England in May 1497.

Agreeing to pay the Crown 20 percent of the profits derived from trade with the peoples of any new lands he might discover, Cabot reached what he called the "New Found Land" (Newfoundland, Canada) in late June. Convinced that he had reached Cipango (Japan), Cabot proposed that a trading fleet be outfitted and was enthusiastically supported by the king and the merchant community. Five ships filled with trade goods for Asia left England in 1498 but never returned; the fate of Cabot and his second expedition remains a mystery to this day. Having realized that Cabot's discovery was a new land, not Japan, Henry VII, in 1501, chartered the short-lived Company Adventurers to the New Found Land to conduct trade and colonization in the region, and in 1509, he sent Cabot's son Sebastian to seek a **Northwest Passage** to Asia. Sebastian **Cabot** found his way into Hudson's Bay, where the great icebergs frightened his crew and forced his return to England.

English interest in America faded under **Henry VIII**, who was more interested in dominating the Old World than in exploring the New World. The governments of **Edward VI** were too poor to support much exploration, and under **Mary I**, English explorers sought a Northeast Passage to Asia, with England's first **joint-stock company** funding the venture. Under Elizabeth, however, American exploration gathered momentum. The great success of John **Hawkins**'s unauthorized trade voyages to **Spanish America** stimulated interest in American colonies, while the continuing desire to reach Asia revived interest in a Northwest Passage.

In the 1570s and 1580s, Martin **Frobisher** and John **Davis** expanded English knowledge of northeastern North America while seeking the Northwest Passage. In the 1580s, Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** and his half brother Walter **Raleigh** tried unsuccessfully to establish an English colony on the east coast of North America to supply England with both needed commodities and a base for raiding Spanish America.

In England, the work of Richard **Hakluyt** and other writers in publicizing and promoting exploration and colonization efforts kept interest in America high and greatly facilitated the successful English colonization of North America in the seventeenth century.

See also Exploration and Discovery; Lost Colony; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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Amicable Grant

The Amicable Grant was a nonparliamentary tax, essentially a forced loan, demanded by the government in 1525 to fund war with **France**. While the demand itself was not unusual, the reaction to it was. Because protests against the assessment were so widespread and vocal, the king and his ministers eventually withdrew it.

The capture of **Francis I** at the Battle of Pavia in February 1525 provided **Henry VIII** with an unexpected opportunity to realize his dreams of conquest in France. Allied with **Charles V**, the victor of Pavia, Henry believed himself capable of seizing the French Crown or at least of re-creating the French empire of his

medieval ancestors. Although **Parliament** had authorized some funding for a campaign in 1525, the king and **council** decided to raise additional revenue with the Amicable Grant, which was based on the Crown's **prerogative** right to demand financial assistance from the country in times of emergency. Because by tradition the king alone determined when an emergency existed, such assessments as the Amicable Grant were attractive to the government, which, in the past, had abused their use. The Yorkist Parliament of 1484 had abolished the nonparliamentary assessments known as benevolences, but **Henry VII** revived their use in 1491 by claiming military necessity. In 1525, and in later historical tradition, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, Henry's chief minister, was identified as the initiator of the Amicable Grant, even though he, like the king, later denied knowledge of it. Recent research has shown that the decision to demand the grant was made by the king in consultation with Wolsey and such other royal advisers as Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk; Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk; and William **Warham**, Archbishop of Canterbury, all of whom helped devise the plan for assessment and collection of the tax.

The clergy were to be assessed at one-third of their annual income or value of their movable property, and the laity at one-sixth, although the government lowered these rates as resistance mounted. Opposition to the Amicable Grant derived not from any dislike of the king's foreign policy but from the belief that the country had been taxed beyond its ability to pay. Other forced loans and parliamentary assessments had been demanded over the previous three years and many taxpayers simply felt themselves unable to pay another. Upon announcement of the grant, protests erupted across the country and large, disorderly assemblies of angry taxpayers gathered in many southern and southwestern counties. The protests were not part of any organized movement but were spontaneous demonstrations by low-income workers and tradesmen who felt themselves overburdened by royal taxes. Rioters in Sussex claimed that they were led into rebellion not by any man but by a captain named "poverty." So serious was the threat of widespread violence, the government canceled the grant before collection began. With Henry disavowing any knowledge of the measure, the public focused its anger on Wolsey, whose reputation suffered as a result. Unaccustomed to being thwarted, Henry may also have lost a measure of confidence in his minister, even though Wolsey's paramount position in the government appeared unaffected. The French campaign, meanwhile, was abandoned for lack of funding, and Henry thereafter pursued a more pro-French policy.

See also Foreign Relations and Diplomacy

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Anabaptism

The term “Anabaptist,” from a Greek word meaning “rebaptizer,” was applied by Catholics and mainstream Protestants (i.e., Lutherans, Calvinists) to a variety of religious sects holding principles and following practices that sixteenth-century European society considered unacceptably radical.

Anabaptism originated in Zurich in the 1520s and spread slowly into Germany, **France**, and the **Netherlands**. The movement was always ill-defined, and authorities were quick to label any nonconforming sect as Anabaptist. In England, for instance, sixteenth-century adherents of **Lollardy** were frequently accused of Anabaptism. Although most noted for their practice of adult baptism, which they believed could be performed only for persons willing and able to make a personal profession of faith, Anabaptists also advocated pacifism, religious tolerance, and community ownership of goods and refused to swear oaths or participate in government. Some groups, such as the Melchiorite Anabaptists, held radical doctrines concerning the nature of Christ, believing, for instance, that he did not share human flesh. Other groups advocated separation of church and state or preached Unitarianism, the denial of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which they thought unscriptural. Because Unitarianism often led to repudiation of the divinity of Christ, both Catholics and Protestants burned Anabaptists for heresy.

Although never numerous and difficult to identify because of the indiscriminate way the term was used by authorities, English Anabaptists began to appear in the 1530s. In 1532, four people were arrested in **London** for distributing Anabaptist literature and expressing unusual opinions concerning the humanity of Christ. In the late 1530s, continental persecution drove Dutch Anabaptists to seek refuge in England, where some 20 were eventually executed for heresy. The Family of Love, a Dutch Anabaptist group founded by Hendrik Niclaes, gained a foothold in England in the early 1550s when Niclaes is believed to have visited England. A few years later, his chief agent, Christopher Vitel, was working there to obtain converts, and by the later 1570s Vitel had translated more than a dozen works by Niclaes into English. Believing himself divinely inspired, Niclaes sought to create a group of truly “sanctified” believers, those whose spiritual regeneration had moved them to a place beyond the reach of sin. He had little use for ceremonies but favored a highly structured organization. Family of Love beliefs were similar to “spiritualist” Anabaptism, but members tried to keep a low profile. They did not believe in original sin or infant baptism and did not interfere with public worship. Members attended both Catholic and Protestant churches and were known to recant quickly if accused of heresy. Although denounced by writers in the late 1570s and banned by a royal proclamation in 1580, the movement actually endured into the seventeenth century.

The **council** arrested several suspected English Anabaptists in 1549 and executed Joan **Bocher**, who espoused a Melchiorite Christology, in 1550. John **Knox**,

John **Hooper**, and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** all wrote and preached against Anabaptism during the 1540s, when church leaders feared the spread of a native Anabaptist movement. Although the Marian persecution of all reformist belief arrested the spread of Anabaptism after 1553, the movement resurfaced in England after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. The queen punished the open practice of Anabaptism, although she tolerated secret Anabaptism among her personal servants. Because they despised Anabaptists for their Unitarianism, radical social arrangements, and toleration of Catholicism, Elizabethan **Puritans** demanded stronger and more consistent persecution of the movement. Through their preaching of complete religious independence from the state, Anabaptists influenced the development of the Brownists and other groups of Elizabethan **Separatists**.

See also Browne, Robert; Calvinism, English; Lutheranism; Marian Martyrs

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André, Bernard (c. 1450–1522)

Bernard André (or Andreas) was the official poet and historian of the reign of **Henry VII**, whom André likely accompanied to England in 1485. The author of many panegyrics recording and glorifying the chief events of the reign, André also served as tutor to Henry VII's son and heir, Prince Arthur **Tudor**.

Born in Toulouse into a family of some distinction, André joined the Augustinian friars. Although the details of his education are unknown, he was apparently trained in Roman literature and was described by contemporaries as a doctor of **civil** and **canon law**. Perhaps recommended to the king by Richard **Foxe**, a royal adviser whom he mentions in his writings, André received a pension and appointment as court poet shortly after Henry VII won the throne in August 1485. Although blind, André received numerous other court and ecclesiastical preferments from both Henry VII and **Henry VIII**.

His first literary work as poet laureate comprised a series of Latin poems that described in the most fulsome terms the important inaugurating events of the reign, including Henry VII's triumphal entry into **London** after the Battle of **Bosworth**

Field in September 1485; the king's marriage to **Elizabeth of York**, the daughter of **Edward IV**, in January 1486; and the birth of Prince Arthur in September 1486. André also began a biography of Henry VII but abandoned the work in about 1502, having taken the narrative only up to the **Cornish Rebellion** of 1497. Thereafter, André annually presented the king with literary compositions that flatteringly described the most important royal events of each year. Although only a few of these compositions survive, they are in varying forms and in both Latin and French.

From 1496 to 1500, André guided the education of Prince Arthur, who, according to André, "committed to memory or read with his own eyes" a host of classical and contemporary texts, including Augustine's *City of God*, for which André wrote a commentary, as well as Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Thucydides, Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, and the fifteenth-century Italian master of Latin grammar and rhetoric Lorenzo Valla (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 5). To engage the prince's interest, André composed speeches addressed to the prince by imaginary envoys from ancient Greece and Rome. It is likely that this same innovative educational program was used by John **Skelton**, who was tutor for Arthur's younger brother, the future Henry VIII.

André continued to write poetry for the court into the reign of Henry VIII, including both Latin and French verse and various devotional works. In 1517, he published *Hymni Christiani*, a collection of almost 200 poems arranged according to the liturgical calendar and describing various church feasts and saints' days, but also alluding to contemporary political events. Many contemporary scholars, such as Thomas **More**, William **Lily**, and Desiderius **Erasmus**, wrote verses praising *Hymni Christiani* and thereby attested to André's high reputation within the European scholarly community. André died in 1522.

John A. Wagner

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Anger, Jane (fl. 1589)

Jane Anger is the author of *Jane Anger her Protection for Women: To defend them against the scandalous reportes of a late Surfeiting Lover, and all other like Venerians that complaine so to bee overcloyed with womens kindnesse*. The 1589 publication of *Protection* in London marks what many scholars consider the first female-authored defense of women in English to appear in print.

The *Protection* responds to a misogynistic pamphlet, now lost, titled *Boke his Surfeyt in love, with a farewell to the folies of his own phantasie* (1588). Anger demonstrates familiarity with and skilled manipulation of the distinct conventions that characterize a long-standing genre of writing that one historian terms the “formal controversy about women” (Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance*, 114). Similarities between the *Protection* and another defense of women, Nicholas Breton’s *The Praise of Virtuous Ladies*, suggest borrowing, although who borrowed from whom is unclear, while Anger’s quotations from *Boke his Surfeyt* indicate that *Boke*’s author copied selections from another work. Through the Surfeiter’s “working method” and borrowings, A. Lynne Magnusson connects him to Robert **Greene**, a major writer of prose romance, to open her argument that Jane Anger’s *Protection* actually critiques and opposes patterns that were common in romantic fiction in the 1580s rather than misogynistic pamphlets. Whether Anger is targeting contemporary romantic fiction, antifeminist writings of the Elizabethan women’s controversy, or both, she is clearly challenging and offering written retaliation for the negative, stereotypical representations of women circulating at the time.

Jane Anger’s biographical details are unknown; in fact, although records exist indicating that multiple Jane Angers did reside in England at the time, the name could also be a pseudonym, especially given the importance of anger to the pamphlet’s stance against the “falsehoode of men” and their slanderous tongues. “Shal Surfeiters raile on our kindness?” Anger asks in her dedication “To all Women in generall,” and “shall not Anger stretch the vaines of her braines, the stringes of her fingers, and the listes of her modestie, to answere their Surfeitings?” The emotion “anger” and the name “Anger” are often conflated in this way in the text, and although Anger describes here both a bodily experience of anger and a physical preparation for writing, her wit and sophisticated rhetoric throughout the work express an anger that is very rational, carefully premeditated, creative, and productive. The *Protection* thus offers a “model of articulate female anger” that rejects the conventional constructions of women’s anger as “shrewish, scolding, or irrational” (Kennedy, *Just Anger*, 65).

With the uncertainty of whether “Jane Anger” is a pseudonym, the author’s gender remains uncertain. Arguments in favor of the text’s female authorship include the fact that Anger addresses her text to a female audience and repeatedly identifies herself as part of that group, emphasizing solidarity, mutual protection, and confidence among women. For example, the author conspiratorially invites female readers to “secretlye our selves with our selves, consider howe and in what, they that are our worst enemies, are . . . inferiour unto us,” and she offers her work as a protection of women’s reputations, asking that gentlewomen in turn protect her foray into print.

Anger’s *Protection* claims to work or “till” the “cloddye ground,” perhaps the field of print, where before, “no place” could be found “free from disgrace” of

women, which implies an aim of cultivating fresh and more positive views of women. Important to recognize, however, is Anger's awareness of toiling in the same field as her male opponents rather than shifting ground; the *Protection* subverts many conventional, misogynistic arguments about women, but it remains itself a product of early modern ideology. As such, rather than outright rejecting conventional notions of women's natures, the *Protection* often maintains but reinterprets and reevaluates these notions, wresting them away from negative views of women and arguments justifying their subordination and turning them instead to women's advantage as supports defending them from misogynistic charges. Anger also consistently turns the Surfeiter's debasing characterizations of women against him and against men in general, mastering the rhetoric of the hitherto male-dominated women's controversy and employing it to open the possibility of a new female subject position for women to identify with.

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See also Women

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Angers, Treaty of

Concluded in July 1551, the Anglo-French Treaty of Angers arranged a marriage between **Edward VI** and a daughter of **Henri II**, thereby solidifying the peace made between the two nations by the 1550 Treaty of **Boulogne**. Although criticized by some historians as a sacrifice of England's interests abroad to secure the political dominance of John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, at home, the agreement has more recently been characterized as a realistic attempt to free the country from foreign wars it could not afford.

Hoping to improve relations and inhibit French designs on **Calais**, the English government dispatched a large and glittering embassy to **France** in May 1551. Although the embassy's formal charge was to present the Order of the Garter to Henri, it was also to conclude a marriage alliance between the two Crowns. Led by

William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, the English entourage numbered 62 and included Warwick's son, Lord Lisle, and various other noblemen and gentlemen, all traveling in great style and attended by more than 200 servants. Also in the party were such experienced lawyers and negotiators as Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Smith, and Bishops Thomas **Goodrich** of Ely and Thomas **Thirlby** of Norwich.

Negotiations opened on 20 June with the English requiring fulfillment of the 1543 Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Greenwich**, which had arranged a marriage between Edward and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. This demand, however, was merely a matter of form; since Mary was then residing in France and betrothed to the dauphin, the French flatly declined to speak further of the Greenwich agreement. Although the French were on the verge of war with **Charles V** and were anxious to secure English neutrality, they drove a hard bargain over the financial terms of the marriage alliance. They openly laughed at the initial English demand of 1.5 million crowns for the princess's dowry and compensation for Edward's abandonment of his pension claims on the French Crown. Further instructions from Warwick and the council allowed Northampton to reduce his demands to 600,000 and then to 400,000 crowns and to accept 200,000 if the French agreed to pay the cost of transporting the princess to England in state. The latter sum was finally accepted and the treaty was signed at Angers on 19 July.

The agreement called for the princess to come to England for the marriage within one month of her 12th birthday in 1557, with the money to be paid in installments thereafter. How serious either party was about the marriage is uncertain, although both clearly wanted peace in 1551—the English to recover from the financial damage caused by years of war with France and **Scotland**, and the French to assure themselves that England would not enter the new Franco-Imperial war as Charles V's ally. The English government also wanted more freedom of action in dealing with other European powers; thus it concluded the Angers pact to stabilize relations with France but refused any type of offensive or defensive alliance that might have bound England to war with Charles V.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Anglica Historia

See Vergil, Polydore

Anglican Church

As established under **Elizabeth I** in 1559, the Church of England, or Anglican Church, was Calvinist in doctrine, episcopal (i.e., under bishops) in structure, and governed by the Crown through **Parliament**. Although they disappeared from the Calvinist churches of **France**, Germany, and the **Netherlands**, bishops survived in the Anglican Church because they served as useful instruments of royal control. The queen often allowed bishops to suffer the criticisms of **Puritans** for actions she had privately urged them to take.

Elizabeth was determined to have the Church of England serve the needs of the English state, as she herself defined those needs. Thus, she insisted on conformity to the manner of worship laid down by Parliament in the Act of **Uniformity** and the **Book of Common Prayer** but allowed a wide variety of beliefs and practices to exist within this mandated framework. Individuals could believe largely as they wished, so long as they outwardly conformed and kept their unapproved opinions to themselves. The Anglican Church was thus based on the idea that matters of worship and church government not specifically outlined in the Bible and authorized by the state could be left to local practice and national custom as things indifferent to salvation and true belief. Conversely, Puritans maintained that almost all religious practices were strictly prescribed in scripture and could not be left to local or national tradition.

At the Anglican Church's creation in 1559, doctrine and liturgy were vaguely defined, in part because the government sought to include as many people as possible, whether conservatives or advanced reformers. But the parameters of Anglicanism became sharper during the course of Elizabeth's reign as Roman Catholics fell away and Puritans began to distinguish themselves from the national church through disputes over vestments, governance, and liturgy. Anglicanism also defined itself through the writings of its chief thinkers, such as Bishop John **Jewel**'s *Book of Homilies* (1571) and his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (*Apology for the Church of England*; 1562) and Richard **Hooker**'s *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593, 1597). By Elizabeth's death in 1603, her Anglican Church had won the allegiance and devotion of a majority of her subjects.

See also Anglican Settlement; Bible, English; "Book of Martyrs"; Calvinism, English; Catholicism, English; Classical Movement; Foxe, John; Presbyterian Movement; Separatists; Thirty-nine Articles; Vestiarian Controversy

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Anglican Settlement

The term “Anglican Settlement” describes the series of governmental and parliamentary actions taken in the early years of **Elizabeth I**’s reign, especially during the **Parliament** of 1559, to shape the governance, theology, and liturgy (i.e., form of worship) of the officially established Church of England, the **Anglican Church**. From her sister, **Mary I**, Elizabeth had inherited an English Catholic Church that recognized the authority of the pope. However, Elizabeth had few reasons to maintain her sister’s church. Raised a Protestant, Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne **Boleyn**, whose marriage to **Henry VIII** had symbolized England’s original break with Rome. Also, the English Catholic Church under Mary had lost considerable popular support by burning heretics.

Elizabeth’s own theological views and liturgical preferences remain unclear even today, but she and her ministers wanted to satisfy as many people as possible by making as few changes as possible. While disliking papal authority, most English people in 1558 were not strong Protestants and probably would have been content with an English Church freed from papal control but essentially Catholic in doctrine and practice. Thus, the two main issues for the government and Parliament were determining a form of worship and defining the relationship between church and Crown. However, when even moderate changes proposed by the government were vigorously opposed in the House of Lords by Catholic bishops appointed by Mary and by the Catholic peerage, and when groups of returning **Marian exiles** began demanding a more radically Protestant church, the government gave up on placating Catholics and proposed more Protestant religious legislation. A new Act of **Supremacy** in 1559 abolished the authority of the pope, but it heeded complaints about a layperson and a woman heading the English Church and gave Parliament a larger role with the Crown in directing religious affairs. The 1559 Act of **Uniformity** abolished the **Mass** and restored **Edward VI**’s 1552 **Book of Common Prayer**, with some alterations in wording to appease Catholics and conservatives (e.g., the **Black Rubric** was removed).

By giving the Anglican Church a form of worship that was too radical for Roman Catholics and too conservative for Protestants, the queen and Parliament established a religious settlement that became known as the *via media*, the “middle way,” an attempt to accommodate as many viewpoints as possible in the new Anglican Church. Although attacked throughout Elizabeth’s reign by Catholics on one hand and **Puritans** on the other, the Elizabethan Anglican Church slowly

won the support and affection of the great majority of English subjects and saved England from the religious civil wars that tormented sixteenth-century **France**.

See also Marian Martyrs; Protestantism

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Anglo-French War (Edward VI)

Essentially an extension of the Anglo-French War of 1543–1546, which was temporarily halted by the Treaty of **Campe** and the deaths of **Henry VIII** and **Francis I**, the Anglo-French conflict of 1549–1550 arose from the determination of **Henri II** of **France** to regain the town of Boulogne, which had been held by the English since 1544.

In March 1547, only weeks after **Edward VI**'s accession, Francis signed a treaty with the new English government headed by Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset. Anxious to pursue the war in **Scotland**, Somerset hoped the agreement would ensure French neutrality. However, Henri, who succeeded his father on 31 March, repudiated the treaty and increased pressure on the borders of the Boulogne enclave. Although eager to retake Boulogne, Henri was unwilling to risk renewed war with **Charles V**, who had displayed friendship for the new English regime. As a result, Anglo-French hostilities shifted to Scotland, where Somerset won a major victory at **Pinkie** in September. In response, French troops landed in Scotland in 1548 and 1549 and were soon in direct conflict with English forces, especially at the siege of Haddington.

In July 1549, news of the **Western Rebellion** in England and of Charles's refusal to defend Boulogne convinced Henri to declare war on 8 August. By mid-September, the French had captured the outlying fortresses and cut Boulogne off from all possibility of reinforcement, except by sea. Distracted by internal rebellion and then by growing opposition in the **council**, Somerset could do little to assist the garrison. In October, the duke was overthrown, and a new regime, led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, took power in England. At Boulogne, the French, despite their initial successes, failed to take the town and were forced to lay siege.

By early 1550, both sides wanted a negotiated settlement. In England, William **Paget**, Lord Paget, had convinced the new government to surrender Boulogne for the best terms it could get; in France, Henri wanted to avoid the expense of a new campaign. Meeting near **Boulogne**, commissioners for both sides concluded an

agreement in March whereby England promised to return Boulogne for payment of 200,000 crowns (roughly £80,000). The Treaty of Boulogne avoided the question of Scotland, which the French wanted fully comprehended in the agreement and the English did not, by providing for the surrender of certain English strong-points but otherwise leaving the English position in Scotland unaltered. Besides ending the war, the treaty made possible two subsequent pacts: the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Norham** (June 1551), which ended a decade of hostilities between the two kingdoms, and the Anglo-French Treaty of **Angers** (July 1551), which initiated a period of stable relations between the two countries.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Anglo-French War (Mary I); Rough Wooing

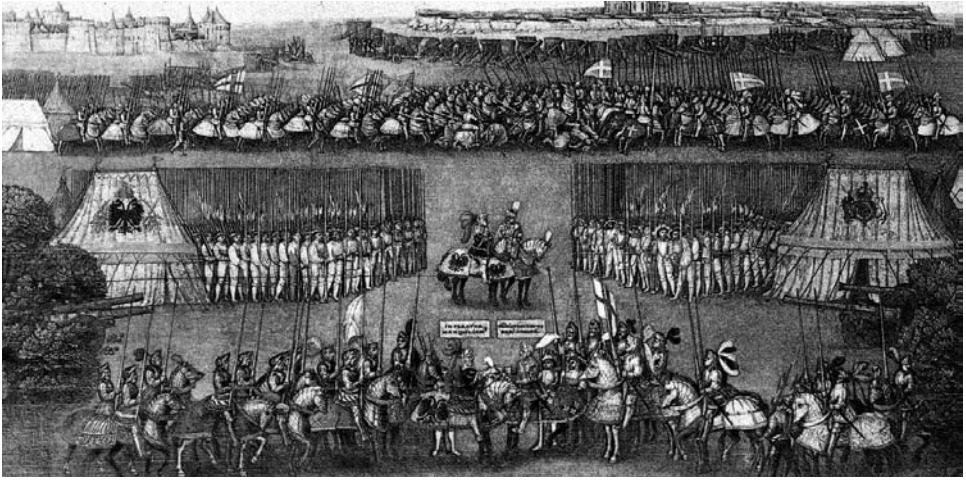
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Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

Henry VIII fought three wars against the French: the first, fought to establish the young king's reputation as a warrior, lasted from 1512 to 1514; the second, fought to ensure that Henry remained a player in continental diplomacy, ran from 1522 to 1525; and the third, undertaken as part of the aging king's ambitions in **Scotland**, lasted from 1543 to 1546.

War of 1512–1514. In November 1511, Henry, who was anxious to emulate the French triumphs of previous English kings, joined **Spain**, Venice, and the **papacy** in the anti-French Holy League. In 1512, an English fleet fought an inconclusive naval campaign against the French, while an English army under Thomas **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, came to ruin in Gascony when King Ferdinand of Spain abandoned his English allies to overrun Navarre. In 1513, the English, in alliance with Emperor **Maximilian I**, launched an invasion of northern **France**, with Henry himself crossing to **Calais** in June. Although the emperor appeared without his promised army, Henry's forces defeated the French at the Battle of the **Spurs** on 16 August and captured the town of Théroutanne on 22 August. Probably



This painting from about 1545 depicts preparations for the invasion of northern France that began Henry's last Anglo-French War. (The Print Collector/StockphotoPro)

at Maximilian's urging, the English next laid siege to Tournai, a French enclave within the **Netherlands**, which was ruled by the emperor's grandson Charles. The city fell on 21 September. Henry planned to renew the war in 1514 but was abandoned again by his Spanish and Imperial allies. In August, he made peace, agreeing to marry his sister, Mary **Tudor**, to **Louis XII** of France.

The war did not alter England's position in Europe, but it did have important consequences at home. During Henry's absence, **James IV** of Scotland, acting in alliance with France, invaded northern England. At **Flodden Field** in September 1513, an English force under Thomas **Howard**, future second Duke of Norfolk, defeated and killed the Scottish king. In **London**, Thomas **Wolsey** brought himself to Henry's attention by ably organizing the English military effort. The enormous cost of the war destroyed the financial stability crafted by **Henry VII** and forced the Crown, again through Wolsey's leadership, to devise new and more efficient means of assessing and collecting parliamentary taxation.

War of 1522–1525. When Charles Habsburg, who was also king of Spain and ruler of the Netherlands, became Holy Roman emperor as **Charles V** in 1519, the near encirclement of France by Habsburg territory initiated four decades of Franco-Imperial conflict. Because England was far smaller in **population** and resources than either France or the Habsburg lands, the rivalry between **Francis I** and Charles threatened to reduce Henry and England to irrelevance in European politics. To ensure his king an honorable role in continental affairs, Wolsey conducted a complex foreign policy that shifted from mediation to alliance with one or the other of the continental powers as seemed most beneficial at the moment. Wolsey tried the first approach with the 1518 Treaty of **London** but, when English

mediation failed, turned to the second with the 1521 Treaty of **Bruges**, which committed Henry to personally lead an invasion of France in 1523 and betrothed Henry VIII's daughter Mary to the emperor.

In 1522, the English **navy** raided **Brittany**, and Thomas **Howard**, future third Duke of Norfolk, led an English army into northern France. To finance the coming campaign, the government collected a series of forced loans, assessment for which was made on the basis of a registration of land and wealth conducted as part of a survey of the realm's military capability. Fearing a new invasion from Scotland, Wolsey negotiated the Treaty of Windsor, which delayed Henry's French campaign for a year. In 1523, Charles, Duke of Bourbon, who had quarreled with Francis, agreed to recognize Henry as king of France and to raise a rebellion to help Henry secure the French throne. The English were to invade northern France in concert with an Imperial force from the Netherlands, while Bourbon incited an uprising in Paris and Charles attacked from Spain. By October, an English force under Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, threatened Paris, but Bourbon's uprising failed and Charles did not press his attack, forcing Suffolk to abandon the campaign.

In February 1525, an Imperial army defeated and captured Francis at the Battle of Pavia, where Richard de la **Pole**, the last of the Pole nephews of **Richard III**, was slain fighting for the French. Francis's captivity seemed to place the French Crown within Henry's grasp, and the English government undertook extraordinary efforts to raise the funds needed to finance a military campaign. However, Charles refused to support Henry and even repudiated the planned marriage with Princess Mary, while **Parliament** balked at further taxation. When a new loan, known as the **Amicable Grant**, generated widespread resistance, Henry and Wolsey were forced to negotiate with France. By the Treaty of the Moor (or Moor House), signed in August 1525, Henry ensured continuance of his French pension and at least maintained the appearance of being a major figure in European diplomacy, even though the war proved that England could not re-create the military conquests achieved in France by Henry's predecessors.

War of 1543–1546. By 1542, France and the Holy Roman Empire were at odds, while England negotiated with both. Although Henry remained neutral when a new Franco-Imperial conflict opened in July, the king, hoping to increase his influence in Scotland, a longtime French ally, leaned toward an Imperial alliance. In February 1543, after the English victory at **Solway Moss** and the death of **James V** removed any Scottish threat to England, Henry concluded the secret Treaty of Mutual Aid with Charles. Negotiated by Eustace **Chapuys**, the former Imperial ambassador to England, the agreement provided for mutual defense against French attacks on England or the Netherlands and committed the two monarchs to a joint campaign against France within two years.

Engaged in wringing the favorable Treaty of **Greenwich** from Scotland, Henry did nothing militarily in 1543 except authorize a force of 5,000 men under Sir

John Wallop to launch a raid from Calais and then join the emperor's forces. Henry landed in France in July 1544, when two English armies, one under Suffolk and another under Norfolk, were already in the field.

Although the French immediately offered peace, Henry pressed the siege of Boulogne, which fell to the English on 14 September. However, Charles abandoned his English ally four days later, concluding a treaty with the French that ended the English campaign and convinced Henry to return to England. Although Boulogne was only weakly held, a French assault failed in October and the town remained in English hands.

Boulogne thereafter became a stumbling block to peace. In 1545, Francis launched a major naval campaign against England. The French fleet raided the Isle of Wight and fought an inconclusive engagement in Portsmouth Harbor on 19 July, when Henry personally witnessed the sinking of the *Mary Rose* as it prepared to engage the enemy. Peace talks, brokered by the German Protestants, who hoped Anglo-French amity would secure them against the emperor, took place in the autumn, but Henry's unwillingness to surrender Boulogne and Francis's unwillingness to abandon Scotland prolonged hostilities. However, by the spring of 1546, both monarchs found themselves financially unable to continue the war. Commissioners for both sides met near Calais and in June concluded the Treaty of **Campe**, whereby England agreed to restore Boulogne after eight years and the payment of a large indemnity and France accepted a vague English undertaking to keep the peace in Scotland. Although the treaty ended hostilities for the time being, it settled neither the Boulogne nor Scottish questions, and war resumed within two years of the deaths of both kings in 1547.

See also Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Anglo-French War (Mary I); Ferdinand and Isabella; Mary I

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Anglo-French War (Mary I)

Unlike the earlier wars with **France** fought under **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI**, the war of 1557–1559 was not initially an Anglo-French conflict but a Franco-Spanish war in which England became involved as **Spain**'s ally. The English were reluctant combatants; **Philip II** of Spain, husband of **Mary I**, put pressure on the English government to join the conflict, but Mary's **council** decided on war only after a series of French provocations. Although favorable to Spain, the outcome of the war was disastrous for England, which lost **Calais**, its only remaining continental possession.

The French royal House of **Valois** and the Spanish royal House of **Habsburg** had been intermittently at war with each other since 1519. The hostilities that began in January 1557 between **Henri II** of France and Philip of Spain constituted only the latest phase of that struggle. Although joint ruler of England, Philip could not automatically take the realm into war. The marriage treaty that united Philip and Mary in 1554 limited Philip's authority in England and denied him English military assistance unless the English queen and council agreed to provide it. Although popular with the English nobility, who sought profit and advancement through service to Philip, the war was highly unpopular in the country at large. The English commons, and especially the merchants of **London**, did not relish fighting or paying for a war begun to further Spanish interests. Philip, therefore, made little progress in persuading his wife's kingdom to enter the conflict until a number of threatening French actions, culminating with **Stafford's Raid**, an apparently French-backed descent on the English coast by a dissident Englishman, convinced the council of Henri's hostile intentions.

England declared war on France on 7 June 1557, and by late July an English force had joined Philip's army at the siege of Saint-Quentin. On 10 August, the allies decisively defeated a French relieving force outside the town, which capitulated on 27 August. The English fought credibly, sustaining more than 200 casualties before returning home in November. The defeat at Saint-Quentin left Henri in need of a victory, which Francis, Duke of Guise, secured with a surprise attack that captured poorly defended Calais in January 1558. Having ignored warnings of Guise's intentions, the Marian regime, already unpopular thanks to its policy of burning Protestant heretics, was further discredited by the fall of Calais. Although Philip won another victory at Gravelines in July 1558, the battle had little effect on the peace talks that had begun the previous May. The talks were stalled by the English demand for the restoration of Calais. However, the death of Mary and the accession of **Elizabeth I** in November released Philip from any obligation he felt to support English interests. As a result, the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis**, which was concluded in April 1559, left Calais to France. Although bitterly disappointed, Elizabeth was forced by French hostility to remain on friendly terms with Philip.

See also Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Marian Martyrs

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Anglo-Irish

The term "Anglo-Irish" refers to the descendants of the Norman and English conquerors who overran and settled parts of **Ireland** in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Referring to themselves as "Englishmen born in Ireland," the Anglo-Irish became known in the seventeenth century as the "Old English" to distinguish them from the "New English," settlers brought in by the Elizabethan plantations. During the reign of Elizabeth, the New English gradually replaced the Anglo-Irish as the island's political elite.

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Anglo-Irish ruled Ireland for the Crown through their control of the Irish **Parliament** and the lord deputyship. Beginning in the 1540s, however, the lord deputyship was held by Englishmen, and the Anglo-Irish members of the Irish Parliament found themselves increasingly at odds with the English administration in **Dublin**. Because the Anglo-Irish tended to be Catholic, to speak Irish as well as English, and to practice many Irish customs, they were often denigrated by the Protestant New English, who had nothing but contempt for the Irish and their ways. Critics such as the English writer Edmund **Spenser** condemned the Anglo-Irish as degenerate Englishmen who had been corrupted through intermarriage and long interaction with the native Irish. Sir Peter **Carew**, Sir Richard **Grenville**, Sir Humphrey **Gilbert**, and other Elizabethans who sought to settle English colonists in Ireland advocated strengthening English control of the island through a policy of thorough anglicization (i.e., importing English ideas and practices). Such a policy meant the uniform imposition in Ireland of English customs, especially as related to legal practice and land tenure, and the establishment of a strong Irish Protestant Church to eradicate Roman Catholicism.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, the Anglo-Irish had lost control of the government in Dublin and were caught in a dilemma not unlike the one facing Roman Catholics in Elizabethan England—how to remain loyal to the English Crown and the Catholic Church at the same time.

See also Catholicism, English; Plantations, Irish; Protestantism

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Angus, Earl of

See Douglas, Archibald, Earl of Angus

Animal Sports

Three popular and violent forms of Tudor entertainment were the animal sports of cockfighting, bearbaiting, and bullbaiting. In cockfighting, specially bred fighting roosters were pitted against one another. Cockfighting occurred in small round arenas surrounded by wooden benches for spectators. Although most were temporary structures, some permanent cockpits existed, such as one constructed by **Henry VIII** at **Whitehall Palace**. For bearbaiting, a bear was chained in the middle of a large circular arena into which one or more large mastiffs were sent. These mastiffs—large dogs trained to fight—would lock their jaws onto the nose or ears of the bear and attempt to pull it to the ground. The bear would try to shake the dogs free, sometimes killing them with its claws. Bullbaiting simply replaced the bear with a bull that tried to gore its canine tormentors to death. Bullbaiting was more widely practiced because bulls were more common and the beef from a bull that had been baited was thought to be more flavorful. Bears, having no value as meat, usually survived to perform again. Sometimes the programs would include novel or comic variations, such as a blinded bear or a pack of dogs chasing a free-running horse with an ape on its back. In all three sports, spectators crowded around the arena, betting on the outcome of the contest.

Animal sports were enjoyed by all levels of Tudor society; both **Henry VIII** and **Elizabeth I** are known to have attended bearbaitings in **London**, and many animal sports events were held at local **fairs and markets**. **Anne of Cleves** was famously engrossed in watching a holiday bullbaiting when a disguised Henry burst in on her; indeed, much of Henry's subsequent dissatisfaction with Anne likely stemmed from the fact that she paid more attention to the bull than to her unknown visitor. In the 1590s, several permanent arenas for bullbaiting and bearbaiting stood



Bullbaiting was one of the three very popular but violent animal sports enjoyed by all levels of Tudor society. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

on the south side of the Thames across from London in Southwark, near where the **Globe Theatre** was built. London theater manager Philip **Henslowe** and his business partner, the actor Edward **Alleyn**, acquired an interest in one of these bear gardens in 1594. In 1604, the two men were made joint masters of the “royal game of bears, bulls, and mastiff dogs,” an entertainment monopoly that made them enough money to demolish one of the bear gardens and replace it with the Hope, a structure that was used for both animal sports and plays. **Puritans** condemned bullbaiting and bearbaiting, not only for their cruelty, but also because such events usually occurred on Sundays when the greatest number of potential spectators were available.

See also Drama

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Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha

Historians consider the *Annales* by William **Camden** to be the best contemporary account of the reign of **Elizabeth I**. In English, the full title of the work is *The Annals or the History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England, Containing All the Most Important and Remarkable Passages of State, Both at Home and Abroad (So Far as They Were Linked with English Affairs) during Her Long and Prosperous Reign*.

Begun in 1608, only five years after Elizabeth's death, the first part of the Latin *Annales*, which carried the story of the reign to the end of 1588, appeared in 1615. Camden completed the second part in 1617, but it was not published in **London** until 1627, four years after Camden's death. A complete English translation first appeared in 1630. Popular interest in recent English history grew during the Elizabethan period, as evidenced by the sales of **Holinshed's Chronicles** and other contemporary histories. Written for a large and uncritical audience, chronicles largely reprinted the works of earlier authors and made little attempt to test the credibility of sources. Arranged by years so new editions could be easily updated, the chronicles' political coverage consisted largely of what was already general public knowledge, and their social history tended toward a catalog of scandal and gossip, natural disasters, and unnatural occurrences.

Although Camden retained the year-by-year arrangement used for chronicles, the *Annales* is solidly based on official sources, both written and oral, not on gossip and hearsay. Camden, who had himself witnessed important events of the reign, had access to the royal archives, to the papers of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, and to many still-living Elizabethan officials and courtiers. Although Camden's goals were to pay tribute to the queen's memory ("which among Englishmen ought ever to be . . . sacred") and to teach the lessons of the past, he sought to be impartial, believing that the sources would speak for themselves to the reader about the glories of Elizabeth's reign. Thus, although Camden was a staunch Anglican, his work is largely free of the anti-Catholic bias that permeates much Elizabethan writing.

See also Antiquarianism; Virgin Queen

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Annates

Annates or “first fruits” were a special fee paid to the **papacy** by newly installed holders of the largest and richest ecclesiastical **benefices**—archbishops, bishops, and abbots. The name “annates” derived from the Latin word *annus* (“year”) and was applied to the payment because the amount owed was equivalent to the amount of the first year’s income deriving from lands attached to the benefice. A papal prerogative dating back to the thirteenth century, annates were a significant source of revenue for the Holy See. In the 1530s, annate payments were the subject of two statutes enacted by the **Reformation Parliament**. The first (1532) threatened the withholding of annates as a means of bringing pressure on **Clement VII** to grant **Henry VIII’s divorce**, and the second (1534) abolished annates.

Passed in March 1532, An Act Concerning Restraint of Payment of Annates to the See of Rome (also known as Conditional Restraint of Annates) derived from a Commons petition to the king, probably instigated by Thomas **Cromwell**, that complained of the great sum of treasure yearly conveyed from the realm “to the great impoverishment” of honest subjects (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 342). The petition led to a bill, almost certainly produced by Cromwell, for the abolition of annates. The measure declared that royal ecclesiastical nominees would pay no more than 5 percent of their first year’s income to cover the costs of writing and sealing their bulls of consecration. If the pope withheld bulls, the nominees would be consecrated without them, and if the pope excommunicated the king or interdicted England, the English clergy were to ignore such pronouncements and continue to perform their duties. Despite the possible economic benefits of the measure, all spiritual peers in the Lords opposed it, forcing Henry to add a clause that suspended operation of the act until the king confirmed it by letters patent. Thus the threat remained, although no real action was to be taken. To secure passage, Henry came personally to **Parliament** for the votes in both houses. While his formidable presence swayed sufficient doubters to pass the measure in the Commons, not a single cleric supported the bill when it narrowly passed the Lords.

While the 1532 act may have convinced Clement to consecrate Thomas **Cranmer**, Henry’s nominee as archbishop of Canterbury, it did not secure the king his divorce. Thus, in March 1534, by which time Henry had married and had a daughter by Anne **Boleyn**, Parliament outright abolished annates by passing An Act Restraining the Payment of Annates. Despite an initial attempt by Cromwell to transfer annate payments to the king, clerical opposition forced the proviso to be struck from the bill, and the minister had to wait until passage of the Act for **First Fruits and Tenths** in November for annate payments to be annexed to the Crown. The annates act also required, upon penalty of **praemunire**, all cathedral chapters to elect the king’s nominee as bishop, thereby giving statutory sanction

to a long-followed but legally unenforceable tradition. With this measure, and the subsequent Dispensations Act, all payment of fees to Rome ceased.

See also Elizabeth I

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Anne of Cleves (1515–1557)

Anne of Cleves, the sister of a German duke, was the fourth wife of **Henry VIII**. After the death of Jane **Seymour** in October 1537, Henry embarked almost immediately upon a search for a new wife. The daughters of Duke John of Cleves, Anne (Anna) and Amelia were first mentioned as prospective brides for the English king in 1538 during talks between Thomas **Cromwell** and a German Protestant embassy. Eager to secure his position with the king and to develop ties with Protestant Germany, Cromwell asked whether a suitable spouse for Henry might be found among the German princely families. Although Cleves was religiously nonaligned, Anne's brother William, who became duke in 1539, stood with the Protestants in opposition to **Charles V** and had family ties with important Protestant states. Cromwell therefore pursued a Cleves match, dispatching Hans **Holbein** to paint the ladies' portraits when Henry demanded evidence of their physical attractiveness. Impressed by Holbein's work and believing a German alliance could counter growing threats of Franco-Imperial action



Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, lived happily in England after her very short marriage to the king. (Library of Congress)

against England, Henry approved a match with Anne, and the marriage treaty was concluded in October 1539.

Delayed in **Calais** by weather, Anne arrived in England in late December. On New Year's Day 1540, Henry rode to Rochester in disguise to surprise Anne but was bitterly disappointed by what he found. The king considered his future wife to be plain in looks, dull in personality, unfashionable in dress, and harsh in voice (she spoke only German). When Cromwell anxiously asked how the king liked his bride-to-be, Henry retorted that "Nothing as well as she was spoken of" (MacEntegart, "Fatal Matrimony," 141). Because her brother's agents had presented no evidence that a prior betrothal between Anne and the Duke of Lorraine was invalid, Henry seized upon the point in an effort to avoid the marriage. When this plan failed, Henry accepted his fate with exceeding bad grace, telling Cromwell, "If it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing" (Starkey, *Six Wives*, 631). Henry and Anne were wed by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** at **Greenwich Palace** on 6 January 1540.

The king's dissatisfaction with his new wife only increased on their wedding night, when, as he later told Cromwell, he could not rouse himself to consummate the union. Although he slept with Anne for some months, Henry apparently never did anything more. By April 1540, he had turned his attention to Katherine **Howard**, a niece of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, who used his young, attractive kinswoman to undermine Cromwell. When renewal of war between **Spain** and **France** destroyed the political need for a Protestant marriage, Cromwell's many enemies at court were able to convince the disgruntled king that his chief minister was working against his religious policies. Henry authorized Cromwell's arrest on 10 June and his execution on 28 July. **Convocation** annulled the Cleves union on 8 July. Anne, unlike **Catherine of Aragon**, readily accepted the invalidation of her marriage and, after exacting a generous financial settlement, lived happily in England as the king's "dear sister" until her death on 16 July 1557.

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Answer of the Ordinaries

Written by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** in April 1532, the *Answer of the Ordinaries* constituted the formal response of **Convocation** to the *Supplication against the*

Ordinaries, a list of grievances against the higher clergy presented by the House of Commons to **Henry VIII**. A point-by-point refutation of the *Supplication*, the *Answer* angered both king and Commons and provoked the former into using threats of action by the latter to compel Convocation to submit to royal authority.

Given to the king on 18 March 1532, the *Supplication* complained of exorbitant fees for administration of sacraments, unjust prosecutions for heresy, tedious and expensive proceedings in **church courts**, and an overabundance of holy days that took laborers from their work. The document's most revolutionary complaint was its denunciation of the legislative independence of Convocation, which was declared derogatory to the powers of the Crown and harmful to subjects. When the king forwarded the *Supplication* to Convocation on 12 April, that body entrusted Gardiner with the drafting of a reply, which was approved by Convocation and returned to Henry before the end of the month.

The *Answer* criticized the *Supplication* as a series of sweeping general charges unsupported by even a single specific instance of wrongdoing. The document also declared the bishops ready and willing to root out any clerical corruption and to punish any who were proven to be guilty of it. As to heresy trials, the *Answer* called them "a continual conflict and vexation" (Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, 46) and pronounced the ordinaries (i.e., the bishops and their deputies who sat as judges in church courts) happy if God would relieve them of the necessity of conducting such proceedings. The *Answer* also noted that Archbishop William **Warham** had already initiated a reform of the ecclesiastical courts and recalled to the king the many diplomatic and legal services performed for him and his ancestors by men trained in church courts. As to Convocation's power to legislate in matters of faith and morals, such duty was prescribed for the clergy by God, being "grounded upon the Scripture of God and the determination of Holy Church" (Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, 46). Therefore, the members of Convocation dared not abandon the discharge of their duty to the Crown.

On 30 April, Henry transmitted the *Answer* to **Parliament**, telling Speaker Thomas **Audley**, "We think their answer will smally please you, for it seemeth to us very slender. You be a great sort of wise men; I doubt not but you will look circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent between you" (Dickens, *English Reformation*, 138). Having thus told Parliament to act in the matter, Henry on 10 May preempted the Commons by placing before Convocation his own demand for royal control over all ecclesiastical legislation. Bowing to intense pressure, Convocation capitulated on 15 May.

For writing the *Answer*, Gardiner fell into deep disfavor and likely lost any chance of succeeding Warham as archbishop. Gardiner tried to justify himself with a frank letter to the king that stated the bishop's firm belief in what he had written. Despite this letter, which rather indiscreetly noted that Henry's own book, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, approved Convocation's power to legislate, Gardiner was too able a servant to lose, and he was back in favor by the end of May.

See also Submission of the Clergy

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Anticlericalism

The term “anticlericalism” refers to a complex series of critical attitudes and opinions directed by laypeople toward their clergy. In general, anticlericalism is distrust and dislike of clergy by laypeople, especially in regard to clerical wealth and claims to regulate and control lay actions. The strength and nature of anticlerical opinion among the population of early Tudor England and the role played by such opinion in the coming and course of the English **Reformation** are controversial issues much debated by modern historians.

English anticlericalism arose from many sources. The remaining adherents of **Lollardy** were heirs to a long tradition of antipathy toward the great wealth and political power of the higher clergy. Proponents of what became known as **Erastianism** sought to reform the church and control the clergy by subordinating both to the power of the state. Theological reformers influenced by **Lutheranism**, **Calvinism**, and other European religious movements accepted the doctrine of a priesthood of all believers and so sought to reduce or eliminate any special status for clergymen. The **gentry** and members of the professional classes, especially **common law** lawyers jealous of the wide-ranging jurisdiction of **church courts**, were anxious to abolish or restrict clerical control of church wealth and clerical interference, through the courts, in the social and economic affairs of laypeople. Finally, much anticlericalism was grounded not in any formal criticism of the clergy but in the anger and frustration of ordinary parishioners who felt themselves in some way ill-served by their local priests.

Some scholars see early Tudor anticlericalism as a strong and widespread phenomenon that was vital to the success of **Henry VIII**'s break with Rome and to the theological Reformation begun under **Edward VI** and advanced under **Elizabeth I**. In this view, the **Reformation Parliament** statutes that transferred the English Church from papal to royal control had great popular support. Henry's radical alteration in church governance generated relatively little opposition because most

laypeople wanted clerical privilege terminated and clerical power broken. This anticlericalism is traced from the rise and survival of Lollardy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, through such early Tudor statutes as the 1512 Act Concerning **Benefit of Clergy**, which responded to a rising tide of complaints against the church, and to a series of spectacular anticlerical episodes, such as **Hunne's Case** in 1514 and the **Standish-Kidderminster Debate** in 1515. When the innovative ideas of humanists like Desiderius **Erasmus** and reformers like Martin Luther began to circulate in England in the 1510s and 1520s, their spread and acceptance were facilitated by widespread anticlericalism.

Other scholars call this deep-seated English anticlericalism a “fiction” (Haigh, “Anticlericalism,” 56), a concept based on modern, not Tudor, attitudes of the role and function of the church in society. This view questions whether clerical abuses and the resulting lay anger over them were as widespread as has been claimed. Proponents of this interpretation hold that the influence of Lollardy has been overstated, that incidents such as Hunne's Case have little importance beyond their particular time and place, and that Crown domination of the church made the institution a more authoritarian and invasive force in the lives of common people than ever it had been under the distant **papacy**. Thus, anticlericalism, if it existed at all in sixteenth-century England, is seen as a product, not a cause, of the English Reformation.

See also Humanism

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Antiquarianism

Tudor England witnessed a rise of interest in collecting and cataloging artifacts of British history, as well as a growing enthusiasm for studying the history, natural and human, of the various counties and localities of Britain. This passion for preserving the literary and material artifacts of the British past was known as antiquarianism, and its practitioners as antiquaries.

Antiquaries were generally amateur scholars, such as wealthy gentlemen and country clergymen, who had the money or leisure to collect, research, and write. English antiquarianism is thought to have been stimulated by the destruction of medieval art and artifacts during the **Reformation** and the **dissolution of the monasteries** in the 1530s and 1540s. The loss of these antiquities combined with the accelerating pace of change in the Elizabethan era to generate an interest in preserving and understanding as much of the past as still remained. Because antiquaries could delve most easily into the past of their own neighborhoods, antiquarian studies rapidly developed a focus on local history, topography, and genealogy.

The Society of Antiquaries was founded in **London** around 1573 and eventually included among its members William **Camden**, Robert **Cotton**, John **Stow**, and Richard **Carew**. Members discussed ideas at meetings, corresponded with one another about their research and discoveries, and wrote papers and dissertations on topics of mutual interest. The society declined after the accession of **James I** in 1603 because the king believed it to be a subversive political group. When Camden and others sought to revive it in 1614, the king made his disapproval known, and the society did not meet again until it was formally refounded in 1707.

The work of English antiquaries resulted in the creation of a new historical genre, the county survey. The best-known examples of this genre are William **Lambarde**'s *Perambulation of Kent* (1576), Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), and John Hooker's unpublished but widely distributed "Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire." Besides such histories as **Holinshed's Chronicles** (1577, 1587), English antiquarianism also produced broader studies of Britain and England, such as William Camden's *Britannia* (1586), and studies of towns, such as John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) and John Hooker's *Description of the City of Exeter* (1919).

See also Gentry; Lumley, John, Lord Lumley

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Appeals, Act of

See Restraint of Appeals, Act in

Apprenticeship

Developed within the craft guilds of medieval England, apprenticeship was a system whereby boys were attached by legal agreement to a practicing master of a trade or craft to provide unpaid labor for a specified period for the master in return for room, board, and training in the craft. The system assured the transfer of skill and expertise across generations, regulated the English labor market, and guided young men into responsible adult citizenship by controlling their social and sexual unruliness. The Elizabethan Statute of **Artificers** of 1563 extended the apprenticeship system throughout the realm. Anyone wishing to enter any of a list of enumerated trades had to serve an apprenticeship in that trade. Following the ancient practice of guilds in **London** and other large towns, the statute required a seven-year apprenticeship, a term of service that gave the master a proper return on his investment and provided the apprentice with a measure of security. Many apprentices actually served longer terms. The act also limited how many apprentices a master could have at any one time, thus protecting apprentices from the exploitation of masters who sought only cheap labor without providing sufficient training. Besides supplying their labor, apprentices were required to obey their masters, to protect their trade secrets, and to abstain from such vices as drunkenness, gambling, and fornication.

Boys were usually apprenticed in their teens, since the assumption was that men were not ready to become independent householders until they were at least 24. Apprenticeship indentures were enrolled with the relevant craft guild, which charged a fee for each transaction at an amount set by statute. The number of youths able to qualify for an apprenticeship was limited by the premiums charged by the masters, who also often required a bond to ensure good behavior, especially in trades where the apprentice might be entrusted with large amounts of money or commodities. The amounts of premiums varied by craft, but were generally higher in London than elsewhere, and increased steadily throughout the Tudor period. By the end of the reign of **Elizabeth I**, premiums of 40 shillings were common in most manual crafts and could reach £100 for merchant apprenticeships. Certain trades might have other qualifications, such as goldsmithing, which required apprentices to be literate. As a result of these fees and requirements, apprenticeships were effectively limited to boys from particular social classes. Apprenticeships in the merchant trades usually went to the younger sons of **gentry** families or to those of prosperous yeoman or county trading families, while craft apprentices went to lower-class youths, although the sons of the working poor usually had little chance at an apprenticeship.

Fear of the disorder and licentiousness of youth led Tudor society to place great emphasis on apprenticeship as a means of imposing social discipline. Early Tudor preachers and Elizabethan Puritans urged masters to provide religious training for

apprentices, who would thereby come to some good sense of their future social obligations. Fear of the disorder and criminality of the poor led to the creation for their children of compulsory apprenticeships arranged at younger ages and for longer terms by local parish authorities, the belief being that early training in some craft might turn the idle poor into productive citizens. Apprenticeships for girls were rare and were also usually arranged through parishes rather than guilds. Girls were usually apprenticed to learn sewing, retailing, or housewifery.

Disputes between masters and apprentices were common, and by the Elizabethan period less than half of all apprentices completed their full term of service. Masters might provide poor training, impose overly harsh discipline, or otherwise mistreat their apprentices. And apprentices might chafe under the direction of the master's wife, whose authority was often ill-defined, or might refuse to follow the master's rules or otherwise act in a disorderly or dissolute manner. When disputes did arise, the apprenticeship indenture provided a framework for resolving grievances. Both masters and apprentices appealed to craft guilds, to municipal officers, or to local **justices of the peace** to arbitrate disputes. In other cases, relations between masters and apprentices were harmonious; many apprentices found themselves rewarded for good service by marriage to the master's daughter, by bequests in the master's will, or by remission of part of the contracted term of service.

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Architecture

The Tudor period witnessed an increased interest in the history and study of architecture. In 1570, John **Dee** declared that architecture was a science, not just a craft or trade, and that its study should be included in the humanist arts curriculum. The sixteenth century also saw important changes in the nature and working of architectural **patronage**, especially after 1547, and in the level and type of construction undertaken, especially after the **Reformation** shifted the national architectural focus from religious to secular building.

The first two Tudors were great builders. **Henry VII** greatly enlarged and modernized **Greenwich Palace** and completely rebuilt the palace of Sheen when it was destroyed by fire in 1497, renaming it **Richmond Palace**. **Henry VIII** created two

of the largest palaces in Europe when he remodeled and expanded York Place and **Hampton Court**, two residences taken from Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** in 1529. York Place became **Whitehall Palace**, Henry's principal **London** residence covering more than 20 acres, while Hampton Court became one of the king's favorite residences outside the capital. Henry also built several new smaller palaces, including **St. James's Palace** in London, **Oatlands** near Hampton Court, and the whimsical **Nonsuch** in Surrey, which was built to rival **Francis I's** new palace at Chambord. In contrast, **Edward VI**, **Mary I**, and **Elizabeth I**, whether through lack of opportunity, funds, or interest, sponsored almost no new construction. Mary gave Nonsuch Palace to Henry **Fitzalan**, Earl of Arundel, and Elizabeth made almost no changes to the many residences inherited from her father. As a result, after 1547, the thrust of architectural patronage and building innovation shifted from the Crown to the **peerage**, the **gentry**, and other private patrons in the localities.

The **dissolution of the monasteries** in the late 1530s and the abolition of the **chantries** in the 1540s brought many former church properties into the possession of the nobility and gentry, who turned religious buildings into residences by undertaking renovations that provided new levels of domestic comfort. Much architectural innovation in the Tudor period was thus driven by the effects of the Reformation. Although few new churches were built after the 1530s, the most important innovation in church design, the installation of pews so that the congregation could sit during services, was in part the result of a desire to order people according to social rank and in part an attempt to provide more comfort for those listening to the long sermons that characterized Protestant and, especially, **Puritan** religion. The increasing use of churches for nonreligious purposes, such as for town halls or **grammar schools**, also encouraged this trend.

In the towns, the dissolution of monasteries, guilds, and chantries led to the construction by individual or corporate patrons of many new charitable institutions, such as schools, hospitals, or almshouses. Decreasing emphasis on religious construction also led to an increase after the Reformation in the building and renovation of local public structures, such as town halls and jails. An important new public structure, London's **Royal Exchange**, a meeting place for the conduct of trade and finance, as well as a collection of shops providing many necessary goods and services, was built by Sir Thomas **Gresham** in 1566. Many grammar schools once attached to churches and monastic houses were also renovated and reopened by private patrons, and many new grammar schools—typically long, one-room structures that occasionally included a library and lodgings for the master—were built to restore the local educational opportunities that disappeared with the monasteries. Many colleges were also founded and constructed at Oxford and Cambridge in the sixteenth century. At Cambridge, Lady Margaret **Beaufort**, mother of Henry VII, founded Christ's College in 1505 and then, by bequest, St. John's College in 1511. Wolsey founded Cardinal College (later Christ Church) at Oxford in



Longleat House in Wiltshire was one of a number of magnificent Elizabethan country homes referred to as prodigy houses. (Andy Gaylor)

1525, and the physician John Caius refounded Caius College (now part of Gonville and Caius College) in Cambridge in 1567.

The major architectural development of the Elizabethan period was the construction of the first **prodigy houses**, the magnificent country homes of the wealthier **peerage** and **gentry**. Such houses as Longleat in Wiltshire, Wollaton in Nottinghamshire, and Hatfield in Hertfordshire exhibited the growing economic power and political influence of their courtier owners, whose fortunes were made in the royal service. Because such houses often served as way stops for the **court** as it traveled with **Elizabeth I** on her summer **progresses**, they fueled competition among wealthy courtiers to build even larger and grander homes.

The reign of Elizabeth also saw the emergence of the first English designers to call themselves architects. Prominent among these professionals was John **Shute**, who in 1563 published *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*. Being also a limner, Shute, who studied building design in **Italy**, described himself as a “painter and architect.” Another important Elizabethan architect, especially in the construction of prodigy houses, was Robert **Smythson**, who helped design both Longleat and Wollaton.

Perhaps the most familiar modern image of Elizabethan architecture is the black-and-white timber and plaster house. The ground floor of this mainly urban style was used for shop space, while the upper floors overhung the lower, thus

providing more area in the living quarters. The frame of the house was wood, with joints secured by wooden pegs. The spaces between wall studs were usually filled with wattle and daub. Wattle, a mesh made from vertical wooden stakes woven together with thin horizontal branches, was covered with daub, a clay, mud, or lime plaster mixed with straw. The wattle and daub was painted white, which contrasted with the dark wood beams to produce the black-and-white appearance. In the West Country, exposed beams were painted with tar to protect them from the ocean air; elsewhere, beams were often decoratively carved. Roofs were constructed of thatch, tile, or slate.

A final feature of Elizabethan architecture was the increased use of stone, formerly reserved for castles and cathedrals, in gentry houses of all sizes and, where stone was plentiful, even in the cottages of the lower classes.

See also Humanism; Limning; Protestantism; Universities

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Archpriest Controversy

The death of Cardinal William **Allen** in 1594 left the Catholic mission and the Catholic community in England without a leader or a clear direction for the future. To solve this problem of leadership, the English Catholic authorities in Rome appointed an English priest named George **Blackwell** to the new office of archpriest and head of the English Catholic mission. Blackwell was closely associated with the Jesuit order and with the order's advocacy of political action to overthrow **Elizabeth I** and its support for restoring Catholicism in England by military means. The mission's secular priests, those clerics not affiliated with the Jesuits or any other Catholic order, opposed Blackwell and the Jesuits' political agenda.

A group of these secular priests, some of whom were being held as prisoners by the English government, appealed to Rome to withdraw the appointment of Blackwell. These appellants, as they were called, published almost 20 books over the next two decades in support of their position, thus exposing the divisions in the English

Catholic mission and community to an embarrassing public debate. The appellants sought to ease the dilemma of English Catholics by disassociating the Catholic community from the political activity of the Jesuits. Many English Catholics wanted to be loyal subjects of their Protestant queen and thus had little sympathy for plots hatched against her government by English Jesuits, popes, or foreign Catholic princes.

In the late 1590s, the appellants began negotiating with the English government in an effort to win toleration for English Catholics in return for a renunciation by Catholics of political action and a condemnation of the Jesuits and of all previous and future plots against the queen and the **Anglican Church**. Elizabeth, realizing that the majority of English men and women were fearful of and opposed to Catholicism, refused any such arrangement. In November 1602, the queen issued a proclamation denouncing both Catholic secular priests and Jesuits.

See also Catholicism, English; Jesuit Mission; Seminary Priests

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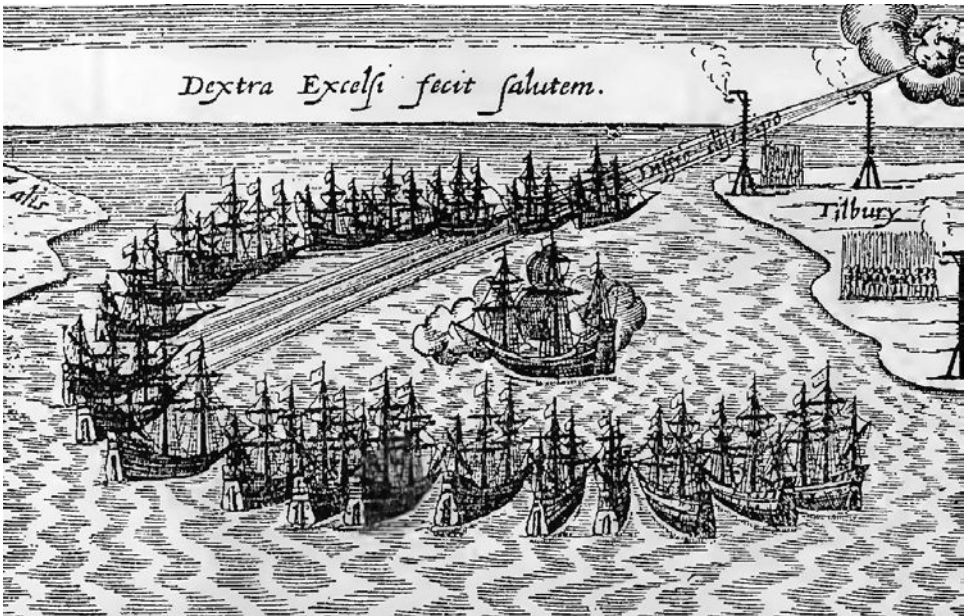
Ardres, Treaty of

See Campe, Treaty of

Armada

In the summer of 1588, **Philip II** of **Spain** sent an armada of 130 ships under Alonso Perez de **Guzman el Bueno**, Duke of Medina Sidonia, into the English Channel to pick up and transport Spanish troops from the **Netherlands** for an attack on England. The “Enterprise of England,” as the invasion was called, aimed to restore the English Catholic Church and to replace **Elizabeth I** with a Roman Catholic monarch of Philip’s choosing.

The English had feared a Spanish invasion since 1570 when Pope **Pius V** excommunicated Elizabeth, but Philip rejected the idea as impractical when



Despite the initial surprise, the English fleet was able to defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

Alvaro de **Bázan**, Marquis of Santa Cruz, suggested it in 1583. Events in the mid-1580s caused the Spanish king to reconsider. After Philip's seizure of the Portuguese throne in 1580, Elizabeth gave sanctuary and military aid to Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender (i.e., claimant to the throne). Elizabeth also supported Dutch Protestant rebels against Philip, and in 1585 she extended official English protection to the Netherlands. The activities of Sir Francis **Drake** and other English privateers in **Spanish America** and along the coasts of Spain itself caused Philip to fear for the security of his colonies and his treasure fleets. The execution by the English of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, in February 1587, when planning for the invasion had already begun, only strengthened Philip's resolve, for it removed the pro-French Scots queen from the succession and gave Philip the opportunity to make his own claim to the English throne (as the former husband of **Mary I**).

Drake's April 1587 raid on Cadiz, which destroyed Spanish ships and supplies, and the death of Santa Cruz in January 1588 combined with endless delays in procuring men, ships, and provisions to prevent the sailing of the armada until May 1588. In the same month, Elizabeth authorized the English fleet to launch a preemptive strike on the armada as it gathered in Lisbon Harbor. Three attempts to reach Portugal were foiled by contrary winds, but the English learned that bad weather had also forced the armada into port in mid-June. Thinking that the

Spanish invasion attempt had failed, the English were surprised by the armada's arrival in the Channel on 29 July.

The English fleet quickly gained the wind advantage and used the superior maneuverability of its ships and the greater range and rapidity of fire of its guns to outduel the armada in skirmishes off Portsmouth (31 July), Plymouth (2 August), and the Isle of Wight (4 August). On 6 August, the armada anchored off **Calais**, but poor planning and communications made conjunction with Spanish troops in the Netherlands impossible. English fireships dispersed the armada in confusion on the night of 7 August, and the English had the better of a final skirmish off Gravelines the next day. The wind then drove the armada into the North Sea and forced Medina Sidonia to circumnavigate the British Isles to eventually bring about two-thirds of the fleet home. Some 40 ships were destroyed, mostly by gales and reefs during the journey around **Scotland** and **Ireland**.

Although Philip attempted other invasions of England in 1596 and 1597, the failure of 1588 was decisive, not because of its actual losses, but because of its moral impact. The English victory, which was solemnly celebrated with the queen's **Accession Day** in November, gave confidence to English Protestants, soured English Catholics on foreign invasion schemes, and shattered belief in Spanish invincibility.

See also Cadiz Raid (1587); Farnese, Alessandro, Duke of Parma; Gravelines, Battle of; Navy; Privateering; *Regnans in Excelsis*

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Armin, Robert (c. 1563–1615)

A popular comic actor and writer, Robert Armin played many comedic roles in the plays of William **Shakespeare**, with whom Armin was a member of the **Chamberlain's Men**, the acting troupe that became the King's Men upon the accession of **James I** in 1603.

Armin was born in King's Lynn, Norfolk, the son of a tailor, who apprenticed Robert to the **London** goldsmith John Lonyson in 1581. Although he appears to have completed his training, claiming membership in the prestigious Goldsmiths' Company in 1604, Armin began writing and performing comedy even before his apprenticeship ended in 1592. According to a story related in the anonymous jest book *Tarleton's Jests* (c. 1600), Armin's clever verses so impressed the famous

THE
History of the two Maids of More-clacke,
VVith the life and simple maner of IOHN
in the Hospitall.

Played by the Children of the Kings
Maiesties Reuels.

VVritten by ROBERT ARMIN, seruant to the Kings
most excellent Maiestie.



LONDON,
Printed by N.O. for Thomas Archer, and is to be fold at his
shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609.

This playbill advertised *The History of the two Maids of More-clacke*, one of actor and playwright Robert Armin's three comedic plays. (Lee, Sir Sidney. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of his Age* . . . , vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

Elizabethan jester Richard **Tarlton** that he adopted Armin as his son. Although this is unlikely, the tale may be evidence of Tarlton's mentorship of the younger man and his desire that Armin be his successor as chief comic player with the Queen's Men.

In the mid-1590s, Armin joined Lord Chandos's Men, an acting company that toured Yorkshire, the Midlands, and East Anglia. Performing under the stage names "Pinks" and "Grumball," Armin, through his performances and the publication of such humorous pamphlets as *Fool upon Fool* and *Quips upon Questions* (both 1600), made a name for himself as a comic actor. Working from the notion espoused by Desiderius **Erasmus** in his *Praise of Folly* that only a fool can be truly wise, Armin, in *Fool upon Fool*, relates funny stories of real-life jesters living and working in royal and noble households. *Quips upon Questions* appears to be a series of comic routines built around witty and humorous retorts to questions elicited from audiences. The quips are played out in an ongoing dialogue between Armin and an inanimate object, his baton, which is addressed as "Sir Timothy Truncheon alias Bastinado," thus giving Armin a double role to perform. Similar double clown roles are found in Armin's popular play *The Two Maids of Moreclack* in which he performs such extended dialogues as that between Blue John, a silly, childlike character, and Tutch, a clever servant given to intrigue.

In about 1599, around the time the company moved to the **Globe Theatre**, Armin joined the Chamberlain's Men, replacing William **Kempe** as the chief player of comedic roles. He remained with the company until about 1610, after which he seems to have ceased performing. Although Armin's slight build precluded the broad physical comedy that had made Kempe popular, his gifts for mimicry, ventriloquism, and witty, surrealistic repartee soon won him an enthusiastic following, as attested by John Davies in his 1610 poem "The Scourge of Folly," which describes the popularity of Armin's performances. With the Chamberlain's Men, Armin performed a number of roles apparently written for him by Shakespeare, including Touchstone in *As You Like It*, Feste in *Twelfth Night*, the Fool in *King Lear*, Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida*, Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well*, the Porter in *Macbeth*, and Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*. Other prominent playwrights also wrote or revised roles to suit Armin's talents, including Passarello in John Marston's *The Malcontent* and Drugger in Ben **Jonson**'s *The Alchemist*. Armin died in November 1615 and was buried in London.

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Arran, Earl of

See Hamilton, James, Earl of Arran

Art

The major development in early Tudor art was the introduction into England of the humanist art of Renaissance **Italy**. Confined largely to the reign of **Henry VIII**, the spread of Renaissance influence replaced the late medieval emphasis on depictions of death and the afterlife with an art that focused on living humans and on theories of proportion and perspective that flattered and universalized human forms and features.

Under **Henry VII**, **humanism** had not sufficiently penetrated English society to allow humanistic art to influence English tastes. The nobility had slight interest in art and commissioned works that reflected the late medieval style, focusing their **patronage** on the creation of tomb sculpture, grave monuments, and the decoration of funerary chapels and **chantries**. Although its overall design is traditional, the magnificent tomb commissioned by Henry VII for himself and his family at Westminster Abbey was in part the work of the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano, who introduced Renaissance motifs into the effigies he created for the project. Torrigiano may also have sculpted the terracotta bust of Henry VII now found in **London's** Victoria and Albert Museum; the piece is one of the few early Tudor examples of Renaissance portrait sculpture.

On his accession in 1509, Henry VIII eagerly brought humanist learning and art to England. Although the king employed numerous Italian sculptors and artists on the decoration of his palaces, the most famous practitioner of Renaissance art in Henrician England was the German painter Hans **Holbein**, who painted portraits of many well-known figures, including Thomas **Cromwell**, **Anne of Cleves**, and the king himself. Holbein came to England in 1526 and was presented at **court** by Sir Thomas **More**, who had been introduced to the artist by Desiderius **Eras-mus**. More admired Holbein's work but feared he would receive little patronage from the English **peerage**. Although Holbein did a number of widely acclaimed portraits for More and others, his chief employment was as decorator for Henry's master of revels. Holbein left England in 1528 but returned in 1532 and entered the royal service, producing the portraits of Henry, his family, and his court that today are the most famous surviving images of Henrician England.

After Henry's death in 1547, English art was increasingly affected by the consequences of the **Reformation**, which divorced art from the exclusive depiction of religious themes and focused it on themes that proclaimed and upheld the power and authority of the monarchy. Because neither **Edward VI** nor **Mary I** patronized the arts, most of these developments belong to the Elizabethan period, when

Italian art was perceived as serving the interests of Catholicism and fell out of favor. By turning people to their **Bibles** and preachers and away from the religious art of altars and shrines, **Protestantism** forced English art to find a new purpose. That new role—the creation of symbolic and allegorical depictions of **Elizabeth I** as Gloriana, the embodiment of the English state—embellished the growing myth of the **Virgin Queen**. Portraits of Elizabeth were in high demand throughout the reign, and privately commissioned portraits of courtiers and their families followed the same theme, picturing individuals as loyal servants of the queen.

The humanist focus on the individual and the Elizabethan preoccupation with the queen and the state joined in the popular art of **limning**, or miniature painting. Miniatures were personal adornments worn as tokens of love or remembrance or as romantic and allegorical symbols of devotion to the queen and to England. Through the interaction of humanism and Protestantism, the visual arts became the primary Elizabethan instrument for venerating the queen and celebrating the monarchy. (*Note:* For examples of Tudor and Elizabethan portraiture, see the various portraits of sixteenth-century figures reproduced throughout this volume.)

See also Elizabeth I, Portraits of; Hilliard, Nicholas; Oliver, Isaac

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Arthur, Prince of Wales

See Tudor, Arthur, Prince of Wales

Artificers, Statute of

Enacted by Parliament in 1563 and officially titled *An Act Touching Divers Orders for Artificers, Labourers, Servants of Husbandry, and Apprentices*, the Elizabethan

Statute of Artificers (or Apprentices) made the regulation of labor a national concern. The statute extended the guild **apprenticeship** system throughout the kingdom, requiring a seven-year apprenticeship of anyone working in a craft or industry, including agriculture. The length of the workday was fixed at 12 hours during the summer and the period of daylight during the winter. Servants and apprentices could not leave their masters, and masters could not dismiss their servants without cause before the expiration of the term of apprenticeship. Servants who left before their time were subject to imprisonment until they returned to work, and masters who improperly fired servants could be fined 40 shillings. If any dispute arose between master and servant, either because the master “shall misuse or evil intreat his apprentice . . . or the apprentice do not his duty to his master” (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 469), then the complaining party could take the matter to a local **justice of the peace** or the mayor of the town or **borough**, who would “by his wisdom and discretion take such order and direction between the master and his apprentice as the equity of the cause shall require” (470). The statute set property qualifications for apprenticeship, which effectively closed many crafts and trades to the children of the working poor, but also limited the number of apprentices and journeymen a master could engage, thus preventing the exploitation of cheap labor. The act also empowered justices of the peace to inspect and control all local conditions of labor. They were to meet annually at Easter to set local maximum wage rates according to current local prices, which rates, once approved by the Privy **Council**, went into effect for the following year.

The Statute of Artificers was a model of Tudor paternalism. It was based on the notion that the hierarchical structure of society was divinely ordained and therefore unchanging, permitting neither a fluid labor force nor social mobility. The central concern of the statute, as of the Tudor state, was not the welfare of individuals but the orderly continuance of Christian society with all its divisions based on birth, education, or land ownership. The statute assumed that all men and women needed to know and stay within their proper degrees or conditions and accepted that all owed a moral duty to society to work and produce. Thus, the statute declared that all unmarried persons worth fewer than 40 shillings per year could be compelled to work as yearly servants in the crafts to which they were brought up by their parents’ employment, and all persons between the ages of 12 and 60 who had no employment could be compelled to undertake yearly agricultural labor. Although the statute was clearly meant to protect the interests of employers and to safeguard society from any type of social upheaval, it did also recognize a duty of the “better part” of society to respect and maintain the rights of the economically and politically powerless majority of society. The Statute of Artificers remained in effect until the early nineteenth century, by which time Tudor paternalism had given way to a less integrated view of society and a greater interest in the unimpeded operation of the laws of supply and demand.

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See also Poor Laws; Social Structure

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Arundell, Humphry (1513–1550)

In June 1549, Humphry Arundell, a minor Cornish gentleman, assumed leadership of the **Western Rebellion**. Arundell's military experience gave the rebels a measure of cohesion and discipline and allowed them to control much of Devon and Cornwall for most of the summer.

A significant Cornish landowner from a long-standing **gentry** family, Arundell inherited his family's estates in Devon and Cornwall in 1537. His maternal grandfather had been attainted by **Parliament** for supporting the pretender Perkin **Warbeck** after his landing in Cornwall in 1497. Trained as a soldier, Arundell fought at **Henry VIII's** siege of Boulogne in 1544 and in 1549 was commander of the small garrison of St. Michael's Mount at the western tip of Cornwall. Surviving records show Arundell to have been a quarrelsome man, frequently involved in lawsuits with his neighbors and members of his family. Although he later claimed that he was seized by the insurgents and forced to accompany them into rebellion, it is more likely that Arundell, tempted by the power of leadership and sharing the rebels' religious views, willingly placed himself at their head. Any initial hesitations probably disappeared when rebellion spread into Devonshire and proved that the uprising would find support outside Cornwall.

In late June, with many local gentlemen in hiding and the counties of Devon and Cornwall largely under rebel control, Arundell, apparently believing that the town would quickly capitulate, laid siege to Exeter. When the city's unexpected resistance tied him down, Arundell abandoned plans to march on **London** and, like the leaders of the 1497 **Cornish Rebellion**, present the rebel demands directly to the king. Instead, a series of articles embodying the rebels' grievances were drafted in the camps around Exeter under Arundell's leadership. These demands, which included the return of the Latin **Mass**, the withdrawal of English **Bibles**, and the restoration of Catholic rituals, were then forwarded by messenger to **Edward VI**

and the **council**. Meanwhile, Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, gave John **Russell**, Lord Russell, command of a mercenary force with which to crush the uprising.

Thanks to Arundell's decision to besiege Exeter, Russell had time to marshal his forces, and he finally attacked the rebels at Clyst St. Mary in Devon on 4 and 5 August. Forced to lift the siege of Exeter and now heavily outnumbered, Arundell withdrew to the town of Sampford Courtenay, where he was decisively defeated by Russell on 17 August. Fleeing into Cornwall, Arundell was seized by the townspeople at Launceston and handed over to Russell. With his estates already granted to Sir Gawen **Carew**, one of Russell's lieutenants, Arundell was tried and convicted of **treason**. He was executed at Tyburn on 27 January 1550.

See also Attainder

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Ascham, Roger (c. 1515–1568)

Roger Ascham was a humanist educator and scholar who served as tutor or Latin secretary to three Tudor monarchs. Ascham is best known as the author of *The Scholemaster*, a work on how and what to teach young students, and *Toxophilus*, a treatise on archery written in dialogue form.

Born near York, Ascham spent his childhood in the household of Sir Anthony Wingfield, where Ascham acquired a love of archery and the classics. His passion for the former led him to write and publish *Toxophilus*, which was presented to **Henry VIII** in 1545. Written in English and patriotically viewing archery as a distinctly English sport, *Toxophilus* accorded closely to the king's views and found much favor. Ascham's love of the classics led him in 1529 to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became reader in Greek by 1538 and a leading figure in the development of the university's program of Greek studies by the 1540s. After 1544, Ascham became involved in the education of Prince Edward, being called to assist in the prince's writing instruction by Edward's tutor, John **Cheke**, a friend and mentor of Ascham's from St. John's. In 1548, Ascham replaced his former pupil William Grindal as tutor to Princess Elizabeth. He was impressed with the princess's intellectual abilities, but not with the governors of her household, with whom he quarreled; Ascham resigned his post in 1550 after various disputes

with the princess's steward. Through the aid of influential friends, Ascham next secured appointment as secretary to Sir Richard Morison, English ambassador to **Charles V**. Ascham's service on the Continent led to the writing and eventual publication of *Report of Germany* (1570), a detailed analysis of the political and religious state of the emperor's German domains.

In 1554, Ascham, who was Protestant, accepted appointment as Latin secretary to the Catholic queen, **Mary I**, an indication of both his high reputation as a scholar and his willingness to adjust his beliefs for office at **court**. At her accession in 1558, Ascham's former pupil **Elizabeth I** named him her private tutor, a position that Ascham held until his death. Ascham's most famous work, *The Scholemaster*, published by his widow in 1570, criticized the harsh discipline usually employed to keep sixteenth-century students at their books and advocated the use of gentle persuasion to motivate students to learn. Ascham's **humanism** was colored with the English patriotism that became a hallmark of later Elizabethan society; he argued for the use of English over Latin in scholarly writing and helped, with his own published works, to develop a distinctive English prose style. Much of what is known of Ascham's life comes from his surviving English and Latin letters, which were collected shortly after his death in 1568 as models of form and style.

See also Edward VI

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Ashley, Katherine (d. 1565)

For almost 30 years, Katherine Ashley served Elizabeth Tudor as governess, teacher, confidant, and lady-in-waiting. Katherine, whom Elizabeth called "Kat," was born in Devonshire into the prominent **gentry** family of Champernowne. She married John Ashley, later Elizabeth's master of the jewel house, in 1545. A well-educated woman of increasingly Protestant sympathies, Ashley became Elizabeth's governess in 1537 when the princess was only four. She supervised the early education of the princess, working closely with William Grindal and Roger **Ascham**, Elizabeth's tutors in Latin and Greek.

After the death of **Henry VIII** in 1547, Elizabeth was placed in the household of the dowager queen, Katherine **Parr**, and soon became a not-unwilling object of the romantic and political ambitions of Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Sudeley, the dowager queen's new husband. Ashley foolishly encouraged Seymour's attentions to Elizabeth, which included playful romps in the garden and early morning invasions of the princess's bedchamber. Katherine Parr sent Elizabeth and Ashley from the house when she discovered the princess in her husband's arms. After Katherine Parr's death in 1548, Seymour worked through Ashley to persuade the princess to marry him. Already more politically astute than her governess, Elizabeth refused. Elizabeth's and Ashley's relations with Seymour came under investigation in 1549 when Seymour was arrested for **treason**. Ashley and Thomas **Parry**, another of Elizabeth's servants, were interrogated in the **Tower of London**, where they confessed all they knew. Elizabeth steadfastly refused to blame Ashley for her troubles, despite being urged to do so by the government's interrogators. Ashley was eventually released and restored to Elizabeth's household.

In the 1550s, the governess suffered further periods of imprisonment and dismissal from the princess's service when the government of **Mary I** tried unsuccessfully to implicate Elizabeth in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. At her accession in 1558, Elizabeth appointed Ashley first lady of the bedchamber, despite some grumbling from the queen's new ministers, who remembered the former governess's past indiscretions. Elizabeth, who could be a capricious and ungrateful mistress, was a firm friend; she remained devoted to Ashley and deeply mourned her death in June 1565.

See also Ladies-in-Waiting; Parry, Blanche

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Aske, Robert (d. 1537)

Robert Aske, a conservative Yorkshire lawyer, assumed leadership of the Yorkshire insurrection that erupted in October 1536 against various of the government's religious and economic policies. Under Aske's direction, the rebels began calling themselves "Pilgrims" and their movement the "**Pilgrimage of Grace**," and the uprising became an orderly protest against recent religious innovations and against the royal minister identified with their implementation, Thomas **Cromwell**.

Little is known of Aske before 1536. In 1527, he was admitted to Gray's Inn, one of the **Inns of Court** in **London**; he also was for a time in the service of Henry Algernon **Percy**, Earl of Northumberland, an important northern peer. A gifted attorney and compelling speaker, Aske established a flourishing law practice, with frequent appearances in London courts. In the autumn of 1536, Aske's personal opposition to the king's religious proceedings, combined with his skill as an orator and his knowledge of the law, apparently propelled him into leadership of the Yorkshire Rebellion. Besides giving the Pilgrims their name, Aske devised their banner of the Five Wounds of Christ and drafted their oath and manifestos, all efforts to characterize the Pilgrims as loyal subjects presenting their religious grievances to their king. By late October, Aske, commanding an army of more than 30,000, controlled much of northern England. Rather than march on London, Aske encamped at Doncaster from which he dispatched emissaries to the king and began negotiating with Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk.

Between 21 October and 5 November, Aske presided over a "great council" of Pilgrims at York, which discussed the talks with Norfolk. A second council at Pontefract, lasting from 2 to 4 December, drafted the Pilgrims' final petition to **Henry VIII**, which Aske presented to Norfolk two days later at Doncaster. Accepting Norfolk's promises of pardon for all and full consideration of all grievances, Aske disbanded the Pilgrims and resigned as their "chief captain" on 8 December. He then accepted Henry's personal invitation to visit **court**. Given further assurances of redress by the king himself, Aske returned to Yorkshire convinced of Henry's good faith. When new uprisings arose in January 1537, Aske urged the rebels to go home and wait for the fulfillment of royal promises. Henry, however, used the new insurrections as the excuse he needed to unleash Norfolk, who quickly crushed the new rebellion.

Promises of pardon proved similarly hollow. Along with other Pilgrim leaders, Aske was arrested in May 1537 and imprisoned in London. Tried and condemned to death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, Aske requested, and was granted, the favor of being hanged until dead before the rest of the sentence was applied. Transported to York for execution, Aske was hung in chains; his bones remained suspended from the gibbet for over a year.

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Askew, Anne (1521–1546)

Through her own published accounts of her examinations, Anne Askew became one of the most influential Protestant converts to die for her faith during the reign of **Henry VIII**. Askew's story is also important for the light it sheds on the political and religious struggles that characterized the late Henrician **court**.

The daughter of Sir William Askew of Lincolnshire, Anne Askew received a more extensive education than was provided at the time to most daughters of **gentry** families. Through study of William **Tyndale's Bible**, she converted to **Protestantism**, becoming an ardent and outspoken advocate of her faith. Forced by her father to marry Thomas Kyme, a wealthy landowner of orthodox views, Askew bore her husband two children before he turned her out of the house for arguing religion both with him and with the clergy of Lincoln Cathedral. Askew then added to the scandal of disobedience to her husband by seeking to divorce him, a petition that was denied by the Bishop's Court in Lincoln. In 1544, she traveled to **London**, determined to bring her divorce suit before the Court of **Chancery**.

*The order and manner of the burning of Anne Askew,
John Lacels, John Adams, Nicolas Beleanian, with certaine of
the Counsell sitting in Smithfield.*



Anne Askew was one of the most influential Protestant converts to die for her faith under Henry VIII. (Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

In the capital, Askew involved herself with various reformist groups, apparently even establishing ties to the circle of Queen Katherine **Parr**. In March 1545, these connections and her own argumentative nature brought Askew to the attention of the city authorities; she was arrested for her denunciation of various orthodox positions and eventually interrogated by Bishop Edmund **Bonner** of London. Although her answers were considered disrespectful, no witnesses could be found and she was released. She was rearrested in June 1546 and examined by the **council**, the conservative members of which hoped to use Askew to implicate the queen in heresy and so turn Henry against her and the reformist party with which she was identified. According to her own account, Askew was tortured in the **Tower of London**. To force her to reveal the names of her coreligionists, two conservative councillors, Sir Richard **Rich** and Lord Chancellor Thomas **Wriothesley**, turned the rack with their own hands. Steadfast in her faith and perhaps even eager for a martyr's crown, Askew said nothing. She was therefore condemned for **heresy** and burned to death at Smithfield on 16 July 1546.

Written in prison, Askew's accounts of her interrogations were smuggled out of England by her friends. In November 1546, John **Bale** published *The First Examination* in Germany, with *The Latter Examination* following in January 1547. By presenting her as an unswerving advocate of her faith and as continually thwarting and enraging her persecutors, the writings made Askew famous throughout Protestant Europe and bolstered public support for reform in England.

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Assertio Septem Sacramentorum

The *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (*The Defense of the Seven Sacraments*) is a treatise written by **Henry VIII** to refute Martin Luther's attacks on the **papacy** and the Catholic sacraments. Although the king was later embarrassed by its conclusions, the work achieved its original objective by prompting Pope Leo X to grant Henry the title *Fidei Defensor* (**Defender of the Faith**).

In the spring of 1521, Henry, acting on a suggestion of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, began writing a response to Luther's antipapal tract *De Captivitate Babylonica* (*The Babylonian Captivity*, 1520). Convinced of Luther's errors and eager for personal acclaim, Henry probably saw the *Assertio* as a way to respond to papal calls

for action against Luther and thereby convince the pope to reward him with a royal title like those already bestowed on the kings of **France** (*Christianissimus* ["Most Christian"]) and **Spain** (*Catholicus* ["Catholic"]).

Although it broke little new ground, displayed a poor understanding of Luther's ideas, and employed undocumented assertions and unrestrained name-calling (Luther is labeled, among other things, "a venomous serpent" and an "infernal wolf"), the *Assertio* was an effective anti-Lutheran polemic because it was brief, engaging, and written by the king of England. The book became a virtual best seller, going through 20 editions and translations by the end of the century. The appearance of 2 German editions forced Luther to respond with his equally vituperative *Contra Henricum Regem* (*Against King Henry*, 1522), which denounced Henry as a "deaf adder" and a "miserable scribbler." This attack drew counterblasts from Sir Thomas **More**, who, under the pseudonym "William Ross," wrote a bitter condemnation of Luther, and Bishop John **Fisher**, who strongly defended and quietly fortified the arguments of the *Assertio*.

In the 1530s, when Henry's opponents taxed him with the *Assertio*'s defense of papal authority and condemnation of divorce, the king dismissed the book as Wolsey's idea. Both contemporary rumors and later historians also argued that the *Assertio* was not Henry's work but instead was something compiled for him by a group of scholars that may have included Fisher; John **Longland**, the royal confessor; and Edward Lee, the future archbishop of York. More, who was later charged with "provoking" the king to include a vigorous defense of papal power in the *Assertio*, claimed that he acted only "as a sorter-out and placer of the principal matters therein contained" (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 112). These men and others likely gathered materials and helped marshal arguments, but final responsibility for the creation and character of the work probably rests with Henry alone.

The treatise was completed by May 1521, when Wolsey displayed a manuscript copy at a **Paul's Cross** ceremony to denounce and burn Luther's writings. On 2 October, John Clerk, the English representative at the Vatican, gave Pope Leo, to whom the work was dedicated, a magnificently bound presentation copy, complete with dedicatory verses written in the king's own hand. Nine days later, Leo issued a bull conferring the title *Fidei Defensor* on Henry; only then did Henry authorize public release of his treatise.

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Assizes

See Common Law

“Assured Scots”

See Greenwich, Treaty of; Solway Moss, Battle of

Astrophel and Stella

Written by Sir Philip **Sidney** between about 1581 and 1583 and first published in a pirated edition with a preface by Thomas **Nashe** in 1591, *Astrophel and Stella* is a **sonnet** sequence comprising 108 sonnets and 11 songs. One of the most influential poetic works of the Elizabethan period, *Astrophel and Stella* inspired a host of other sonnet cycles in the two decades after its publication, including, probably, the sonnet cycle published by William **Shakespeare** in 1609.

The character of “Astrophel,” a brilliant, arrogant, and passionate young courtier, is based in part on Sidney himself but is also in part the creation of the poet’s imagination. “Stella” was inspired by Penelope **Rich**, Lady Rich, the daughter of Walter **Devereux**, first Earl of Essex, and sister of **Elizabeth I**’s young **favorite**, Robert **Devereux**, second Earl of Essex. Although Sidney did indeed have romantic feelings for Penelope Devereux, who had been proposed as a bride for him before her marriage to Robert Rich, Lord Rich, in 1581, the sonnet sequence is not necessarily an accurate account of relations between the two. The central conflict of the poem cycle, the internal struggle of Astrophel’s reason with his passion for Stella, is a reflection of the love poetry written by the fourteenth-century Italian poet Petrarch. Although Sidney insists in the sequence that his poems are inspired only by love of Stella and not by any Petrarchan influence or other literary pretensions, the sonnet verse form and its use to address the topic of unattainable love were developed by Petrarch, and *Astrophel and Stella* makes use of all the typical themes and devices of the Petrarchan sonnet. These include the frequent use of paradoxical phrases such as “living deaths,” “fair storms,” and “freezing fires”; the tortured lover’s belief that his passion isolates him from others; the lover’s frustration at the inability of language to adequately convey his feelings; his belief that sleep can bring relief; and his acceptance of reason’s failure to overcome his obsession. Also, although Astrophel declares that he writes only for Stella, the sonnets display an awareness of, and interest in, current political and literary events, both at **court** and in the wider world, and thus cast more doubt on the assertion that the cycle is merely an autobiographical recounting of the poet’s unrequited love.

Although the Petrarchan sonnet had been introduced into England earlier in the century by the poets Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and Thomas **Wyatt** the elder, Sidney, with *Astrophel and Stella*, showed himself to be the first English master of the 14-line sonnet form. In the sequence, 85 of the sonnets employ the Petrarchan octave, the opening 8 lines that describe the central problem or dilemma of the poem using the standard Italian rhyme scheme (*abba abba*). In each of these sonnets, the octave is followed by an English variation on the sestet, the final 6 lines of the poem, which change the tone by commenting upon or proposing a solution to the problem defined in the octave. The rhyme scheme in this English variation, known later as Shakespearean (*cd cd ee*), is characterized by its closing couplet, which Sidney employed with greater variety and effect than perhaps even Shakespeare himself. Sidney's poems also have an immediacy and dramatic tension that were lacking in Petrarch or Surrey, who seemed to be recalling a long-past emotion, rather than relating one being experienced at the present moment. This quality, which Sidney described in his *An Apology for Poetry* as "forcibleness, or 'energia,'" was a passion in the writing that persuades the reader that the poet is indeed obsessed with a lover and not merely someone who had "rather read lovers' writings, and so caught up certain swelling phrases" (Sidney, *An Apology*, 81). It was this "energia" and Sidney's innovative mastery of the sonnet form that made *Astrophel and Stella* so widely praised and imitated.

John A. Wagner

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Attainder

In **common law**, a bill of attainder was an act passed by **Parliament** condemning an individual for **treason** without the benefit of a trial. In addition to subjecting someone to judicial punishment, it also carried with it a metaphorical corrupting of the blood that mandated that attainted persons forfeit their titles and property (which reverted to the Crown) and lose their ability to inherit property and titles and to bestow them on their heirs. Essentially, an act of attainder had the effect of destroying one's house.

As the passage of a bill of attainder did not entail that an individual be convicted of treason in a court of law, attainders were often used as political tools against people whose guilt would have been difficult to prove or who were regarded as enemies of the state. As the property and titles of the attainted individual also reverted to the Crown, attainders could also be seen as a mechanism by which monarchs could rid themselves of an enemy while simultaneously enriching themselves. As such, acts of attainder could be regarded as tools of absolutism (even though they were enacted within the bounds of the law) as those subjected to them were often denied due process and were condemned unheard. The penalties associated with being attainted were severe and, in some cases, as political fortunes shifted, the Crown could reverse the act and reinvest the attainted individual's heir with his forfeited titles and lands.

While earlier monarchs had used bills of attainder (the first attainder was enacted in 1459), **Henry VII** aggressively employed them (along with bonds and recognizances) as a means to exert control over the nobility, especially those members of the **peerage** whom he viewed as a threat to the House of **Tudor**. Following his victory at **Bosworth Field** in 1485 and his dating of the beginning of his reign to the day prior to the battle, Henry VII had Parliament pass an act of attainder against **Richard III**.

Under both Henry VII and **Henry VIII**, attainders could be used as “a means of political proscription” (Brigden, *New Worlds*, 163), and several notable figures in Tudor history—such as Thomas **Cromwell** (1540); Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury (1540); Queen Katherine **Howard** (1542); John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland (1553); and Thomas **Howard**, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1572)—were attainted. When Parliament passed the attainder against Katherine Howard, Henry VIII formally delegated royal assent to the bill to avoid having to personally consent to his wife's execution. In the reign of Charles I (1625–1649), Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (1641), and Archbishop William Laud (1645) were both attainted as a result of pressure brought to bear upon Charles by his parliamentary enemies. Upon the Restoration in 1660, Oliver Cromwell and other deceased regicides were also attainted. In England, the last bill of attainder was passed in 1798 and the process of attainting individuals was abolished in 1870.

Courtney Erin Thomas

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Audley, Thomas, Lord Audley (c. 1487–1544)

Thomas Audley, Lord Audley, was Speaker of the House of Commons during the **Reformation Parliament** and lord chancellor of England.

Born into an Essex yeoman family, Audley pursued a legal career, studying for a time at Cambridge and then at the **Inns of Court** in **London**. He was appointed town clerk of Colchester in 1514, joined the Essex commission of the peace in 1520, and became attorney general for the duchy of Lancaster in 1526. His career took a political turn in 1527 when he became a groom of the privy chamber and a member of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**'s household. He survived Wolsey's disgrace in 1529, being named to the commission that inventoried the cardinal's goods in July 1530 and winning appointment as king's serjeant (one of the legal officers who drafted Crown legislation) in November 1531.

Having been elected to **Parliament** in 1523 as member for Colchester, Audley, serving this time as knight of the shire for Essex, was returned again in 1529 for what was to become the Reformation Parliament. Named Speaker of the Commons in November, Audley presided over the next four parliamentary sessions, meetings that witnessed **Henry VIII**'s successful campaign to extend his authority over **Convocation** and the English Church. Audley, who probably owed his speakership and his subsequent appointment as chancellor to his ability to conform to changes in political or religious policy, made little personal impact on the Parliament, although he was apparently an able spokesman for Crown policies and an efficient organizer of house business.

In May 1532, upon the resignation of Sir Thomas **More** as chancellor, Audley became lord keeper of the Great Seal, rising to the chancellorship in January 1533. As chief legal officer of the Crown, he presided over the House of Lords, even though he himself was not ennobled until 1538, and over the most important state trials of the period, including that of More in 1535. Although his subservience to the Crown and his zealous pursuit of monastic properties have been unfavorably compared to More's actions, Audley seems to have sincerely believed that his duty was to follow where the king led, and he performed this duty ably and consistently. His personal views on religion are thus difficult to discern; he is linked both to Thomas **Cromwell** and the furtherance of reform and to support for the conservative Act of **Six Articles**. With Cromwell, Audley drafted most of the important legislation of the late 1530s, but, typically, he remained in favor after Cromwell's fall in 1540 and died, still chancellor, on 30 April 1544.

See also Dissolution of the Monasteries

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Augmentations, Court of

The Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown was a government financial department established by **Parliament** in 1536 to administer the lands and revenues that passed to the Crown through the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the abolition of **chantries** and other religious foundations.

The central administration of Augmentations was headquartered at Westminster and comprised 4 principal officers—chancellor, treasurer, attorney, and solicitor—10 auditors, and 17 ushers and messengers. Richard **Rich**, the future lord chancellor, was the first chancellor of Augmentations. In the counties, the court consisted of a group of general receivers, each of whom was responsible for properties within one or two particular shires, and a network of local bailiffs and receivers, who managed particular properties. A group of auditors, each of whom was responsible for four to six counties, traveled a regular annual circuit hearing the accounts of general receivers and local officers. The central court had the power to make and renew grants and leases of property and to appoint all local officials. Twice each year, the general receivers, after deducting what might be required for local expenses, sent revenues from properties in their charge to Westminster. The final audit of each year's accounts occurred after Easter at Westminster in the presence of the chief officers of Augmentations.

The court also resolved all legal issues arising from the making of leases, defaults on payment, and claims of concessions granted by the monasteries. The court administered payment of the pensions given to displaced monks and other religious and disposed of movable monastic property, with ordinary household goods sold by the local receiver and auditor; plate, books, and other valuables confiscated to the Crown; and roof lead and other scarce commodities handled by the **council**.

Land sales were managed by a specially appointed commission and were thus not the responsibility of the court, although the commission usually included the chancellor of Augmentations and relied on the court to supply the necessary information and documentation to certify a sale. Payment for sales of monastic property was usually made to the treasurer of Augmentations, who also disbursed any sums requested by the Crown. Augmentations was also the official repository for all documentation accompanying land sales and the office responsible for the timely collection of monies owed on sales.

In 1547, Augmentations was merged with another land revenue department, the Court of **General Surveyors**, to form the Court of Augmentations and Revenues

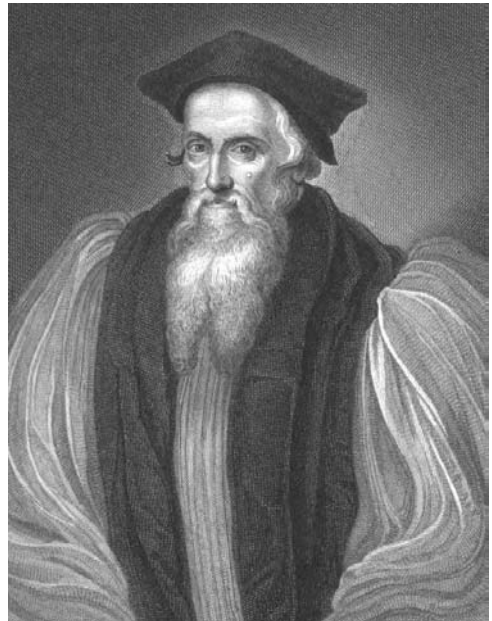
of the King's Crown. The new department, which administered all Crown lands, added two general surveyors to its central administration and a local surveyor in each county to monitor statements of values and costs by local officials. Because the reorganized Court of Augmentations proved to be more cumbersome and less efficient than its predecessor, the government of **Mary I** abolished Augmentations and transferred its functions to the **Exchequer** in January 1554.

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Aylmer, John (1521–1594)

As bishop of **London** from 1577 until his death, John Aylmer was one of the most important and powerful officials of the **Anglican Church**. Born in Norfolk, Aylmer became in the 1540s chaplain to the Grey family, who had earlier paid for Aylmer's education at Cambridge. As tutor to Jane **Grey**, eldest daughter of Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, Aylmer shared responsibility for the girl's Protestant upbringing. Aylmer became archdeacon of Stow in 1553, only months before the accession of the Catholic queen **Mary I** interrupted his ecclesiastical career. Aylmer fled with other **Marian exiles** to Germany and then to Zurich, where he tutored English exile children and helped John **Foxe** prepare the initial Latin version of the work that would later be known as the "**Book of Martyrs**." While in Germany, Aylmer published *A Harbor for Faithful and True Subjects*, a work that later won him favor with **Elizabeth I** because it refuted John **Knox's** *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, a publication that deeply offended the queen.



John Aylmer, influential among the Marian exiles, later became bishop of London and one of the most important and powerful officials of the Anglican Church. (John Strype. *Historical collections of the life and acts of John Aylmer*. . . . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821)

After his return to England, Aylmer held various positions in the Elizabethan Church of England and was involved in **Convocation**'s revision of English Church doctrine. Becoming bishop of London in March 1577, Aylmer rigorously enforced the Act of **Uniformity**, making enemies of all who sought to alter or circumvent the **Anglican Settlement** of religion, whether Puritan or Catholic. As head of the most populous and most Puritan diocese in the country, Aylmer's insistence on conformity to official doctrine and his scandalous practice of playing bowls on Sunday angered **Puritans**, who made him a target of ridicule in the **Marpelate Tracts**. At the end of his life, Aylmer sought transfer to a smaller, quieter diocese, but he was still bishop of London when he died in June 1594.

See also Grey Claim (to the Throne); Universities

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Ayton, Treaty of

The 1502 Treaty of Ayton, the first full-fledged peace accord between England and **Scotland** since 1328, ended the hostilities stemming from the Scottish king's support for the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**. The agreement also arranged the 1503 marriage between **James IV** and Margaret **Tudor**, daughter of **Henry VII**, a union that a century later made possible the accession of the Scottish House of **Stuart** to the English throne.

In September 1496, James IV of Scotland invaded England on behalf of Warbeck, whom he had recognized as "Richard IV," rightful king of England. The enterprise was a complete failure, rousing no support whatever for crowning the pretender or overthrowing the Tudors. Whether disillusioned by Warbeck's weakness or impressed by Henry's strength, James decided to abandon the former and negotiate with the latter. On 6 July 1497, Warbeck left Scotland in a Breton vessel hired by James specifically to carry away his unwanted guest. By September, Henry VII had commissioned Richard **Foxe**, Bishop of Winchester, to open peace talks with the Scots at Ayton. A seven-year truce, which was later extended to the life of each monarch, was concluded on 30 September. Further discussions resulted in a full-blown treaty, completed in January 1502 and calling for James to marry Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret.

Besides breaking the Scottish attachment to Warbeck, the Treaty of Ayton also indicated a growing acceptance of the House of **Tudor** among the other ruling

families of Europe. Although the treaty did not establish a lasting peace between the two countries—James was killed in battle with the English in 1513—it did have momentous future consequences for the English and Scottish successions. By the time the wedding of James and Margaret occurred in August 1503, Henry VII had lost both his wife, **Elizabeth of York**, and his eldest son and heir, Prince Arthur **Tudor**. Only her surviving brother, Prince Henry, now stood between the new Queen of Scots and the English Crown. Though Margaret predeceased her brother and never ruled in England, her great-grandson, James VI of Scotland, finally ascended the English throne in 1603 as a result of the dynastic connection established between the houses of Tudor and Stuart by the Treaty of Ayton.

See also Henry VIII; James I

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Azores

The Azores are a group of islands in the mid-Atlantic, some 800 miles west of Portugal. The Portuguese colonized the Azores in the mid-fifteenth century, with thriving settlements established on the larger islands by 1460. The Azores became the base for early exploration of the northern and western Atlantic. After Christopher Columbus reached the New World in 1492, the Azores became a way station for transatlantic voyaging.

The islands came under Spanish control in 1580 when **Philip II** seized the Portuguese Crown. As a mid-Atlantic haven for Spanish shipping, especially the treasure fleets from **Spanish America**, the Azores saw frequent naval clashes between English and Spanish ships. Almost every major English naval or **privateering** effort against **Spain** after 1585 included an attack on the Azores as a main component. Sir Francis **Drake**, after wreaking havoc on the coast of Spain during his **Cadiz Raid** (1587), sailed to the Azores and captured a rich Spanish treasure ship from the East Indies. The failure of the 1589 **Portugal expedition** was made worse by the fleet's inability to reach the Azores and attack Spanish shipping.

In 1591, the **Azores expedition** under Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Richard **Grenville** had as its objective the blockading of the islands to intercept treasure fleets from **America**. The **Islands Voyage** of 1597 failed, in part, because the English allowed a Spanish treasure fleet to slip past them in the Azores. In the last

decades of **Elizabeth I**'s reign, the Azores became a major flash point for hostilities between the English and Spanish fleets.

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Azores Expedition

In 1589, after the failure of the **Portugal expedition**, Sir John **Hawkins** proposed dividing the English fleet and using half of it to maintain a continuous blockade of the **Azores**. The blockade could intercept treasure fleets from **Spanish America**, thereby denying **Philip II** the funds required to rebuild the **armada** and forcing him to make peace with England. Reassured that half the fleet would remain at home to protect England and anxious to acquire some of Spain's American wealth, **Elizabeth I** approved the project. Delayed by Spanish naval activity, Hawkins missed the 1590 treasure fleet, which reached **Spain** with a large shipment of silver for Philip's naval rearmament. When Hawkins and Sir Martin **Frobisher** began blockading the Azores later in the year, Philip halted Spanish treasure shipments from **America** and Elizabeth recalled her fleet to support English forces in **France**. The intermittent nature of the English blockade allowed small convoys to reach Spain and permitted Philip to gather a naval force to patrol the Azores.

In 1591, Elizabeth, disappointed by the lack of profit, sent out a refitted blockade squadron under Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Richard **Grenville**. In August, the English ships were surprised in the Azores by a Spanish fleet of 55 vessels. Howard escaped with most of the English vessels, but Grenville, protecting the rear of the squadron in the *Revenge*, was surrounded. For 15 hours on 9 and 10 September 1591, Grenville and his crew defended the *Revenge*, sinking two Spanish ships and damaging 15 others. Finally, ignoring their severely wounded captain's order to destroy the ship, the crew surrendered the *Revenge*. Shortly thereafter, Grenville died in Spanish custody and the *Revenge* sank in a cyclone that destroyed much of the Spanish fleet.

Grenville's heroics raised English confidence, but the queen was disturbed that the *Revenge* had become the first English vessel to surrender to the enemy. Although the action in the Azores in 1591 had little effect on the course of the war, the fight of Grenville and the *Revenge* passed into legend, immortalized in the sixteenth century by Sir Walter **Raleigh** in his *True Defense* and in the nineteenth century by Alfred, Lord Tennyson, in his poem "The *Revenge*."

See also Brittany Expeditions; Navy

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Babington, Anthony (1561–1586)

By his reluctant participation, Anthony Babington gave his name to the Catholic conspiracy that finally brought Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, to the block. Babington was born into an ancient and wealthy **gentry** family of secret Catholics who conformed outwardly to the **Anglican Church**. As a boy, Babington served as page to George **Talbot**, Earl of Shrewsbury, the jailer of Mary of Scotland. Although it is not known if Babington came into contact with Mary during his term in Shrewsbury's service, he was certainly sympathetic to her when he left the earl's household.

In 1580, Babington traveled in **France**, where he was contacted by Thomas Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris. On his return to **London**, Babington joined a group of young Catholic gentlemen who professed romantic devotion to the cause of the imprisoned queen. Morgan, meanwhile, recommended Babington to Mary, who wrote to the young gentleman enlisting his aid in conveying letters to her from Morgan and other supporters. Babington's role as a clandestine postman ended when Mary was transferred to the stricter keeping of Sir Amias **Paulet** in 1585.

In May 1586, Babington, who had been protecting Catholic **seminary priests** since 1580, was approached by the priest John **Ballard**, who told Babington of a plot to murder Elizabeth and place Mary on the English throne. Babington was hesitant to involve himself, but Ballard convinced him to participate and put him in contact with John Savage, an ex-soldier who had sworn to kill **Elizabeth I**. Although Babington convinced a number of other young Catholic courtiers to join the plot, he remained hesitant to act and for more than a month did little more than talk and arrange to have the conspirators' portraits made—drawings that were later shown to Elizabeth so she could recognize the men if they came to court.

Babington next asked Robert Poley, one of the conspirators, to help him obtain a passport to leave the country. Poley, who was actually working for the government, arranged several interviews for Babington with Sir Francis **Walsingham**, who, by delaying Babington's passport, sought to pressure him into betraying his co-conspirators. However, upon the urging of Ballard and the other plotters, Babington took action. Using a clandestine communication system set up by one

of the conspirators, Gilbert **Gifford**, Babington sent a coded letter outlining the plot to Mary on 6 July. In doing so, Babington only confirmed the government's suspicions, for Gifford worked for Walsingham, who thus had full access to all letters received and sent by Mary.

On 17 July, Mary responded, endorsing the entire plan, including the murder of Elizabeth. Some historians have suggested that Walsingham's agent, Thomas Phelippes, who deciphered the letter before it was delivered to Babington, altered Mary's reply to ensure her execution. While this is uncertain, Phelippes certainly added lines in which Mary supposedly asked Babington to name some of the other conspirators. On 4 August, Walsingham ordered the arrest of Ballard but left Babington free in hopes of uncovering yet more of the plot through him. At news of the priest's arrest, Babington told Savage to go at once and kill the queen, but the soldier demurred, claiming he lacked proper attire to appear at court. Babington gave him money for clothes but then seems to have attempted to save himself by offering to work for the government as a double agent. However, he soon realized that his own arrest was imminent and so went into hiding.

Captured in Harrow in late August, Babington pleaded guilty to conspiracy but not guilty to planning Elizabeth's murder. Forced to make one plea to all charges, Babington, like most of the others, pleaded guilty and in his confession implicated the others, while they, in the main, blamed him. Although Babington wrote a moving letter to Elizabeth begging for mercy and offered a friend £1,000 to secure his release, he, Ballard, and five others were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 20 September 1586.

John A. Wagner

See also Babington Plot; Catholicism, English

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Babington Plot

The Babington Plot was the final failed scheme to free Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, from custody. Conspirators, led in England by Anthony **Babington**, proposed a foreign invasion to bring about the rescue of Mary, the death of **Elizabeth I**, and the restoration of **Catholicism** in the country. Sir Francis **Walsingham**'s monitoring of these plans over the summer of 1586 resulted in the arrest of the

plotters, all of whom were executed as traitors. Mary also faced trial for her support of the plot and was beheaded in 1587.

Mary had resided in England since 1568. Forced to abdicate her throne the previous year by a group of her own subjects, Mary fled across the border hopeful of Elizabeth's support. Instead, she was kept in custody for the next two decades. Mary's objectives in this time were regaining her freedom and her Scottish throne and obtaining from her cousin Elizabeth recognition that she was heir to the English Crown. To secure these ends, Mary embroiled herself in various plots involving **Philip II of Spain**; her **Guise** relatives; her Scottish allies; papal agents; Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk; English Catholics; and others unhappy with Elizabeth's rule.

Parliament and Elizabeth's close advisers felt that Mary was a threat to the realm and needed to be dealt with permanently. The members of the Privy **Council** promoted a **Bond of Association**, which declared that if any attempt was made on the queen's life, the person for whom the plotters sought the throne would be held responsible. Parliament made these intentions law with the 1585 Act for the Safety of the Queen's Person, which mandated that in the case of an attempt against Elizabeth, the claimant who would benefit from the queen's assassination would be tried, lose claim to the succession, and possibly face execution.

The Babington Plot fulfilled these conditions. Anthony Babington was a young Catholic of **gentry** background from Derbyshire who when traveling in **France** in



The Babington Plot's co-conspirators intended to assassinate Elizabeth, make Mary Stuart queen, and restore English Catholicism. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

1580 met some of the Scottish queen's agents. After returning to England, Babington moved to **London** to study law at Lincoln's Inn. He also received letters from Mary and her agents in France and **Scotland** to be sent on to the intended recipients. In 1586, Babington learned from the priest John **Ballard** of plans developing on the Continent that were supposedly supported by the French and Spanish monarchs, the **papacy**, and the **Catholic League** for an invasion of England and the assassination of Elizabeth. John Savage, a law student at Barnard's Inn and a former student at the English college at Reims, was to commit the murder.

Walsingham was aware that plans involving Mary were under discussion because he had two spies among the conspirators. One man, known as Bernard Maude, often traveled with Ballard. The other, vital to the exposure of the plot, was Gilbert **Gifford**. Gifford had a good reputation with his fellow Catholics and had once been a seminary student. He earned the trust of the Scottish queen with a recommendation from Thomas Morgan, one of her agents in France. He proposed to Mary a plan to help her send and receive letters in secret. Walsingham's secretary Thomas Phelippes had made arrangements with the brewer who delivered beer to Mary's household at Chartley to take letters for her from Gifford or his substitute and hide them in the bung of a beer barrel and then take letters returned in the empty barrel to Gifford or his representative. These letters then went to Phelippes to be deciphered and copied, and afterward the resealed letters continued on to Mary or to the French embassy.

Babington wrote to Mary on 6 July 1586 for her views on his plan for the invasion that would free her and overthrow Elizabeth. His letter professed his desire to restore Catholicism in England and stated that help was forthcoming from her allies on the Continent. The plan entailed 6 men taking Elizabeth while Babington and more than 100 others came to Mary's rescue. This letter took the usual route, going to Phelippes to be deciphered before it continued on to Mary, who received it within a week of its original composition.

Mary replied on 17 July and Babington received the letter 12 days later. In that time, Phelippes had deciphered it and passed its contents to Walsingham. In her letter, Mary praised Babington's zealous defense of Catholicism in England. She further recommended that he consider how many troops he would be able to raise, who would lead them, which areas of the country would give them support, and how much pay and armor the foreign troops would require. Mary also suggested scenarios for her rescue and asked that she be sent men to inform her of Elizabeth's fate before Sir Amias **Paulet**, her current guardian, found out. Walsingham now had enough evidence of the plot to act (although there are modern theories that certain lines in Mary's letter were forged). Arrests began in early August, and Babington and four other conspirators fled London but were found on 12 August. September trials were held for Babington, Ballard, Savage, and 11 others accused of participating in the plot. The court sentenced all to a traitor's death and the executions were carried out on 20 and 21 September.

That same month, Mary was moved to Fotheringhay Castle. At her October trial, she refused to admit anything other than her innocence. The officials sitting in judgment at Fotheringhay then came down to London so Elizabeth could review the case. She agreed with the judges' decision and they declared Mary guilty under the 1585 act. Mary lost her claim to the English throne, but Parliament wanted her executed, as did Elizabeth's closest advisers, such as Walsingham and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Elizabeth finally signed the warrant for her cousin's execution on 1 February 1587 and the sentence was carried out on 8 February.

Anne E. Cummings

See also Inns of Court; Queen's Safety Act

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Bacon, Anne (1528–1610)

Anne Bacon was the wife of Sir Nicholas **Bacon**, lord keeper of the Great Seal under **Elizabeth I**, and the mother of Sir Francis **Bacon**, a prominent Elizabethan statesman, writer, and scientist, and his brother, Anthony **Bacon**. Anne Bacon was the second daughter of Sir Anthony **Cooke**, the tutor to **Edward VI**. The Cooke sisters were known as the most learned women in England, thanks to the excellent education given to them by their father.

In the early 1550s, Anne accompanied her father to the court of Edward VI, and in 1553 she married Nicholas Bacon, a widower and friend of her sister Mildred's husband, William **Cecil**. Before her marriage, Anne had been a companion of Bacon's first wife and had cared for Bacon's young children. After losing two daughters in infancy, Anne and Nicholas Bacon had two sons—Anthony, born in 1558, and Francis, born in 1561. While her husband rose in the queen's confidence, becoming lord keeper of the Great Seal and functioning as lord chancellor, the Crown's chief legal officer, Anne Bacon quietly pursued her studies, translating Bishop John **Jewel**'s *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (*Apology for the Church of England*) into English in 1564.

After her husband's death in 1579, the staunchly Protestant Anne spent much time worrying about her sons, particularly Anthony, who was in chronic poor health and whose circle of friends included many Catholics. In the 1590s, when Anthony became a close friend and follower of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, Anne bombarded Anthony with letters of advice that went largely unheeded. Anthony's

death in 1601 undermined Anne's health and initiated a mental decline some years before her own death in 1610.

See also Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley; Officers of State; Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell

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Bacon, Anthony (1558–1601)

The son of Sir Nicholas **Bacon** by his second wife, Anne **Bacon**, and the elder brother of Sir Francis **Bacon**, Anthony Bacon is best known as a spy for the English government and the coordinator of foreign intelligence for Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Through his mother, Bacon was a nephew of such prominent and influential Elizabethans as Sir Henry **Killigrew**, Sir Thomas **Hoby**, and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Beginning in April 1573, Bacon spent three years studying under John **Whitgift** at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1576, he entered Gray's Inn in **London**, where he showed an interest in the writings of Thomas **Cartwright**, the **Puritan** advocate of Presbyterianism. In December 1579, less than a year after his father's death, Bacon mortgaged some of his newly inherited properties and traveled to Paris, where he began gathering intelligence for Burghley and for **Elizabeth I's** spymaster, Sir Francis **Walsingham**.

From Paris, Bacon moved to southern France, visiting Lyons, Toulouse, Marseilles, and other towns, before traveling to the Calvinist city of Geneva. By 1583, he was in Bordeaux, where he met the essayist Michel de Montaigne and undertook some business for the queen at the request of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. Prone to poor health from an early age, Bacon was frequently ill and sometimes lost all contact with his increasingly worried family in England. By 1584, he was attached to the **court** of the **Huguenot** leader Henri of Navarre at Montauban, where he became entangled in various intrigues. In 1586, Bacon was accused of the capital crime of **sodomy** and possibly tried for the offense, for Navarre commuted a sentence against him for an unknown conviction in 1587. Although little of this was known in England, his family, and particularly his mother, became increasingly upset over his failure to return home. Anne Bacon, particularly after she heard of his association with a Catholic double agent in

Bordeaux, denounced him as a traitor and illegitimate and urged his brother Francis to shun him.

Despite this, Francis Bacon welcomed his brother to his lodgings at Gray's Inn when Anthony returned to London in February 1592. However, Anthony Bacon's relations with his mother, with his uncle Burghley, and with his cousin Sir Robert Cecil, remained strained, and even the intervention of Bacon's aunt, Lady Elizabeth Russell, failed to effect a reconciliation. Unable to serve at court because of illness, Bacon took service with Essex, his brother's patron, who employed Bacon to manage his extensive foreign correspondence and organize the intelligence collected thereby. The earl provided seats for Bacon in the **Parliaments** of 1593 and 1597, although it is unclear whether Bacon was able to attend. In 1596, Bacon, much to his mother's displeasure, moved into Essex House, the earl's residence near London, to which he seems thereafter to have been confined by illness. Although rumor claimed that Bacon blackmailed Essex, threatening to reveal dangerous secrets if Essex did not pay him, or that the earl gave Bacon Essex House in lieu of money owed, none of this can be proven. The queen ordered Bacon to leave Essex House in 1600, and he does not appear to have been involved in **Essex's Rebellion** in 1601. Bacon died in London in about May 1601, three months after the earl's execution.

John A. Wagner

See also Henri IV; Inns of Court

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Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Albans (1561–1626)

Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, politician, author, and natural historian, was truly a Renaissance man. He was involved in public life, he published on a variety of different subjects, and he was interested in both the arts and natural history. His proposed reformation of natural history, which, in part, led to what is now called “experimental science,” “Baconian science,” or the “empirical method,” has been credited with significantly changing attitudes toward and methods of conducting scientific research. At his death, he left a plethora of publications that represent the

dogmas of his time but also call for change, specifically a decreased reliance on established authorities as sole sources of knowledge.

Bacon was born in **London** on 22 January 1561 to Sir Nicholas **Bacon** and his second wife, Anne Cooke **Bacon**. Nicholas Bacon was lord keeper of the Great Seal, and Anne was the daughter of **Edward VI**'s tutor, Sir Anthony **Cooke**, and sister-in-law of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, **Elizabeth I**'s lord treasurer. Although Francis was born into a wealthy, powerful, and well-connected family, he was the youngest of eight children and therefore had to find a profession rather than rely on his family's riches. In 1573, Bacon entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and from there was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1576; in 1582, he became a barrister and began to rise steadily in the political system.

Between 1584 and 1618, he was a member of **Parliament** for a number of different ridings, and he continued to achieve higher positions in Gray's Inn. Yet Bacon struggled with financial difficulties, and he was repeatedly denied important positions in the Elizabethan **court**. He also made the acquaintance of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, who supported Bacon in his attempts to gain higher public office. However, when Essex rebelled against Elizabeth, Bacon was instrumental in convicting him of **treason**. For Essex's trial in 1601, Bacon wrote "A Declaration of

the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late Earle of Essex." During his years as a barrister and member of Parliament, Bacon also penned *A Conference of Pleasure* (1592) to be used in a **masque**; contributed to *Gesta Grayorum* (1594), another masque; wrote *Maximes of the Law* (1596–1597), his first important legal text; and completed the first edition of his very consequential work, *Essays*, in 1597.

Bacon's fortunes—both financial and political—began to drastically improve with the accession of **James I** in 1603. On 23 July 1603, Bacon, in a group of 300 people, was knighted by the king. Bacon continued to curry favor with the king by publishing, in 1603, *Discourse Touching the Happy Union*, a document in support of James's plan to unite England and Scotland. In 1604, Bacon attempted to



Sir Francis Bacon was the most influential philosopher and scientist of the Elizabethan period, although his political career was less successful. (Library of Congress)

repair his damaged relationship with the friends and family of Essex by writing *Apologie in certaine imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex*. He also began to publish texts outlining his view of natural history with *The Advancement of Learning*, printed in 1605. In 1607, Bacon finally received an important position at court, that of solicitor general. His advancement continued in 1608 when he was named treasurer of Gray's Inn; in 1611, when he became judge of the Knight Marshall's Court; in 1613, when he was appointed attorney general; in 1616, when he became a privy councillor; and on 3 March 1617, when he was named to his father's old position, lord keeper of the Great Seal. In 1618, he became lord chancellor, and in that same year he was named a peer, awarded the title Baron Verulam of Verulam. In 1621, at the age of 60, he was named Viscount St. Albans.

Despite this intense public career, Bacon continued to publish works on politics, philosophy, and natural science. In 1616, he published the first edition of *The Works of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James*, and in 1620, he published the *Novum Organum*, a work that called for a new understanding of knowledge acquisition. Rather than rely on authorities—classical, medieval, and theological texts—as sources of all knowledge and wisdom, Bacon argued, people should understand the world by experiencing it. He urged thinkers to gather empirical details about nature to understand nature. Bacon contended that no one could learn about the world just by thinking or reading about it.

Bacon, to his chagrin, could suddenly devote much more of his energy to writing following his banishment from court. On 14 March 1621, Christopher Aubrey and Edward Egerton accused Bacon of bribery. Bacon became ill and claimed he could not come to court to face charges, but he did allow that he may have been guilty of accepting certain bribes, although not for the purpose of perverting justice. On 1 May 1621, he was stripped of the Great Seal and was soon after fined and imprisoned for a few days in the **Tower of London**. Although he attempted to regain power at court, especially when Charles I became king in 1625, Bacon was never able to retake his seat in Parliament.

Away from court, Bacon continued to write and publish. He published *History of Henry VII* in 1622. In 1623, he printed *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, and during his banishment he began planning *Instauratio Magna*, a work he never completed. He also began writing *New Atlantis* and *Sylva Sylvarum*, both of which were printed posthumously. He also published in 1625 the third edition of *Essays*, which by then contained 58 essays, considerably more than the 10 comprising the first edition. In 1625, he published *Apophthegms* and *The Translation of Certain Psalms into English Verse*.

Bacon died, probably from pneumonia or bronchitis, at Highgate on 9 April 1626. One story assigns the cause of his chill to a scientific experiment. Apparently, as Bacon was traveling from London to Highgate, he stopped his coach to collect snow to observe the effects of snow as a preservative of fowl's flesh. Before

he was able to complete his observations, he became ill and died. Whether or not the story is true, it demonstrates Bacon's belief in experience and experiment. Through his huge body of extant writings, Bacon's philosophical, political, and legal ideas greatly impacted both his culture and the ones that followed, leading to changes in the ideologies of scientific research, literature, and the philosophy of human nature. Bacon himself acknowledged his own historical importance when he wrote in his will, "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages."

Deanna Smid

See also Essex's Rebellion

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Bacon, Sir Nicholas (1509–1579)

Besides being the father of Sir Francis **Bacon** and Anthony **Bacon**, Sir Nicholas Bacon was **Elizabeth I**'s lord keeper of the Great Seal (i.e., the Crown's chief legal officer) and an influential member of her Privy Council. Bacon was educated at Cambridge, where he began lifelong friendships with two fellow students, William **Cecil**, the future principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Matthew **Parker**, the future archbishop of Canterbury. After leaving Cambridge, Bacon studied in Paris and then received legal training in **London** at the **Inns of Court**. His first government office was a legal position with the Court of **Augmentations**, which handled the revenues derived from confiscated monastic lands. Bacon also served as a solicitor for Cambridge University and on a commission charged with dissolving various religious institutions. In 1546, Bacon was appointed attorney of the Court of Wards, which oversaw the management by appointed guardians of the estates of underage heirs.

A convinced Protestant who had acquired numerous monastic properties, Bacon was retained in his post by **Edward VI**. Despite his religion, Bacon also remained in office during the reign of **Mary I**. Thanks to his friendship with Cecil, Bacon came into political prominence at the accession of Elizabeth in 1558. The queen

knighted him, appointed him to the Privy Council, and named him lord keeper of the Great Seal to act in place of Mary's Catholic lord chancellor. In these offices, Bacon worked closely on religious issues with Cecil and with Archbishop Parker. In April 1559, the queen authorized Bacon to hear cases in the Court of **Chancery** and to exercise all the powers of the lord chancellor, the Crown's most important legal officer.

An excellent attorney and administrator and a strong Protestant voice in the council, Bacon enjoyed the favor of the queen, who visited his house on several occasions, including a six-day stay in 1577 that cost Bacon £600 (a substantial gentleman's annual income might only have been one-third that sum). Bacon grew increasingly fearful of Catholic plots on behalf of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and drew Elizabeth's anger when he hinted in 1570 that it might eventually become necessary to execute the captive queen. Bacon's consistently Protestant stance made him a favorite target of Catholic propagandists, both in England and in Europe. Bacon died at York House, his London residence, in February 1579.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Dissolution of the Monasteries; Fiscal Feudalism; Officers of State; Ridolfi Plot; Universities

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Bainbridge, Christopher (c. 1464–1514)

Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, was English ambassador to the papal court, where he was a strong and effective advocate for the policies of his king and the interests of his country.

Born into a **gentry** family in Westmorland, Bainbridge earned a degree in law at Queen's College, Oxford. Beginning in about 1485, he received a series of increasingly prominent ecclesiastical appointments. Provost of Queen's College in 1495, Bainbridge was treasurer of St. Paul's in **London** in 1497, archdeacon of Surrey in 1501, and archdeacon of York in 1503. He obtained his first political office, the mastership of the rolls, in 1504 and then the following year became dean of Windsor. In 1507, **Henry VII** nominated Bainbridge to the northern bishopric of Durham and in 1508 approved his translation to the vacant archbishopric of York.

After his accession in April 1509, **Henry VIII** appointed Bainbridge English ambassador to the court of Pope Julius II. A forceful, outspoken man with a fiery temper, Bainbridge vigorously represented English interests, which had long been

ignored at a papal court more attuned to the interests of **France**, **Spain**, and the states of **Italy**. Aided in his work by the pope's need for English help in thwarting the Italian ambitions of **Louis XII** of France, Bainbridge was named cardinal and papal legate in March 1511. The warlike Julius also bestowed a military command on the new cardinal, ordering him to besiege the town of Ferrara. In October, Bainbridge, who was personally anti-French, assured Julius of Henry VIII's adherence to the pope's anti-French Holy League. Upon Leo X's accession as pope in 1513, Bainbridge strongly advocated the English proposal that Leo strip the French monarch of his title of "Most Christian King" and grant the honor to Henry. Although the pope was apparently willing, the conclusion of peace between England and France in 1514 prevented the plan from coming to fruition.

Several future royal servants were part of Bainbridge's household in Rome, including Thomas **Cromwell**, who was a deponent in various lawsuits involving English clergy, and Richard **Pace**, who served as the cardinal's secretary. Bainbridge died on 14 July 1514 of poison administered by one of his own chaplains, a man named Rinaldo de Modena. Imprisoned in the Castel Sant' Angelo, Modena confessed to the murder, which he claimed had been ordered by Silvester de Giglis, the nonresident Italian bishop of Worcester. Pace pushed for the bishop's prosecution, but de Giglis pressured Modena to change his story, after which the chaplain committed suicide in his cell. Influential at the papal court, de Giglis was readily believed when he denounced Modena as a madman who acted only to avenge his earlier dismissal from de Giglis's service. Bainbridge, meanwhile, was buried at the English hospital in Rome.

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Baldwin, William (c. 1518–1563)

A poet, printer, and novelist, William Baldwin is best known as the editor and principal author of the first two editions of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a popular collection of cautionary poems describing the downfall of famous figures. The few bits of biographical information found in *Mirror for Magistrates* and other sources suggest that Baldwin was from **Wales**, that he supplicated Oxford University for a degree in about 1533, and that he may have taught school for a time. Almost nothing else is known of Baldwin's life before 1547, when he began working in **London** for Edward Whitchurch, a reformist printer who, with Richard **Grafton**, had produced the first editions of the English **Bible**.

Whitchurch published Baldwin's first literary works, *Treatise of Moral Philosophy* (1547) and *Canticles or Ballads of Solomon in English Meters* (1549). The

former, a collection of classical and humanistic adages and philosophies, was highly popular and much revised, appearing in more than 20 editions by 1620. The latter, a metrical translation of the biblical Song of Solomon, was dedicated to **Edward VI**. Baldwin displayed his **Protestantism** in his 1552 translation of Matthias Flacius Illyricus's *Wonderful News of the Death of Paul the Third*, a virulently antipapal pamphlet that satirizes the depravity of the Catholic Church by describing the reception in hell of the late pope. In about 1552, Baldwin assisted George Ferrers, the master of revels, with the organization and production of court entertainments, an experience that led to the writing of Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*, a satirical work often considered the first English novel. Set at the Christmas revels of 1552 but not published until 1570, *Beware the Cat* is structured as a dialogue between several characters, including Ferrers and Baldwin's own narrative persona, who debate the possibility that animals are capable of speech and rational thought.

In 1553, Baldwin wrote an elegy for the late Edward VI titled *The Funerals of King Edward the Sixth*, though it was not deemed politic to publish the poem during the reign of **Mary I**, and it thus did not appear until 1560. In 1554, Baldwin, while assisting in the printing of a new edition of John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, a fifteenth-century verse work that recounted the tragedies befalling well-known people, edited a continuation focused on English figures titled *A Memorial of Such Princes, as since the Time of King Richard the Second, Have Been Unfortunate in the Realm of England*. Because the work was deemed to have an anti-Catholic tone, it was suppressed by the Marian government, but finally published in 1559 after the accession of **Elizabeth I** as *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Immensely popular—it went through another seven editions by 1610—*Mirror for Magistrates* influenced the writing of tragic dramas drawn from English history by such playwrights as William **Shakespeare** and Christopher **Marlowe**.

In about 1559, Baldwin was ordained a deacon, and thereafter seems to have quit the printing trade for an ecclesiastical career. He became vicar of Torrington in Sussex in 1559 and rector of St. Michael-le-Querne in London in 1561. He preached at **Paul's Cross** in September 1563 and seems to have died of **plague** a short time later.

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Bale, John (1495–1563)

John Bale was a prominent literary figure of the English **Reformation**. A prolific writer and an effective propagandist, Bale had a strong influence on English Protestant literature.

Born into a Suffolk peasant family, Bale joined the Carmelite order in Norwich as a boy, and later studied at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took a degree in 1529. He served as prior for three Carmelite houses, but, having experienced conversion in about 1534, he left the order in 1536 and took a wife. In 1537, Thomas **Cromwell** commissioned Bale to write a series of propaganda plays, such as *King John* (1538), to endorse **Henry VIII's** break with Rome. Many of Bale's other works from this period, which were performed throughout the realm by government-supported companies of players, adapt to Protestant purposes the popular and familiar conventions and themes of medieval miracle and morality plays.

After Cromwell's execution in 1540, Bale fled to Germany to escape Henry VIII's return to Catholic orthodoxy. During his exile, Bale wrote numerous tracts attacking Catholic veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary, various Roman ceremonies, and the doctrine of **transubstantiation**. His best-known work of the period is *The Images of Both Churches*, the first complete English commentary on the book of Revelation. He also wrote *Yet a Course at the Romish Fox* (1543), a vigorously antipapal tract; *The Acts of English Votaries* (1546), which focuses on the alleged sexual misconduct in English monasteries; and *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium* (1548), an extensive bibliography of British authors. Bale also edited and published *A Brief Chronicle Concerning Sir John Oldcastle*, the Lollard leader executed in 1417, and Anne **Askew's** accounts of her interrogation and torture for heresy by Henry VIII's **council** (1546, 1547).

When the 1547 accession of **Edward VI** brought Protestant regimes to power, Bale returned to England, where he continued publishing such forcefully anti-Catholic tracts as *The Apology of John Bale against a Rank Papist* (1550) and *Exposition or Complaint against the Blasphemies of a Frantic Papist of Hampshire* (1552). His appointment as bishop of Ossory in **Ireland** in 1552 led to publication of *The Vocation of John*, an autobiographical account of his Irish experiences. Bale fled to the **Netherlands** and then Switzerland on the 1553 accession of Edward's Catholic sister, **Mary I**. Much of this second exile was taken up with Bale's second great bibliographic work, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus*

(1557–1559). Bale returned to England in 1560 after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, who granted him a comfortable living at Canterbury Cathedral. Bale died in 1563.

See also Lollardy

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Ballard, John (d. 1586)

John Ballard, an English Catholic priest, was one of the key figures in the **Babington Plot**, which led to the eventual execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Born in Cambridgeshire, Ballard was educated at Cambridge University, where he earned a BA in about 1575. In 1579, he left England to study at the English Catholic seminary at Reims and was ordained into the Roman Catholic priesthood at Châlons on 4 March 1581. Within a month, he had returned to England to begin secretly ministering to English Catholics. Operating in the **London** area, Ballard often went by the alias “Captain Fortescue.” While visiting imprisoned Catholics in the Gatehouse Prison in Westminster, Ballard met Anthony Tyrrell, who escaped from confinement in January 1582 and spent the next two years with Ballard traveling through various southern counties.

In September 1584, Ballard and Tyrrell arrived in Rome, where they supposedly besought the approval of Pope **Gregory XIII** for a plan to assassinate **Elizabeth I** and enthrone Mary of Scotland. Because the only evidence for this proposed plot comes from a confession later given and then repudiated by Tyrrell, Ballard’s true role in the origins of what became the Babington Plot is unclear. According to the later testimony of Anthony **Babington**, Ballard contacted that young Catholic courtier in May 1586 and told him of a French plan to murder Elizabeth recently revealed to him by the Spanish ambassador in Paris. Ballard then urged Babington to gather a group of Catholic gentlemen to effect Mary’s release. Ballard also put Babington in contact with John Savage, an English Catholic soldier who had pledged to kill the queen, and Gilbert **Gifford**, a Catholic seminarian who claimed

to be a supporter of Mary's but was in fact an agent in the employ of Sir Francis **Walsingham**.

When Babington proved a reluctant plotter, Ballard met him again in early July 1586 to urge him to take action, and then apparently left for Paris to meet again with the Spanish ambassador. By the time he returned in early August, the government, thanks to Gifford and Tyrrell, the latter of whom had been arrested on 4 July, was fully informed of the conspiracy and in possession of an incriminating letter from Mary to Babington approving the plan to assassinate Elizabeth. Arrested on 4 August, Ballard was sent to the **Tower of London** and racked, becoming the only Babington plotter to suffer torture. On 13 and 14 September, Ballard, Babington, and several other conspirators were tried and convicted of **treason**. On Elizabeth's orders, they were executed with unusual cruelty at Tyburn on 20 September 1586.

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Baptism

Baptism was one of the seven **sacraments** observed by the medieval Roman church. Performed on infants shortly after birth, baptism was held to wash away the original sin with which all persons were believed to be born and to reduce the inherent human inclination to sin. Many medieval theologians believed that an infant who died without being baptized, although it had committed no sin of its own, was still stained by original sin and thus could not enter heaven and would go instead to a place known as limbo. While there was no official church doctrine on this, it was not an uncommon belief and was often reflected in local legislation, helping to explain why people were concerned that baptisms take place soon after birth. Although baptism outside the church or by a layperson was generally not allowed by **canon law** (church law), a baby not expected to live was to be baptized immediately, by a layperson if necessary. The **Book of Common Prayer** provided instructions, and early modern midwifery guides (which began appearing in the sixteenth century) included instructions for midwives who needed to baptize a newborn in imminent danger.

Under normal circumstances baptism took place in the church or its baptis-tery, if it was large enough to have one. The ceremony underwent much change,

in theology and practice, even before the **Reformation**, and it varied from place to place as well. But, in general, the ceremony was to be conducted on a Sunday or holy day by an appropriately garbed priest following a prescribed format and wording. After specific readings and prayers, which included a paragraph exorcising evil from the child, participants moved to the baptismal font. Family members and three godparents would be present and the priest asked for the child's Christian name. The infant was dipped in the water (usually three times), or the water might be poured over its forehead. The priest baptized the child in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost and then made the sign of the cross on the child's forehead with holy oil (chrism), a step known as anointing. Admonishments to godpar-



For sixteenth-century people—Catholic or Protestant—baptism was one of the most important of the sacraments. (Art Media/StockphotoPro)

ents, statements of faith, and further readings and prayers followed. Gifts and some form of celebration might come after the church ceremony.

Baptism marked the entry of the child into Christian life and demonstrated that the community stood with the child; such ceremonies were part of the fabric of life for medieval people. Baptism and last rites were the sacraments most likely to be observed, and baptism retained its place in religious and community life in the sixteenth century. At the Reformation, Martin Luther, John **Calvin**, and Ulrich Zwingli all perceived and accepted the cultural role of infant baptism, even if they did not hold with all the religious meaning the Roman church attached to it. Protestant ceremonies still stressed joining the child to the Christian community, but they emphasized the burden original sin placed on all Christians rather than the idea of ridding the child of original sin; and reformers did not all agree on the details of baptism.

Certain Protestant sects, including adherents of **Anabaptism**, held that infant baptism was wrong and that true baptism could only take place in adulthood as a conscious choice and as part of a profession of faith. The first baptism of an adult seems to have taken place in a village near Zurich, Switzerland, in January 1525. Within a couple months adult baptism became a capital crime in Zurich, as this so-called radical belief was denounced and Anabaptists were often persecuted in England and elsewhere.

At the Council of **Trent**, which ended in 1563, the Roman Catholic Church reaffirmed the doctrine of seven sacraments and observes them still today. Protestant reformers believed that baptism and the **Eucharist** were the only sacraments with a biblical basis, and since the Reformation Protestant denominations celebrate at most only baptism and some form of the Eucharist.

Under **Henry VIII**, the **Ten Articles** of 1536 retained only three sacraments, including baptism, but took an orthodox stand on all three. Anointing at baptism was retained in the first Book of Common Prayer in 1548. But in 1552, the **Forty-two Articles** vigorously denied Anabaptist teachings, and in the second Book of Common Prayer the baptism service was rewritten. At this time the statement of exorcism, triple dipping in the font, and anointing with chrism were all removed from the service.

After **Mary I**'s reign and its six-year return to Catholic doctrine, the second Book of Common Prayer was restored to use in the Church of England, which is essentially still followed today. Among ordinary people change was neither immediate nor consistent. Some were more Protestant than others and still others continued to hold Catholic beliefs. One encounters stories of people who were worried about their children being properly baptized if the minister did not follow the Book of Common Prayer and others who worried if he did. Protestant ministers were known to criticize members of their flock for believing children were not Christians if they died unbaptized or if the sign of the cross was not used in the baptism ceremony, while other Protestants protested the sign of the cross in the baptism ceremony as a popish holdover. Even late in the sixteenth century, authorities of the Church of England hounded believers in adult baptism, including **Puritans** and **Separatists**.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Calvinism, English; Lutheranism

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Barlow, William (d. c. 1568)

William Barlow, a religious reformer of strong Erastian views, was bishop of St. David's under **Henry VIII** and of Bath and Wells under **Edward VI**.

Little is known for certain of Barlow's early life. There is, for instance, no record of his attendance at any university, although it is possible that he earned a doctorate in theology at Oxford. Named prior of Blackmore before 1509, Barlow

thereafter received a series of other ecclesiastical offices, becoming prior of Lees in 1515, prior of Bromehill in 1524, and rector of Great Cressingham in Norfolk in 1525. After Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** suppressed Bromehill in 1528, Barlow, who strongly supported the subordination of church to Crown, found favor at **court** and, in about 1530, was sent on embassy to Rome to assist in the king's **divorce** suit. In 1534, the increasingly reformist cleric was appointed prior of Haverfordwest in **Wales**, possibly through the influence of Anne **Boleyn**. The conservative local clergy soon threatened Barlow with heresy, prompting the prior to write to Thomas **Cromwell** bemoaning the religious ignorance that, in his view, pervaded the region. Nominated to the Welsh diocese of St. Asaph in 1536, Barlow was almost immediately transferred to another Welsh see, St. David's. His reformist sermons, denouncing, among other things, purgatory and auricular confession, put him at odds with his conservative cathedral clergy, who reported him to Rowland **Lee**, president of the **Council in the Marches of Wales**.

Although a difficult man of strong opinions who frequently quarreled with subordinates of more traditional views, Barlow worked hard to educate the clergy and people of his diocese, even convincing the government to grant him the revenues of certain dissolved religious houses for the foundation of Christ's College at Brecon. After the accession of Edward VI, Barlow's preaching against images impressed Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who arranged for Barlow's translation to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, the government allowed Barlow to flee to Germany. He returned to England in 1559 after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, who appointed him bishop of Chichester and a prebend (member of the clerical staff) at Westminster. A close associate of Archbishop Matthew **Parker**, Barlow translated part of the Apocrypha for the *Bishops' Bible* of 1568. He also published a handbook for clergymen and a book of homilies. Barlow died in 1568 or 1569 and was buried at Chichester.

See also Erastianism

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Barnes, Robert (1495–1540)

Robert Barnes, a humanist scholar and diplomat, was one of the most influential English Lutherans of the 1530s. Born at Lynn in Norfolk, Barnes joined the Austin

friars as a youth. After studying at the University of Louvain, where he may have met Desiderius **Erasmus**, Barnes returned to England in 1521 to become prior of the Austin house in Cambridge, which he transformed into a center of humanist study. In 1523, he earned his doctorate of divinity at Cambridge, where he and his pupil Miles **Coverdale** became members of the reformist discussion group that gathered at the **White Horse Tavern**. Here Barnes, who became a leader of the group, met the scholar Thomas **Bilney**, whose influence led Barnes to study the New Testament and thereby become an increasingly vocal critic of clerical abuses and corruption.

During a Christmas Eve sermon in 1525, Barnes denied the right of Christians to sue one another in civil courts and harshly criticized Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, the king's chief minister. Arrested by the Cambridge authorities, Barnes was interviewed by Wolsey, who desired to treat Barnes leniently; however, he remained obstinate and Wolsey finally ordered him to submit or burn. Although Barnes then made a public recantation at **Paul's Cross** in **London**, he was imprisoned in the Fleet and later confined to the Austin house in Northampton. Because his house arrest was lax, Barnes continued to teach and write and was soon distributing William **Tyndale**'s forbidden translation of the New Testament. This and other indiscretions brought Barnes under sentence of death for heresy, which he escaped by feigning suicide and fleeing to Germany.

In Wittenberg, Barnes lived with Martin Luther and deeply imbibed his host's theology. Writing under the name Antonius Amarius or Anglus, Barnes expressed his Lutheran opinions in his *Articles of the Christian Church*, which was published in German in 1531. In 1530, Barnes published his *Supplication unto the Most Gracious Prince Henry VIII*, which proclaimed loyalty to **Henry VIII** and criticized the English bishops for opposing their king. Barnes also dedicated the antipapal *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (*Lives of the Roman Popes*, 1535) to Henry, hoping that a king engaged in mastering the English Church would recognize him as a useful servant. The *Vita Romanorum Pontificum* with a preface by Martin Luther was Barnes's final work and the first Protestant history of the popes. It was a polemical recounting of the men from the apostle Peter through Alexander III, by which Barnes hoped to expose the immorality of the **papacy**.

Barnes returned to England in 1531 under a safe-conduct from Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister. Although Henry distrusted his religion and Sir Thomas **More** would have condemned him for heresy, Barnes thereafter served as royal ambassador to the Lutheran princes of Germany. He was unsuccessful either in winning Lutheran support for the royal **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon** or in negotiating an Anglo-German alliance. Although Henry's interest in Lutheranism was clearly political, Barnes continued to hope that the king would embrace Luther's views and reform the English Church accordingly.

By 1540, Barnes was in serious peril. His role in negotiating the failed royal marriage with **Anne of Cleves** and the Catholic reaction heralded by the 1539 passage

of the Act of **Six Articles** signaled the end of Henry's indulgence. Cromwell, now falling into disfavor himself, tried to help Barnes, but his efforts only hurt his own position. When Barnes attacked Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** for denouncing Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, Henry demanded that he apologize and recant. Preached in London, the sermon of recantation was so evasive as to be even more insulting. Committed to the **Tower of London** and condemned for heresy by bill of **attainder**, Barnes was burned at the stake on 30 July 1540, two days after Cromwell's execution.

See also Heresy Law; Humanism

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Barrow, Henry (1550–1593)

Through his passionate writings advocating the freeing of local churches from state control, Henry Barrow became one of the most important leaders of the Elizabethan Separatist movement and a founder of English and American Congregationalism. Born in Norfolk, Barrow was a distant relative of both Sir Francis **Bacon** and Sir William **Cecil**. He was educated at Cambridge and in 1576 became a member of Gray's Inn. By the mid-1580s, Barrow had become a follower of Robert **Browne**, founder of the first English Separatist congregation, whose members became known as Brownists.

Where **Puritans** sought to “purify” the **Anglican Church** of its Catholic and nonscriptural elements, the **Separatists** sought to withdraw from the English Church altogether and to form their own autonomous congregations. The Brownist ideal of church government, which was readily adopted and promoted by Barrow, called for the complete separation of local congregations from government authority—from any exercise of control over doctrine or practice by monarch, bishops, or **Parliament**.

Arrested in November 1586 by order of John **Aylmer**, Bishop of **London**, Barrow was closely interrogated and imprisoned when he refused to recant his opinions. While in confinement, Barrow, along with fellow Separatist John Greenwood and Puritan writer John **Penry**, the probable author of the **Marprelate Tracts**,

wrote several works defending their views and describing the treatment they had received from the authorities. Smuggled out on small strips of paper, these tracts, including Barrow's *A True Description, Out of the Word of God, of the Visible Church* (1589) and *A Brief Discovery of the False Church* (1590), were published in Europe and widely distributed in England. These publications increased Barrow's influence among the English Separatist community but also led in March 1593 to the conviction and condemnation of Barrow and Greenwood for circulating seditious books.

The two men were executed at Tyburn (a notorious London execution site) on 6 April 1593. The executions and continuing government persecution caused many of Barrow's followers, called Barrowists, to flee to the **Netherlands** and eventually to **America**, where their descendants put many of Barrow's ideas into practice among the Puritan congregations of the New England colonies.

See also Inns of Court; Universities

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Barrowists

See Barrow, Henry; Congregationalists

Barton, Elizabeth (c. 1506–1534)

Known as the “Nun” or “Holy Maid” of Kent, Elizabeth Barton was a servant girl whose trances and visions earned her a great reputation as a seer. Because of this notoriety, Barton was used by opponents of the royal **divorce** to undermine **Henry VIII**'s religious proceedings and support Queen **Catherine of Aragon**. When her predictions and pronouncements turned to politics and became critical of the king, Barton and her chief supporters were arrested, interrogated, and executed.

A servant in the household of Thomas Cobb of Aldington in Kent, Barton first came to public notice in 1524 when she correctly predicted the death of her master's child. Thereafter, the girl quickly acquired a reputation as a prophet and visionary by regularly falling into trances and issuing predictions and revelations. Seriously ill herself with some type of chronic ailment (possibly epilepsy), Barton enhanced

her fame and following by foretelling and then experiencing a miraculous cure. In 1526, Archbishop William **Warham** sent a deputation headed by Dr. Edward **Bocking** to Kent to examine the girl and discover whether or not her experiences were genuine. Since most of her pronouncements and revelations were merely exhortations to greater belief in orthodox doctrines and devotions, the commission cleared her of heresy. By the end of 1526, Barton had entered the nunnery of St. Sepulchre's in Canterbury, where her visions continued.

From about 1528, with the encouragement of Bocking and several other conservative clerics, she began foretelling disaster for the king should he divorce Catherine of Aragon. Barton made this dangerous prediction not only to Archbishop Warham but also to Bishop John **Fisher**, a supporter of the queen; to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, the king's chief minister; and even to the king himself. Because of her reputation as a holy prophet and her widening circle of acquaintance with many of the leaders of the "Aragonese" party—the **court** faction supporting the queen—Barton's predictions became a serious threat to the king's plans. In 1532, she predicted that Henry would die or cease to reign if he annulled his marriage, a serious pronouncement in light of the Maid's close association with Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter, a friend of the queen's whose son had a distant claim to the throne. In late 1533, Barton, Bocking, and their most prominent supporters were arrested and questioned by Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister, and by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. In November, Barton publicly confessed herself a fraud at St. Paul's Cathedral in **London** and at Canterbury in Kent.

Although the government had no plausible evidence for a charge of **treason** against Barton and her associates—condemnation for mere words spoken against the king rather than for an overt act of treason was unusual—Henry was anxious to use her to curb the pro-Catherine faction at court. The king therefore had **Parliament** condemn Barton by an act of **attainder** that also listed the names of the queen's leading supporters, including Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas **More**. More successfully petitioned the House of Lords to drop his name from the bill, but Fisher was fined for his involvement with the Maid. Barton and her closest supporters were hanged on 20 April 1534. After her death, religious reformers used Barton to discredit their conservative opponents, whose support of the Maid was characterized as Catholic superstition.

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Bassett, Mary Roper (d. 1572)

A granddaughter of Sir Thomas **More**, Mary Bassett was a skilled translator of Greek and Latin. The second child of Margaret **Roper**, More's eldest daughter, and her husband, William **Roper**, More's biographer, Mary Roper was, at her mother's insistence, classically trained by the finest scholars who could be found. Educated initially in the household "school" that her mother established on the model laid down by Sir Thomas More, Mary proved to be the most talented scholar among the Ropers' five children. Margaret Roper asked Roger **Ascham**, who was to become Latin secretary to both **Edward VI** and **Mary I**, tutor to **Elizabeth I**, and the most prominent classicist in England, to direct Mary's education, but he declined, citing his desire to remain at Cambridge. Margaret then engaged Henry Cole, who, unlike Ascham, was a sound Catholic, and John Morwen, a classical scholar at Oxford, to tutor Mary.

Upon her mother's death in 1544, Mary inherited her grandfather's gold cross set with diamonds and pendant pearls, as well as those of his manuscripts that remained with the family, including the letters he wrote from the **Tower of London**. Among her few works of translation still extant is a portion of her grandfather's *History of the Passion*, which was published in 1557 by her kinsman William **Rastell** in his collected works of Sir Thomas More.

A devout Catholic, Mary Roper was a gentlewoman of the bedchamber to Mary I and gained a reputation at **court** for her scholarship. Her first husband was Stephen Clarke, about whom little is known, and her second was James Bassett, who was private secretary to Queen Mary and a confidential agent for her husband, **Philip of Spain**. Bassett died in November 1558, after only about two years of marriage, leaving his wife with two small boys.

Mary Bassett's best-known work is a translation from the Greek of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, which she dedicated and presented to Queen Mary. The English Catholic historian and More biographer Nicholas **Harpsfield** praised Bassett's knowledge of Greek and Latin and mentioned various other of her works, though none are now extant. Roger Ascham also praised her learning and skill at translation. When Mary Bassett died in London on 20 March 1572, she left most of her inheritance from her grandfather to her eldest son, Philip Bassett.

John A. Wagner

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Bastard Feudalism

The term “bastard feudalism” refers to a social system in which titled noblemen developed networks or affinities of sworn retainers who provided political, legal, domestic, and military service in return for money, office, and influence. Because the system allowed the raising of large bands of armed men, bastard feudalism enabled wealthy members of the fifteenth-century **peerage** to disrupt law and order, conduct private feuds in their localities, and even contend for control of the royal government. For these reasons, bastard feudalism was once considered a primary cause of the **Wars of the Roses**, although most historians now view it as a useful and neutral system that became susceptible to abuses only during periods of royal weakness.

Under the Tudors, the system was brought more fully under the control of the Crown and the rule of law, making its working more conducive to political order and military effectiveness. Charles Plummer coined the term “bastard feudalism” in 1885 to describe what he believed was a degeneration of feudalism, the early medieval social system that was based on a lord’s granting of land (by heritable tenure) to a vassal in return for military or other services. Plummer blamed bastard feudalism for the disorder and instability that characterized the late fifteenth century. Plummer’s phrase came into wide use in the 1940s when the influential historian K. B. McFarlane employed it to describe the functioning of English political society between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. McFarlane viewed bastard feudalism not as an illegitimate offshoot of an earlier, purer system but as a natural response to societal changes that was, through individual abuses and royal incapacity, employed for disruptive and illegal purposes.

Men recruited under the bastard feudal system were not exclusively employed for military purposes; many were household servants, while others bound themselves by indenture (contract) to supply various services. In return for money and “good lordship,” which might mean using influence to obtain an office, bribing or intimidating a judge or jury in a lawsuit (known as embracery), or providing political support or protection (known as maintenance), retainers often wore their lord’s distinctive badge or livery (uniform) and took their lord’s part in disputes with other magnates. The system permitted noblemen to recruit the servants they required to conduct local government, dominate local society, run their households, and maintain their positions at **court**. Bastard feudalism offered lesser men an opportunity to attach themselves to a great lord and thereby advance themselves economically or acquire political and legal protection. Because the monarch could quickly raise a military force from the retainers and tenants of great magnates, the Crown relied on the system for the manpower required to conduct foreign wars or quell internal rebellions.

Henry VII used **Parliament** to place limits on the practice of retaining and the Court of **Star Chamber** to enforce those limitations, especially against abuses in the granting of livery or the provision of maintenance. Under **Henry VIII** and his children, the Crown brought noble ambitions and rivalries into the court and thus under the control of the monarch. Magnates vied for the favor of the Crown, rather than for the Crown itself. Tudor aristocrats abandoned medieval methods of retaining and built their affinities by providing men with positions in their households or on their estates. By the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, bastard feudalism, although still a thriving system, had been cleansed of its disruptive elements and become a stable and orderly means of recruiting the military forces needed by the Crown.

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Bazán, Alvaro de, Marquis of Santa Cruz (1526–1588)

Alvaro de Bazán, Marquis of Santa Cruz, was **Spain's** most experienced naval commander and a leading advocate of the "Enterprise of England." Santa Cruz fought in various naval actions in the Mediterranean, particularly distinguishing himself in **John of Austria's** victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. He again served with distinction in Portugal in 1580, giving vital naval support to Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alva, the commander of Spanish land forces and former governor-general of the **Netherlands**. Santa Cruz sealed Spain's conquest of Portugal by defeating a French naval force off the **Azores** in 1582, a victory that gave **Philip II** control of the magnificent harbor of Lisbon and the large Portuguese fleet. With this great increase in his naval capabilities, Philip had the wherewithal to attack England.

Appointed captain-general of the ocean sea, Spain's chief naval commander, in 1583, Santa Cruz declared himself ready to clear the sea of English pirates and to invade England itself. Asked to estimate the requirements for such an invasion, Santa Cruz requested more than 500 ships; 30,000 seamen; 64,000 soldiers; and huge quantities of powder, shot, and food. He put the cost at the staggering sum of 3.8 million ducats. Because Santa Cruz's plan would have stripped the harbors of Spain, Portugal, and Italy of shipping and was well beyond even Philip's financial capabilities, the king shelved the scheme. However, in 1587, after the execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, Philip resurrected Santa Cruz's plan, scaling it down and combining it with an alternative scheme proposed by Alessandro **Farnese**, Duke of Parma, the governor-general of the Netherlands. Parma

had suggested transporting Spanish troops in the Netherlands across the Channel to invade England.

Santa Cruz was given command of the **armada** that would sail from Spain to hold back the English fleet and escort Parma's forces to England. Prevented from departing in 1587 by Sir Francis **Drake's Cadiz Raid**, which destroyed vital naval supplies, Santa Cruz was within a week of sailing when he died in January 1588. The marquis's death delayed the sailing of his successor in command, Alonso Perez de **Guzman el Bueno**, Duke of Medina Sidonia, until the summer of 1588.

See also Navy

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Bearbaiting

See Animal Sports

Beaton, David (1494–1546)

David Beaton, Cardinal-Archbishop of St. Andrews, was an influential adviser of **James V** and, after the king's death, leader of the pro-French faction in the Scottish government.

The third son of John Beaton of Balfour, David Beaton attended the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow before traveling to Paris in about 1510 to study **civil** and **canon law**. Sponsored by his uncle James Beaton, who was archbishop of St. Andrews, Beaton took orders in 1525 and rapidly acquired various church offices and livings. In 1537, he was consecrated bishop of Mirepoix and became a cardinal in December 1538. He succeeded his uncle as archbishop of St. Andrews in September 1539 and in 1543 was named *legatus a latere*, thus achieving the same position of dominance over the Scottish Church that Thomas **Wolsey** had once exercised over the English Church.

Appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1528, Beaton was thereafter employed on numerous diplomatic missions. While serving as resident Scottish ambassador at the French **court**, Beaton enjoyed considerable influence with **Francis I**. In 1536, Beaton negotiated the marriage of Francis's daughter Madeleine to James V. After



David Beaton, cardinal-archbishop of St. Andrews, was important in both the Scottish church and government. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 1. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

regime detained the cardinal until after completion of the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Greenwich** in July 1543. Opposed to the main provision of the treaty—a marriage between the queen and Prince Edward—Beaton exploited anti-English sentiment to gain popular approval for moving the queen and her mother to the protection of Stirling Castle. Aided by the arrogant demands of Henry VIII, Beaton won the support of Arran in September and saw the Scottish Parliament abrogate the treaty in December.

Named chancellor of Scotland in 1543, Beaton by 1546 was chief adviser to the queen mother and the dominant figure in the Scottish government, although his ascendancy was short-lived. By using his powers as legate to grant church lands at favorable rents for perpetual leases, Beaton acquired great wealth, which, along with the immorality of his personal life—he had several illegitimate children—made him highly unpopular. However, his death was a result of his zealous prosecution of heretics. On 1 March 1546, Beaton presided at the execution of the popular preacher George **Wishart**. On 29 May, 16 followers of Wishart slipped into the castle at St. Andrews and murdered the cardinal.

the queen's death in July 1537, Beaton returned to **France** to arrange a new marriage with Marie de **Guise**, whom the cardinal escorted to **Scotland** in June 1538. His influence with the king grew steadily after 1539, the heart of his policy being alliance with France and a strong defense against England. Beaton successfully advocated rejection of **Henry VIII's** proposals for joint reform of the English and Scottish churches and elicited assurances of assistance from Francis I should Henry ever invade Scotland. Beaton also took vigorous steps to suppress heresy; burnings of Scottish heretics increased after he became archbishop.

With the accession of the infant Mary **Stuart** as Queen of Scots in December 1542, Beaton, supported by the queen mother, made an unsuccessful attempt to control the regency government. **Parliament** named Mary's heir, James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, and the new

See also Edward VI

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Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1443–1509)

As heiress of the **Beaufort family**, the legitimated descendants of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, transmitted a claim to the English throne to her son **Henry VII** and to the House of **Tudor**. Instrumental in helping her son achieve the Crown, Margaret also played an important role in securing the new dynasty on the throne.

Born on 31 May 1443, Margaret was the only child of John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset, who died when his daughter was little more than a year old. A wealthy heiress with a claim to the Crown, Margaret was only 12 in 1455 when **Henry VI** of **Lancaster** married her to his half brother Edmund **Tudor**, Earl of Richmond. Three months after Tudor's death in November 1456, Margaret, now under the protection of her brother-in-law, Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke, gave birth to a son named Henry. Seeking a husband who could protect her rights and those of her son, Margaret married Sir Henry Stafford, younger son of the Duke of Buckingham, in early 1458. However, when the Yorkists won the throne in 1461, **Edward IV** placed Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, in the custody of a Yorkist nobleman.

After the Lancastrian restoration in 1470, Margaret was briefly reunited with her son. However, in 1471, the deaths in battle of all the adult male members of the houses of Lancaster



Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII, was instrumental in bringing Henry to the throne and helping to establish the Tudor dynasty. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

and Beaufort made Richmond the surviving holder of the Lancastrian claim to the Crown. In 1472, after Richmond fled to **Brittany** with his uncle Pembroke, Margaret, now widowed by the war, married Thomas **Stanley**, Lord Stanley. Although she kept in contact with her son, Margaret, as the wife of Stanley, enjoyed the favor of Edward IV. In 1483, when **Richard III** usurped the throne of his nephew, **Edward V**, Margaret plotted with Elizabeth **Woodville**, Edward IV's widow, to overthrow Richard in favor of their children, Richmond and **Elizabeth of York**. The resulting uprising, known as Buckingham's Rebellion, failed, and **Parliament** deprived Margaret of her lands, which were given, along with custody of her person, to her husband. Although Stanley maintained a careful neutrality when Richmond invaded England in 1485, his growing sympathy for the earl allowed Margaret to again involve herself in planning her son's enterprise.

In August 1485, when Richmond won the Battle of **Bosworth Field** and became king as Henry VII, Margaret largely withdrew from **court** but continued to have a strong influence on her son, who never forgot that his right to the Crown came from her. He even allowed his mother to sign her name "Margaret R.," as if she were queen. Margaret worked to strengthen the new dynasty by drafting guidelines for the rites surrounding family events and by insisting that all public rituals be conducted so as to enhance the power and prestige of the Tudors. Margaret devoted her later years to religion, separating from her husband before his death in 1504 and taking monastic vows. Working through her confessor, Bishop John **Fisher** of Rochester, Margaret became a great patron of the universities, endowing the "Lady Margaret" chairs in divinity at Oxford and Cambridge in 1502 and founding two colleges at Cambridge, Christ's and St. John's. She was also an important patron of the arts, supporting the poets John **Skelton** and Bernard **André** and the printer William **Caxton**. Although she lamented her poor command of Latin, Margaret prepared English translations of two French religious works, including one by Thomas à Kempis. Margaret died on 29 June 1509, two months after the death of Henry VII and only weeks after the coronation of her grandson, **Henry VIII**.

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Beaufort Family

As the last surviving member of the Beaufort family, a branch of the royal House of Lancaster, Lady Margaret **Beaufort** transmitted the Lancastrian claim to the Crown to her son, thus making possible the rule of the House of **Tudor**.

The Beaufort family sprang from the 1396 marriage of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340–1399), to his longtime mistress Katherine Swynford (d. 1403). Gaunt was the third son of Edward III (r. 1327–1377) and the uncle of Richard II (r. 1377–1399). Although Gaunt's four children by Swynford were all adults when their parents married, Richard II legitimized them in 1397 under the name Beaufort, which was drawn from the French castle in which they were born. The Beauforts were thus half siblings of Henry IV (r. 1399–1413), Gaunt's eldest son by his first marriage, who instituted the Lancastrian dynasty in 1399 by usurping the throne of his childless cousin Richard II. Although Henry confirmed the Beauforts' legitimation in 1407, he also added a proviso barring the family from the succession.

The Beauforts prospered under Lancastrian rule. Gaunt's second son, Henry Beaufort, cardinal-bishop of Winchester (c. 1376–1447), held the wealthiest bishopric in England and served all three Lancastrian monarchs either as chancellor or royal councillor. Thomas Beaufort (c. 1375–1427), Duke of Exeter, Gaunt's youngest son, served Henry V (r. 1413–1422) and **Henry VI** in various key posts in **France**, including as lord admiral, captain of **Calais**, and lieutenant of Normandy. During the **Wars of the Roses**, the Beauforts were leaders of the Lancastrian cause, commanding the armies of Henry VI in several major battles. Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, and his sons Henry, Edmund, and John (the first two successively dukes of Somerset) were all slain in battle or executed afterward.

The destruction of the male line left Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John Beaufort (1404–1444), first Duke of Somerset, and cousin to the succeeding dukes, as holder of the Beaufort claim to the Crown. When Henry VI, the last male in the Lancastrian line, was murdered in the **Tower of London** in 1471, only weeks after the execution of the last male Beaufort, the remaining male claimant to the throne in the Lancaster-Beaufort line was Margaret's son, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. As the son of Edmund **Tudor**, Earl of Richmond, Henry was descended from a Welsh landowning family that had entered the English nobility after Edmund's father, Owen **Tudor**, contracted a secret marriage with **Catherine of Valois**, widowed queen of Henry V. Although his claim was thus tainted by illegitimacy, burdened by Henry IV's proviso, and transmitted through a woman, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was thrust into dynastic prominence by the civil wars. After spending the previous 14 years in continental exile, Richmond overthrew **Richard III**, the last Yorkist king, at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485. With this victory, Richmond, thanks to the Beaufort blood inherited from his mother, became **Henry VII**, first king of the House of Tudor.

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Becon, Thomas (c. 1513–1567)

Thomas Becon was a popular writer and preacher who advocated thoroughgoing reform of both church and state. Born in Norfolk, Becon entered St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his bachelor's degree in 1530 and eventually earning his doctorate of divinity. Ordained in about 1538, Becon became vicar in a small Kentish parish, where he wrote a series of tracts advocating various Protestant positions, such as clerical marriage, and denouncing various Catholic practices, such as the display of saints' images. Although published under the pseudonym "Theodore Basille," the tracts were traced to Becon, who was arrested and forced to recant his views at **Paul's Cross** in 1543. Prudently withdrawing from **London**, Becon sheltered for a time in Derbyshire with a gentleman named Alsop, and then in Staffordshire with a Protestant clergyman named John Old. Supporting himself by teaching, Becon in the mid-1540s reconnected with Hugh **Latimer**, whose reformist preaching had strongly influenced Becon during his time at Cambridge. Becon continued to write his own reformist tracts, such as the *Governance of Virtue*, which, like all his works of this period, was included in a list of heretical books announced by proclamation in July 1546.

At the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Becon's **Protestantism** earned him a series of important ecclesiastical appointments. He became chaplain to Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and to Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, as well as one of six preachers for Canterbury Cathedral and a reader of divinity at Oxford. He contributed the sermon "Against Whoredom and Uncleaness," popularly known as the "Homily against Adultery," to the *Book of Homilies*, and he helped persuade Cranmer to accept insertion of the **Black Rubric** into the second **Book of Common Prayer** in 1552. As a follower of Latimer and an effective preacher in his own right, Becon, through his writings and sermons, has become identified with the social justice program advocated by the Edwardian reformers later known as **Commonwealth Men**. Denouncing the covetousness of the wealthy, Becon stressed in his writings the moral obligations that the reformed English Church had toward all its members.

On the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, the **council** stripped Becon of his ecclesiastical offices and committed him to the **Tower of London** as a seditious preacher. Released in 1554, Becon joined the **Marian exiles** in Germany, residing in both Strasbourg and Frankfurt, and teaching at Marburg University. Although a 1555

proclamation again denounced his works as heretical, Becon continued to write, publishing *Displaying of the Popish Mass* at Basel in 1559. Returning to England after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, Becon again received numerous ecclesiastical livings. Although opposed to some of the practices of the Elizabethan Church, Becon conformed and retained his livings until his death in 1567.

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Bedford, Duke of

See Tudor, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford

Bedford, Earl of

See Russell, Francis, Earl of Bedford; Russell, John, Earl of Bedford

Bedingfield, Sir Henry (1511–1583)

Sir Henry Bedingfield was the jailer specially appointed by **Mary I** to keep Princess Elizabeth confined in the **Tower of London** and at Woodstock in 1554–1555. Bedingfield was born in Norfolk, the son of Sir Edmund Bedingfield, the jailer of **Catherine of Aragon** during the last years of her life. In July 1553, Bedingfield, a staunch Catholic, was among the first gentlemen to acknowledge Princess Mary as queen and to rally to her cause in opposition to the rival claim of Jane **Grey**. As a reward, Mary named Bedingfield to the Privy **Council** and granted him an annual pension of £100. When Mary's first **Parliament** met in October 1553, Bedingfield sat as member of Parliament for Suffolk; in 1554 and 1557, he was member of Parliament for Norfolk.

Mary committed Princess Elizabeth to the tower in March 1554 for suspected complicity in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. In May, the queen appointed Bedingfield keeper of the princess, with a special guard of 100 men in blue liveries (uniforms). Because he treated her with a harsh lack of deference, Elizabeth feared that Bedingfield meant to quietly murder her. Bedingfield, however, had no such intention, and though firm with his royal charge, he kept her safe, giving strict orders that no

one be allowed to visit her when he was absent. These orders may have prevented Simon **Renard**, the Spanish ambassador, and Lord Chancellor Stephen **Gardiner** from sending assassins to secretly kill the princess, something both men were suspected of plotting. Shortly after assuming his position as jailer, Bedingfield conducted Elizabeth to the royal manor at Woodstock, where he kept her in custody until ordered to bring her to **court** in June 1555.

After **Elizabeth I**'s accession in 1558, Bedingfield presented himself at court with apologies for his previous conduct; the queen is said to have dismissed him by snapping, "If we have any prisoner whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, we will send for you." Until his death in 1583, Bedingfield lived quietly in Norfolk, coming occasionally to the notice of the government as a **recusant** and a stubborn adherent to Catholicism.

See also Catholicism, English; Gentry; Northumberland's Coup

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Benefice

A benefice is an ecclesiastical office that imposed on its holder certain prescribed duties in return for specified revenues, known as the "temporalities" of the benefice. For instance, a prebendary performed certain duties as a cathedral official in return for the income generated by a particular piece of land. A parish priest met the spiritual needs of his parishioners in return for the parish **tithes**. Tithes originally referred to one-tenth of the yearly harvest of the local parish community, which was set aside for use by the priest; by Tudor times, however, this payment in kind had usually been transformed into a fixed annual cash payment.

The right to appoint to a benefice, known as an **advowson**, was a property right under the law and could be held by an ecclesiastical official (e.g., a bishop) or by a layperson (e.g., the monarch or a local member of the **gentry**). Because the **Reformation** and the **dissolution of the monasteries** placed more advowsons into lay hands, many patrons kept all or most of the tithes and other temporalities of benefices for themselves, thus eliminating or severely degrading the spiritual care available to many local parishioners. Disputes over revenues from benefices often soured relations between the clergy and laity, and between local parishioners and the lay holder of the local parish advowson.

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Benefit of Clergy, Act Concerning

Enacted by **Parliament** in 1512, the Act Concerning Benefit of Clergy prevented men in minor orders who were convicted of murder in royal courts from using their technically clerical status to escape serious punishment. Because the anti-clerical feeling generated by **Hunne's Case** in 1514 made renewal of the statute a contentious issue, the act became an important milestone in English church-state relations.

In the Middle Ages, the right of benefit of clergy allowed persons accused of felony in royal courts the right of trial in **church courts** if they could prove their clerical status. Such proof usually consisted of reading a brief Latin text, a so-called neck-verse; this feat allowed the accused to be handed over to the local bishop, in whose court it was possible to clear oneself by producing oath helpers. If convicted, the clerical offender usually escaped with a mild punishment, since church courts had only limited power to imprison and could not impose fines or the death penalty. Few people opposed benefit of clergy for priests, deacons, and other ecclesiastics in higher orders, but many laymen objected to extending the right to men in minor orders, such positions as psalmist, lector, or acolyte, which were only technically clerical. Lay critics believed that such an application of clerical privilege allowed habitual offenders to continue committing crimes.

Under **Henry VII**, two statutes limited benefit of clergy. The 1489 act ordered that felons claiming clerical privilege be branded on the thumb so that any further claim could be recognized as such and refused, unless the accused could clearly prove himself in holy orders. The 1497 act denied benefit of clergy to any layman convicted of murdering his lord or master, a crime known as petty treason. The 1512 act built on these earlier statutes by denying benefit of clergy to anyone in minor orders who committed murder, robbery, or other acts of violent felony. However, the statute was only temporary; unless renewed, it lapsed with the next Parliament, and two events in 1514 made renewal extremely controversial. In May, Pope Leo X issued a declaration denying any layman authority over any clergyman, and in December, Richard Hunne, a London citizen accused of heresy, died under mysterious circumstances while in the custody of episcopal officials.

The reaction to these events divided the Parliament of 1515, with lay members supporting renewal of the 1512 act and ecclesiastical members in the Lords opposing it. Meanwhile, Bishop Richard **Fitzjames** of London directed Abbot Richard Kidderminster to deliver a public sermon demanding full clerical exemption from secular jurisdiction. When lay members of Parliament responded to this provocation by asking **Henry VIII** to intervene, the king ordered a debate on clerical privilege to be held in his presence. The **Standish-Kidderminster Debate** concluded with Henry declaring that kings of England had no superior but God. Despite this

declaration, Henry arranged a compromise in the Hunne affair and killed renewal of the benefit of clergy act by dissolving Parliament.

See also Anticlericalism

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Benet, William (d. 1533)

William Benet, an English diplomat, played an important role in **Henry VIII's** campaign to obtain a papal annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Little is known of Benet's family or early life. He was the younger brother of Dr. Thomas Benet, a canon (member of the clerical staff) of Salisbury Cathedral and of St. Paul's Cathedral in **London**, and the nephew of John Benet, a London merchant. He is believed to have attended Oxford University, from which he obtained a doctorate in **civil law**. In 1521, he was admitted to Doctors' Commons, a society of lawyers practicing civil law in London. By the end of 1522, Benet was practicing as a canon lawyer in Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey's** legatine court. He became Wolsey's agent for various ecclesiastical matters, including the 1525 election of a new abbot at Glastonbury Abbey.

For his service, Benet was awarded various ecclesiastical positions, becoming a canon of St. Paul's, a prebendary of Wells, and archdeacon of Dorset. His work on the king's annulment suit began in late 1528, when he was appointed to an English embassy to Rome. In May 1529, he became resident ambassador at the papal court, a post he held until 1533. He arrived in Rome in June 1529, one month before the legatine court conducted in England by Cardinals Lorenzo **Campeggio** and Thomas Wolsey recalled the king's case to Rome. In light of this decision, Benet worked to delay proceedings in the Roman rota (court of appeals) and to return the case to England. In June 1530, at a private meeting with **Clement VII**, Benet urged the pope to delay the case and thus won agreement to a summer adjournment. However, because Benet was personally sympathetic to Queen Catherine, sending her an apology for his work on the king's suit and even telling the pope that he regretted the king's actions, Benet, when ordered to do so by the king, declined to threaten the pope with a general council or to deny his right to summon Englishmen to appear in papal courts. When an angry Henry repeated his order and criticized Benet for being too sympathetic to the **papacy** and remiss in his duties,

the ambassador did as he was told, thereby incurring the wrath of the pope, who thereafter refused to see him privately.

Working with Sir Edward **Carne** and other English agents, Benet was able to delay the suit, allowing Henry time to shift tactics and lay the groundwork for an English, rather than a Roman, resolution of the matter. When Parliament passed the Act in **Restraint of Appeals** in April 1533 and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** declared the Aragon marriage invalid in May 1533, Benet's diplomatic mission ended and he left Rome in August. He never reached England, dying of a fever in Susa in the Italian Alps on 26 September 1533.

John A. Wagner

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Berners, Lord

See Bouchier, John, Lord Berners

Bertie, Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (1519–1580)

Katherine Willoughby Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk, was an active and prominent patron of Protestant writers and preachers. The daughter of William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, the leading magnate in Henrician Lincolnshire, and his wife, Maria de Salinas **Willoughby**, a Spanish noblewoman who was a close friend and confidant of **Catherine of Aragon**, Katherine, as her father's heir, stood to inherit significant property in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Katherine was about 7 years old when her father died in 1526 and about 10 years old in 1529 when she became the ward of Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, the husband of **Henry VIII's** sister Mary **Tudor**, the former French queen. Sir Christopher Willoughby, Katherine's uncle, contested her right to inherit; however, in 1533, only months after his wife's death, Suffolk married his 14-year-old ward, thereby bringing his influence to bear on Katherine's behalf. Thus, in 1536, **Parliament** enacted a settlement of the dispute that favored Katherine.

With Katherine's estates, Suffolk became the premier nobleman in Lincolnshire. With her mother, Katherine was official mourner at the 1536 funeral of her namesake, Catherine of Aragon, but, after her mother's death in 1539, she seems

to have become increasingly reformist in her religious views. Suffolk's religion always loyally mirrored that of his friend, the king, but Katherine, following her husband's death in August 1545, became associated with the reformist circle at **court** that surrounded Queen Katherine **Parr**. When conservatives led by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** sought to discredit their reformist rivals by entangling the queen in charges of heresy, Katherine was also implicated, though no action was taken against her.

After the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Katherine used her wealth and influence to aggressively promote the Protestant cause. She supported the publication of over a dozen reformist works, including the **Bible** translations of William **Tyndale**. In an effort to persuade Parliament to lift restrictions on Bible reading, especially by women, she encouraged Katherine Parr to publish her devotional work *The Lamentation of a Sinner* (1547). She also installed many reformist clergy in Lincolnshire parishes, invited Hugh **Latimer** to preach at her home, and had her son tutored at Cambridge by the Alsatian reformer Martin **Bucer**. The death of her two sons, within hours of each other of sweating sickness in 1551, passed the Suffolk inheritance to her stepdaughter Frances Brandon, the wife of Henry **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, who subsequently became the Duke of Suffolk by right of his wife. But Katherine still controlled her own considerable inheritance, and in 1552 she married a second husband, Richard Bertie (1517–1582), her gentleman-usher.

Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, the new regime, anxious for one of her rank and Spanish descent to endorse its religious policies, pressured the duchess to openly embrace Catholicism, with Gardiner, the new queen's chief minister, demanding to know whether Katherine was “now as ready to set up the mass, as she was lately to pull it down” (Foxye, *Acts and Monuments*, 8:570). Unwilling to acquiesce, Katherine, in 1555, was allowed to leave England; descriptions of her travails among the **Marian exile** communities of Germany later found their way into John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Her travels even became the subject of a popular Elizabethan ballad.

Upon her return to England in 1559 after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, the duchess immediately resumed her religious **patronage**, eventually angering both the queen and her chief minister William **Cecil**, with her support of **Puritan** preachers and clerics. She employed Miles **Coverdale** as tutor for her children by Bertie, and several of her chaplains and other religious protégés became prominent critics of the **Anglican Church**. The duchess died on 19 September 1580. Her son, Peregrine **Bertie**, who had been born in exile, became Lord Willoughby de Eresby as heir of his mother.

John A. Wagner

See also “Book of Martyrs”

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Bertie, Peregrine, Lord Willoughby de Eresby (1555–1601)

For his exploits in the **Netherlands**, Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, became one of the most famous Elizabethan military heroes. Born in Germany, where his Protestant parents were living as **Marian exiles**, Bertie was named to commemorate his family’s enforced “peregrination” in foreign lands. On the family’s return to England in 1559, Bertie’s education was supervised by Sir William **Cecil**, who also helped arrange a marriage for him with the daughter of the Earl of Oxford. Bertie’s mother, Katherine Willoughby **Bertie**, had been the widowed Duchess of Suffolk when she married Richard Bertie, her horse master, in 1552. Because Katherine had been Baroness Willoughby de Eresby in her own right, Peregrine inherited his title from her upon her death in 1580.

In 1585, Elizabeth sent the new Lord Willoughby to Denmark to negotiate for Danish help against **Spain** in the Netherlands. He then joined the English forces of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, in Flanders, where Willoughby was named governor of Bergen. He fought at Zutphen in September 1586, where he witnessed the mortal wounding of his friend Sir Philip **Sidney**. In 1587, he led Leicester’s cavalry, and then succeeded Leicester as commander of all English forces when the earl was recalled to England. Caught



A son of Marian exiles, Peregrine Bertie became one of the most famous Elizabethan military heroes. (Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

between the military needs of the Dutch and the political and financial restrictions imposed by the queen, Willoughby's position in the Netherlands became increasingly difficult. In 1588, the government ordered him to send part of his force to England to help meet the **armada** threat, but his own urgent requests to return home were denied. Willoughby repelled a Spanish attack on Bergen later in the year, a victory that made him the subject of several late-sixteenth-century ballads.

Willoughby's failing health finally led the queen to approve his recall from the thankless Dutch command in March 1589. In September, Willoughby led an unsuccessful English expedition to **France** to help **Henri IV** against the **Catholic League**. To restore his health, Willoughby spent the early 1590s traveling in Europe, especially in **Italy**. In 1596, the queen named him governor of Berwick on the border with **Scotland**, and he spent his last years sending the government regular reports on Scottish affairs. Willoughby died in Berwick on 25 June 1601.

See also Netherlands Expedition; Netherlands Revolt

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Berwick, Treaty of (1560)

The 1560 Treaty of Berwick constituted an agreement between **Elizabeth I** and rebellious Scottish Protestants to act in concert against the expansion of French influence in **Scotland**. In 1559, when Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, also became queen of **France**, rumors began to spread of the French king's intention to send 3,000 additional troops to Scotland to support the pro-French regency government of Mary's mother, Marie de **Guise**. Fearing that the French would eventually use their military forces in Scotland to invade England and place Mary on the throne, Elizabeth decided to assist the Lords of the Congregation, the leaders of the Protestant opposition to the Catholic regency regime.

In December 1559, the English admiral William **Winter** succeeded in turning back most of the French reinforcements who sailed into the Firth of Forth. In February 1560, Elizabeth's agent Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, met with representatives of the Lords of the Congregation in Berwick on the Scottish border to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance against the Scottish regent. By the 1560 Treaty of Berwick, Elizabeth agreed to send an army into Scotland to assist

the Protestants against the regent's French forces. In return, the Lords promised to send Scottish troops to the assistance of their English allies should the French invade England. Based on a shared Protestantism, this Anglo-Scottish alliance broke the centuries-old anti-English alliance between Scotland and France.

In accord with the agreement, an English army of over 6,000 men entered Scotland in March 1560 and joined Scottish forces in besieging the French fortress at Leith. The Berwick agreement was one of the first major foreign policy initiatives of Elizabeth's reign. The queen entered into it reluctantly, being as unwilling to support subjects in rebellion against their lawful queen as she was to see French power in Scotland increase. The military intervention begun by the Treaty of Berwick led in the summer of 1560 to the conclusion of the Treaty of **Edinburgh**, whereby Elizabeth achieved her goal of removing the French from Scotland.

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Berwick, Treaty of (1586)

The 1586 Treaty of Berwick created an Anglo-Scottish alliance, made possible the 1603 accession of the Scottish king to the English throne, and laid the foundation for the 1707 union of the two kingdoms. Signed at Berwick on 5 July 1586, the treaty bound each country to provide military assistance to the other in the case of attack by a third power. Each country also pledged not to enter into an agreement with a third country that would be harmful to the other. Finally, **Elizabeth I** and **Scotland's** James VI agreed to maintain the religion of their countries as it currently existed, a clause that ensured a Protestant successor to the English throne and gave James implicit assurance that he would be that successor. Although Elizabeth's experience as the unwilling focus of rebellion during her sister's reign made her refuse ever to openly declare a successor, she did signal her intentions in May 1586 by providing the Scottish king with a regular subsidy to strengthen his position with the independent-minded Scottish nobility.

Negotiated for England by Sir Francis **Walsingham**, the 1586 Treaty of Berwick used the unstated promise of succession to the English throne to convince James to ignore French offers of friendship and to cooperate with Elizabeth's government in

reducing the age-old disorder that plagued the Anglo-Scottish border. Although the Scottish king later complained that his English pension was too small, the treaty proved its worth in February 1587 when James withstood enormous pressure to respond militarily to the English execution of his mother, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Although affronted by the act, James limited himself to an angry protest, being unwilling to risk the English throne for a mother he never knew. The 1586 Treaty of Berwick destroyed any possibility that the old Franco-Scottish alliance would be revived, and it tied Scotland more closely to England. It also helped ensure that the English and Scottish Crowns would be united in the person of King James upon Elizabeth's death.

See also James I; Mary I

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Bible, English

Stimulated by humanist demands for greater accuracy, Protestant demands for vernacular editions, and the government's need for wording and commentary that accorded with its approved policies, the first English translations of the Bible appeared during the early Tudor period.

By the late fifteenth century, rediscovery of the Greek Bible, coupled with renewed interest in Greek and Hebrew studies, revealed to scholars the inadequacies of the *Biblia Vulgata* (the Vulgate), the definitive Latin translation of the Bible prepared by Jerome in 375. In 1516, the resulting demand for a return to original sources to produce a more accurate translation led to publication of Desiderius **Erasmus's** Latin New Testament. Within a few years, Martin Luther and other reformers seized upon this humanist principle of original sources and combined it with the teaching that the Bible was the ultimate authority on doctrine and practice and thus should be available to all Christians in accurate vernacular translations, an idea that became a cornerstone of **Lutheranism** and later forms of Protestantism. Because Catholic tradition opposed the reading and interpretation of the Bible by laypeople, and governments soon realized how quickly vernacular Bibles—especially those with commentaries espousing the doctrines of the translator—could spread reformist ideology among their people, the creation and distribution of vernacular translations became a highly contentious issue.

William **Tyndale** completed the first English translation of the New Testament in 1525. Although immediately popular in England, Tyndale's translation was banned by **Henry VIII** in 1530. Having not yet broken with Rome, the king objected to Tyndale's Lutheran commentary and to his reformist word selection; for example, translating "church" as "congregation." Tyndale published revised editions of his New Testament in 1534 and 1535, but his arrest for heresy in the latter year ended his work on the Old Testament. Taking up where Tyndale left off, Miles **Coverdale** completed the untranslated portions of the Old Testament and combined his work with Tyndale's to publish the first English translation of the entire Bible in 1535.

Although reformist in tone, the unauthorized Coverdale translation found favor with Anne **Boleyn**, who joined Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** in urging the king to place an English Bible in every church, something Henry finally ordered through the **injunctions** of September 1538. In 1537, John **Rogers**, using the pseudonym "Thomas Matthew," drew upon the work of Tyndale and Coverdale to publish the Matthew Bible. Dedicated to Henry VIII, the Matthew Bible contained extensive marginal notes that constituted the first English Bible commentary.

Because none of the available translations had been produced under church direction, all were unsatisfactory in some way and the need for an authorized version was widely recognized. Under the supervision of Thomas **Cromwell** and the editorship of Coverdale, the Great Bible, or Cranmer's Bible as it became known after the archbishop added a preface to the second edition, appeared in November 1539. Although shorn of Lutheran commentary and reformist word choices, the Great Bible was based largely on the work of Tyndale and Coverdale. Backed by royal and episcopal authority, the Great Bible spread throughout England in the reigns of Henry VIII and **Edward VI** and was soon found in most English churches. During the reign of **Mary I**, the **Marian exiles** in Geneva, led by William **Whittingham**, produced their own English translation. The Geneva Bible appeared in 1560 and immediately superseded the Great Bible. Printed in a smaller, cheaper size, and in more readable type, the Geneva Bible contained helpful marginal notes and strongly Calvinistic alternative translations. It went through 140 editions and was far more popular, particularly with **Puritans**, than the less radical Bishops' Bible that the Elizabethan Church published in 1568 in an unsuccessful attempt to replace the Geneva edition. Until the publication of the Authorized (i.e., King James) Version in 1611, the Geneva Bible was the most widely read English translation.

See also Calvinism, English; Humanism

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Bible Reading, Act Concerning

See Advancement of True Religion, Act for the

Bill and Book Episode

The term “bill and book” describes two unsuccessful **Puritan** attempts in the **Parliaments** of the late 1580s to pass bills giving the **Anglican Church** a presbyterian system of governance. In the 1584 session of Parliament, Peter Turner, member for **London**, submitted a bill that vested the government of the English Church in councils of ministers and elders in each county, instead of in bishops under the Crown and Parliament. Turner’s bill also replaced the **Book of Common Prayer** with the more Calvinistic liturgy devised by John **Knox** in the 1550s for use by his Geneva congregation of **Marian exiles**. Led by Sir Christopher **Hatton**, who expressed the queen’s opposition to the measure, the House of Commons refused to consider Turner’s bill.

The Presbyterians, who were strongly represented within the clergy of London and the surrounding counties, tried again in the next session. In February 1587, Anthony Cope, the member for the Oxfordshire borough of Banbury, submitted a bill abolishing all existing laws for the government and liturgy of the English Church. The bill also would have replaced the Anglican Prayer Book with a revised form of the liturgy used in John **Calvin**’s Geneva, a system that gave ministers a central role in governing the church. Unlike Turner, Cope had strong support from a group of Presbyterian members, including Job Throckmorton, who was later implicated in the publishing of the anonymous **Marpreate Tracts**. Because **Elizabeth I** had previously ordered the Commons not to meddle with matters of religion, she stopped all debate on the Cope initiative by directing the Speaker to deliver the proposal (the “bill”) and the Geneva liturgy (the “book”) to her.

When Peter **Wentworth** and several other members of Parliament protested this action as a violation of the Commons’ freedom of speech, the queen sent Wentworth, Cope, and three other members of Parliament to the **Tower of London**. Government spokesmen in the Commons then denounced the bill, which many members had not yet studied in detail, as a radical destruction of the traditional structure and liturgy of the Anglican Church. The government members especially emphasized the disastrous social consequences that they believed would follow its passage. By raising the possibility of using Parliament to alter the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559, the Bill and Book Episode strengthened the Puritan desire for reform of the Church of England and aggravated the divisions between conservative Anglicans and Puritans.

See also Calvinism, English; Presbyterian Movement

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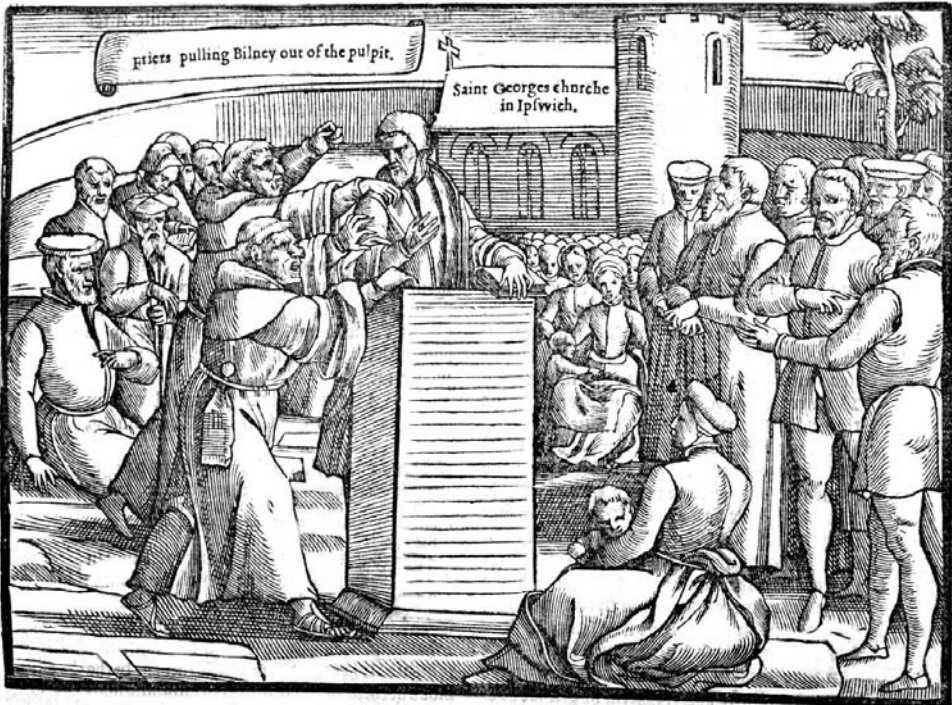
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Bilney, Thomas (c. 1495–1531)

Thomas Bilney was one of the first Englishmen of reformist opinions to be executed for heresy under **Henry VIII**. Born in Norfolk, Bilney earned a degree in law at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Ordained a priest in 1519, Bilney suffered a period of spiritual turmoil from which he emerged only after reading a copy of Desiderius **Erasmus**'s Latin New Testament. Through reflection on the epistles, Bilney, like Martin Luther, found strength and comfort in the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. In the early 1520s, Bilney was a leader among the group of Cambridge scholars who met at the **White Horse Tavern** to discuss **humanism** and religious reform. A close friend of Hugh **Latimer**, Robert **Barnes**, and other group members, "little Bilney," as the slightly built cleric was called, became a prominent and popular figure within Cambridge reformist circles.

Licensed to preach in 1525, Bilney soon became highly controversial and was widely, if unfairly, reputed to be a Lutheran. His sermons vigorously denounced relics, religious images, pilgrimages, intercessory prayer to saints, and other traditional religious practices. Examined by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** in 1526, Bilney apparently swore that he did not hold and would not preach Lutheran ideas. However, he was in trouble again in the following year for a series of **London** sermons that condemned the church for idolatry. Having broken his oath to Wolsey, Bilney was now a relapsed heretic, for whom the only alternatives were recantation or death. Tried before Bishop Cuthbert **Tunstall**, who was highly sympathetic, Bilney was given several opportunities to reconsider his opinions and save himself. After a week of consultation with friends, Bilney recanted. Prohibited from saying **Mass** publicly and from preaching without license, Bilney was also briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London**.

Upon his return to Cambridge, Bilney fell into such despair that his friends were afraid to leave him alone. After a short time, he announced that he was going "up to Jerusalem" (Routh, *Who's Who in Tudor England*, 112), and left for Norwich, where he began preaching in the fields and distributing copies of William **Tyndale**'s New Testament. Arrested by the local bishop, Bilney was tried and convicted of heresy. He was burned to death at Norwich on 19 August 1531. A controversy later erupted over whether or not he had made a last-minute recantation. Unlike many



After a decade of conflicts with religious authority, preacher Thomas Bilney was one of the first reformers executed for heresy under Henry VIII. (Brian Seed/StockphotoPro)

of his friends and colleagues, who later became thoroughgoing Protestants, Bilney held completely orthodox views on such contentious issues as papal authority, the Mass, **transubstantiation**, and clerical celibacy. Because of these views and the narrowness of his areas of disagreement with the Roman church, Bilney is often not considered a Protestant martyr.

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Bishops' Book

The *Bishops' Book* is the popular name for the officially titled *Institution of a Christian Man*, the second formulary of faith for the English Church devised under

the **royal supremacy**. Published in 1537, the *Bishops' Book*, which was so named because it was drafted by an assembly of bishops and printed without royal sanction, superseded the **Ten Articles**, the original Henrician statement of belief issued in 1536.

Because the Ten Articles, in an effort to avoid controversy, had left many key issues unmentioned, many people, and especially such reformist clerics as Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, believed the church required a stronger statement of faith. Accordingly, in February 1537, the king convoked a meeting of bishops to formulate basic doctrine and draft a **catechism**. Since completing this charge required more than simply revising the Ten Articles, the assembly, over which Thomas **Cromwell** presided as vicegerent, devised a new and more detailed formulary.

Completed in July, the *Bishops' Book* represented a series of compromises between the conservative and reformist elements of the assembly that created it and thus was slightly more conservative than its predecessor. Although it incorporated much from the Ten Articles, and thus retained the Lutheran tone of that document, it also added much left out of the previous statement. Organized in catechistical form, the book provided a detailed commentary on the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the "Ave Maria." Unlike the Ten Articles, the *Bishops' Book* contained statements on all seven medieval sacraments, although baptism, penance, and the Eucharist were identified as the primary three. The book also declared the Henrician view of the universal Christian church as a confederation of free and equal national churches owing no allegiance or obedience to the Church of Rome. It also rejected any idea that Catholic unity was disrupted by national differences in rites, traditions, or practices.

Before the book's publication, Edward **Foxe**, who played a prominent role in the book's drafting, asked Cromwell if it was to be printed under the authority of the king or the bishop. Because **Henry VIII** ignored repeated requests to review the work, it went to press without his official approval. When Henry finally read the book some six months later, he sent Cranmer over 200 revisions, many of which tended to weaken the document's endorsement of the Lutheran principle of justification by faith. Cranmer sharply criticized many of these proposals and even commented on the king's bad grammar. However, Henry withheld his approval of the *Bishops' Book* and it was eventually superseded in 1543 by the more conservative and royally authorized formulary known as the *King's Book*.

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Blackheath, Battle of

See Cornish Rebellion

Black Rubric

The Black Rubric was an explanatory footnote inserted by order of the Royal Council into the 1552 **Book of Common Prayer**. The late addition, which derived its name from being printed in black ink rather than the typical red, was meant to address Protestant objections to certain wording prescribed for use in the Communion service.

In September 1552, in a sermon preached at **court** before **Edward VI**, the Scottish reformer John **Knox** argued against a directive in Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**'s newly authorized second Book of Common Prayer; the controversial wording required communicants to kneel when receiving the bread and wine. Knox felt that the kneeling posture indicated adoration of the wafer and wine and therefore implied the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ, a Catholic doctrine to which Knox and other Protestants strongly objected. Alarmed by Knox's preaching and pressured by reformist sympathizers in the English church and government, the council ordered the printer to cease work until the matter could be resolved. Told to revisit the issue, Cranmer, weary of reformist protests, refused to delete the directive. Armed with the king's endorsement of Knox's position, the council, acting under the leadership of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, overruled Cranmer and instructed the chancellor to insert the footnote.

The new clarifying commentary denied that the kneeling posture intended any adoration of the bread and wine or in any way implied the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, for such belief, declared the Black Rubric, "were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians" (*First and Second Prayer Books*, 393). Because the footnote was not officially part of the service, the Elizabethan prayer book of 1559 dropped the Black Rubric but broadened the wording used by the priest when presenting the wafer to communicants. The Elizabethan book also added an "ornaments rubric" that ordered church ornaments (e.g., candles, statuary, crucifixes) and priestly garb to conform to the standard usage of the second year of King Edward's reign. This vague prescription caused much confusion and led in part to the **Vestiarian Controversy** of the 1560s, a significant event in the development of the Puritan faction within the Elizabethan **Anglican Church**. Unlike Knox and the later **Puritans**, **Elizabeth I** was indifferent to church ornaments and vestments as matters of doctrine and belief; rather, she saw such things as important symbols of royal control over English Church structure and government.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Royal Supremacy; Transubstantiation

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Blackwell, George (c. 1545–1613)

George Blackwell's turbulent leadership of the English Catholic mission exposed the divisions between Jesuits and secular priests and hindered attempts to win official toleration for English Roman Catholics from **Elizabeth I's** Protestant government. Born in Middlesex, the son of a **London** pewterer, Blackwell graduated from Trinity College, Oxford, becoming a fellow of the college in 1565. A convinced Catholic, Blackwell resigned his fellowship and left England to enter William **Allen's** English Catholic college at Douai in the **Netherlands** in 1574. Blackwell was ordained a priest in 1575 and returned to England as part of the Catholic mission in 1576. In constant hiding from the authorities, Blackwell was arrested and briefly imprisoned in 1578. After his release, he returned frequently to Europe and became well known in Rome.

To restore effective leadership and discipline to the English Catholic mission after the death of Cardinal Allen in 1594, Pope Clement VIII created the new position of archpriest, to which Blackwell was appointed by Robert **Parsons**, director of the English **Jesuit mission**. As archpriest, Blackwell had absolute authority over all secular priests in England and instructions to work closely with the Jesuits. Because most secular priests were more interested in saving Catholic souls than furthering the Jesuit political agenda, they immediately disputed Blackwell's appointment and authority. The new archpriest's rigid adherence to his papal instructions and his dictatorial manner further alienated secular priests from his leadership.

For over a decade, English secular priests bombarded Rome with appeals for Blackwell's dismissal and for abolition of the office of archpriest. These appellants, as they were called, published almost 20 books in support of their position, thus exposing the divisions in the English Catholic mission and community to an unseemly public debate. The appellants' attempts to win official toleration for Catholics in return for a rejection of Jesuit political action were rejected by Elizabeth in 1602. Blackwell, after his arrest and imprisonment in 1607, recommended that

his priests follow his lead in subscribing to the oath of allegiance that **James I** had imposed on Catholics. Having twice condemned the oath, the pope deprived Blackwell of his office in 1608. The former archpriest died in prison in January 1613.

See also Archpriest Controversy; Catholicism, English; Seminary Priests; Universities

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Blois, Treaty of

The 1572 Treaty of Blois created a defensive alliance between England and **France**. Relations between the two countries had been strained since the French capture of **Calais** in 1558. Although the 1559 Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** committed France to restore Calais to England after eight years, the possibility of such a restoration was slight. In 1562, **Elizabeth I**, in hopes of regaining Calais, concluded the Treaty of **Hampton Court** with the French **Huguenots**, who opened the port of Le Havre to the English in return for military aid. However, the Huguenots negotiated a separate peace with the French Crown and then joined the French army in besieging Le Havre and compelling the English garrison to surrender. Although the 1564 Treaty of **Troyes** restored peace, the French again refused to return Calais. By the early 1570s, the growing power of **Spain** threatened both countries. By supplying the Catholic forces in the French civil war with funds, Spain weakened the French monarchy and endangered the French state. As proved by the **Ridolfi Plot**, Spain, angered by English raids on **Spanish America**, was willing to conspire with Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, to overthrow English **Protestantism**.

Negotiated for England by Sir Thomas **Smith** and Sir Francis **Walsingham** and signed on 19 April 1572, the Treaty of Blois committed each country to supply the other with 6,000 troops and eight ships to assist in repelling an invasion by a third power. In a private letter of understanding that accompanied the treaty, Charles IX of France agreed to provide this aid even if an invasion were undertaken for religious reasons, a danger that was then far greater for England than for France. The French also agreed to open a port to English merchants, whose business had been damaged when the **Treasure Crisis** of 1568 closed the Spanish **Netherlands** to English trade. The Treaty of Blois gave England some measure of security against Spain and considerably improved relations with France. The agreement also led to an improvement of relations with **Scotland**. By allying with England, the French

implicitly abandoned the cause of Mary Stuart and so paved the way for the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Berwick** in 1586.

See also Le Havre Expedition

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Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy (1563–1606)

By his successful campaigns against the rebel Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, extended English authority throughout Elizabethan **Ireland**. As the second son of a penurious baronial family, Blount came to **court** in 1583 to seek his fortune. A handsome young man, Blount attracted the attention of **Elizabeth I**, who sent him a token of her regard. Although this mark of favor excited the jealousy of the rising royal **favorite** Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, the two young men soon became good friends. Blount, like another friend, Sir Philip **Sidney**, was also attracted to Essex's sister Penelope **Rich**, the wife of Lord Rich. After Sidney's death in the **Netherlands** in 1586, Lady Rich became Blount's mistress, bearing him five children.

In 1587, Blount was knighted for his services with the English expeditionary force in the Netherlands under Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. After seven years of almost continuous campaigning with English armies in the Netherlands and **France**, Blount returned home in January 1594 to become captain of Portsmouth. He succeeded his father as Lord Mountjoy later that year. In 1597, he sailed with Essex on the unsuccessful **Islands Voyage** but



Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, friend of Robert Devereux and favored by Queen Elizabeth, helped extend English authority throughout Ireland. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

escaped later involvement in the earl's conspiracies and succeeded Essex as lord deputy of Ireland in February 1600.

In December 1601, Mountjoy defeated the Irish forces sent by Tyrone to link up with 4,000 Spanish troops holding the fortress at Kinsale. Mountjoy's victory forced the Spanish to withdraw from Ireland and allowed the deputy to launch a campaign against Tyrone in northern Ireland, while Sir George **Carew** launched one against rebels in the south. The combined success of these campaigns led to the submission of Tyrone to Mountjoy in **Dublin** on 30 March 1603, only a week after Elizabeth's death. **James I**, the new king, created Mountjoy the Earl of Devonshire, but the new earl's marriage to his mistress in 1605, after her divorce from Lord Rich, offended the king and put the earl in disfavor during the last months of his life. He died in **London** on 3 April 1606.

See also Essex's Rebellion; Kinsale, Battle of; Netherlands Expedition

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Blount, Sir Christopher (1556–1601)

As third and last husband of Lettice **Knollys**, Sir Christopher Blount became the stepfather and loyal supporter of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Blount was born into a Catholic **gentry** family in Worcestershire. He served as master of horse to Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, during the earl's **Netherlands expedition** in the late 1580s. In 1586, Blount was one of the government agents who helped bring Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, to trial by uncovering her involvement in the **Babington Plot**. Within weeks of Leicester's death in September 1588, Blount, who had been recently knighted, married Lettice Knollys, the earl's widow. Blount's marriage significantly advanced his career, both politically and militarily, for it made him the stepfather of the queen's young **favorite**, the Earl of Essex, the countess's eldest son by her first husband.

In 1593, Essex secured his stepfather's return as member of **Parliament** for Staffordshire. In 1596, the earl gave Blount a prominent place in the expedition to Cadiz, and in 1599, Blount served in **Ireland** as master of the field for Essex's Irish expedition. The loss of influence and position that befell Essex as a result of his failure in Ireland also touched Blount, who had become completely identified

with his stepson's cause. Blount was deeply involved in Essex's abortive rebellion of February 1601 and was arrested and tried for treason, along with the earl. He was condemned and executed with Essex in February 1601.

See also Cadiz Raid (1596); Devereux, Walter, Earl of Essex; Essex's Rebellion

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Blount, Edward (c. 1570–1632)

Edward Blount (or Blunt), a London printer, is notable for his friendships with Elizabethan literary figures and for his association with the **First Folio** of William **Shakespeare's** plays. On 25 June 1588, Blount was admitted as a freeman (i.e., full member) of the London Stationers' Company. In 1598, Blount, claiming an intimate friendship with the late poet, published Christopher **Marlowe's** *Hero and Leander*. In the same year, he published John Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A World of Words*. Blount's other notable publications included a translation of Montaigne's essays (1603) and the first English translation of Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1620).

Many of Blount's editions contained prefaces or dedications written by the printer or translated by him from Spanish or Italian. In 1623, Blount and several other printers and publishers, working under the direction of Shakespeare's colleagues John **Heminges** and Henry **Condell**, produced the famous First Folio (i.e., first collected edition) of Shakespeare's plays. Blount's name, along with that of printer Isaac Jaggard, appeared on the title page and in the colophon of the work. Little is known of Blount's later career, except that he married the widow of another printer in about 1623 and was still working just before his death in 1632, when he issued an edition of the plays of John **Lyly**.

John A. Wagner

See also Printing; Shakespeare, Works of

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Blount, Elizabeth (c. 1499–c. 1539)

Elizabeth Blount was the mother of **Henry VIII**'s illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond. The second daughter of a Shropshire **gentry** family, Elizabeth debuted at **court** in 1512 as maid of honor to Queen **Catherine of Aragon**. She may have owed her appointment to such an eagerly sought position to the influence of her kinsman William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, chamberlain of the queen's household. Besides conforming to the Tudor ideal of beauty—blue eyes, blond hair, fair skin—Elizabeth apparently had an engaging personality, for the dean of Westbury later remembered her as “eloquent, gracious, and beautiful” (Williams, *Henry VIII and His Court*, 65). Although only about 15, she was soon a frequent participant in court revels and pastimes, such as the 1514 Christmas festivities at which she was one of Henry's dance partners.

Little is known about the commencement or duration of Elizabeth's relationship with the king. It probably began after the announcement of the queen's latest pregnancy in April 1518, when Elizabeth was about 18. In about June 1519, seven months after Catherine suffered another miscarriage, Elizabeth gave birth to a healthy son, named Henry Fitzroy (meaning Henry “son of the king”), at the priory of St. Lawrence at Blackmore in Essex, where Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** had discreetly arranged for her to spend her pregnancy. Because she did not return to court after the birth, her affair with the king was probably not resumed. In 1519 or 1520, she married Gilbert Tailbois, son of a wealthy Lincolnshire family. Her first child by Tailbois, who some historians have argued was actually her second by the king, was born sometime in the latter year.

Because the union with Tailbois was an excellent match for someone of her station, it was likely arranged as a reward for the mother of the king's son. Once married, Elizabeth had little contact with Fitzroy and even less say in his upbringing. From the early 1520s, she lived in Lincolnshire, where she bore her husband two more children. Although her family, unlike the relatives of Mary **Boleyn** and Anne **Boleyn**, reaped few benefits from their kinswoman's royal liaison, Elizabeth and her husband did well; a 1529 statute of **Parliament** gave her a right for life in various Tailbois lands and awarded him early possession of the estates of his deranged father. At her husband's death in April 1530, Elizabeth became a wealthy widow. In 1532, she married Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, to whom she bore three daughters. Although she never exercised any political influence, Elizabeth apparently retained the king's affection, receiving expensive gifts from him every New Year's. Elizabeth outlived her son Fitzroy by some three years, dying in about 1539.

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Bocher, Joan (d. 1550)

Joan Bocher (or Bouchard), often known as Joan of Kent, was the most prominent English Anabaptist of the early Tudor period. Although little is known of her early life, Bocher seems to have had a Lollard upbringing and to have been of sufficient social standing to actively distribute copies of William **Tyndale's** English New Testament among the ladies of the **court** in about 1540. A friend and associate of Anne **Askew**, who was burned for heresy in 1546, Bocher was herself examined for unorthodox opinions by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** in 1543. Released by the archbishop, whose enemies used the case to accuse him of improper leniency toward heretics, Bocher fell again under suspicion of heresy in 1549. According to the Kent **justices of the peace**, Bocher was denying that Christ in any way shared the human flesh of his mother, a clearly Anabaptist Christology considered heretical by both Catholics and Protestants. Although the government of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, had recently secured repeal of the **heresy laws**, thereby eliminating any statutory authority to burn heretics, the Royal Council ordered Bocher's arrest. Examined by Cranmer, Hugh **Latimer**, and others, Bocher defiantly and abusively upheld her beliefs.

Excommunicated by the archbishop in April 1549, Bocher was handed over to the council for punishment but remained in prison for over a year. Confined for a time in the **London** house of Richard **Rich**, Lord Rich, the lord chancellor, she was visited daily by Cranmer, Thomas **Goodrich**, and Nicholas **Ridley**, who all made strenuous but unavailing efforts to secure her recantation. The delay in carrying out Bocher's sentence was due perhaps to the government's uncertainty over its ability to proceed against her and perhaps to Somerset's personal unwillingness to burn religious dissenters. Also, Protestant clerics like Cranmer, having themselves been accused of heresy by conservative opponents, were probably reluctant to condemn another to the flames. By the spring of 1550, Somerset had been overthrown and **Edward VI's** regency government was led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, who could no longer ignore Bocher's clear and obstinate heresy.

On 27 April 1550, upon Chancellor Rich's finding that the government had burned heretics prior to the 1401 passage of the first heresy statute, the council directed the chancellor to issue a writ for Bocher's execution. Burned at Smithfield on 2 May 1550, Bocher so vigorously reviled Dr. John Scory as he preached the opening sermon that most onlookers thought her demented and more fit for Bedlam (the popular name for St. Mary of Bethlehem, the London hospital for the insane) than for the stake.

See also Anabaptism; Council, Royal/Privy Council; Lollardy

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Bocking, Edward (d. 1534)

Edward Bocking, a monk of Christ Church Priory in Canterbury, was the leading supporter, adviser, and publicist of Elizabeth **Barton**, the Holy Maid of Kent, who was widely believed to be in receipt of revelations from God. Although Bocking is traditionally portrayed as having masterminded Barton's fraudulent claims as a means of opposing the royal **divorce**, the exact nature of his relationship with Barton is unclear, as is the extent of his responsibility for the maid's prophecies and pronouncements.

Born into a Suffolk **gentry** family, Bocking was educated at Canterbury College, Oxford, where he was warden from about 1513 and where he took his doctorate of divinity in June 1518. Shortly after retiring to the Benedictine priory in Canterbury in 1526, Bocking was sent by the prior to the village of Aldington in Kent. There Bocking was to participate in a commission created by Archbishop William **Warham** to investigate a servant girl named Elizabeth Barton, whose trances and revelations were popularly thought to be of divine origin. After examining the girl, Bocking and his fellow commissioners concluded that her experiences were genuine and her pronouncements orthodox. Bocking thereafter became the maid's spiritual adviser, and in 1527 persuaded her to enter the nunnery of St. Sepulchre in Canterbury, where Barton's revelations continued. As knowledge of the king's desire to divorce **Catherine of Aragon** spread, Barton's exhortations and prophecies, perhaps through Bocking's influence, became more political, centering on the disasters that would befall king and country if **Henry VIII** married Anne **Boleyn**.

Thanks to Bocking, who collected the maid's predictions in a manuscript that he then circulated among the queen's supporters, Barton's reputation was soon such that she secured audiences with some of the most prominent figures in the realm, including Bishop John **Fisher**, Sir Thomas **More**, and the king himself. Under Bocking's guidance, Barton became more closely associated with the leading opponents of the divorce, such as Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter, and the conservative Carthusian order of London. By 1533, Barton's fame and influence, as well as her declaration that Henry was no longer king in the eyes of God and no longer entitled to his subjects' obedience, made her a serious threat to royal authority. In September 1533, Barton, Bocking, and seven others were arrested. Once in custody, Bocking, like the maid, confessed to perpetrating a

fraud; both were condemned for **treason** by act of **attainder** and hanged at Tyburn on 20 April 1534. Although Bocking was certainly responsible for developing and spreading the maid's reputation as a holy seer and clearly an opponent of the royal divorce, it is impossible now to know how much of what Barton said and did was planned and directed by Bocking.

See also Carthusian Martyrs

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Bodleian Library

The Bodleian Library, located at Oxford University, is one of the world's oldest research libraries. Thomas de Cobham, bishop of Worcester, established the first library at Oxford in the early fourteenth century. To this small collection were added the manuscripts of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the mid-1430s. Pressed for space, the university began construction of a new library in 1444. However, due to a shortage of funds the building was not completed until 1488. Known as Duke Humfrey's Library, its collections were purged in 1550 of "superstitious books and images" and all other traces of Roman **Catholicism**. According to the seventeenth-century historian Anthony Wood, some of the books were burned; others were sold to various tradesmen, including bookbinders, who reused the valuable parchment for book linings and covers. The remaining volumes were dispersed into other collections, and the library's shelves and stalls were dismantled and sold. At that time, Oxford had little money to purchase new books, and although separate college libraries survived, the university library itself stood empty for the next 50 years.

In 1598, Thomas **Bodley**, a retired diplomat, offered to provide the funds and leadership necessary to reestablish the library. Educated in Geneva and at Magdalen College, Oxford, Bodley began his career as a lecturer at Oxford in 1565, continuing until 1576. Thereafter, he spent two decades in **Elizabeth I**'s foreign service, a career he found frustrating. After his retirement in 1596, Bodley returned to Oxford and devoted his considerable fortune, acquired from his merchant father and through marriage to a wealthy widow, to the development of the library that now bears his name. In addition to refurnishing Duke Humfrey's Library and securing the appointment of a permanent librarian, Bodley donated, or persuaded others to donate, approximately 2,500 books and manuscripts to the university.

These early benefactors included Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, who donated 252 books stolen from a Portuguese bishop after the sack of Cadiz in 1596—a fairly typical way of acquiring books in Elizabethan times.

Bodley was also instrumental in convincing the **Stationers’** Company, a powerful publishers’ guild established in 1403, to supply the university with one free copy of every book published in England. Although this agreement was only loosely honored at first, it laid the foundation for the depository library system in England, a custom that many other countries have since adopted. It also allowed the Bodleian Library’s staff to devote more time and money to collecting manuscripts and foreign books.

After its formal dedication in November 1602, the library grew so rapidly that a new wing, known as Arts End on account of the subjects of the books shelved there, was added in 1610–1612. Bodley, knighted in 1604, oversaw many of the library’s day-to-day operations and personally employed a London bookseller to travel on the Continent and purchase books for the collection. Upon his death in 1613, Bodley left an endowment to support the library’s continued growth. Today, the Bodleian Library, which was and continues to be a strictly noncirculating collection, occupies multiple buildings and offsite storage facilities. The original Elizabethan library, together with Duke Humfrey’s Library, is now known as the Old Bodleian Library.

Michael Taylor

See also Cadiz Raid (1596); Universities

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Bodley, Sir Thomas (1545–1613)

Sir Thomas Bodley was the founder of Oxford University’s **Bodleian Library** and the benefactor after whom it was named. Born into a Protestant family in Exeter in Devonshire, the young Bodley spent the years of **Mary I**’s reign in religious exile in John **Calvin**’s Geneva. After **Elizabeth I**’s accession in 1558, he returned to England and entered Oxford, where he became a lecturer in Greek and Latin by 1564. In the 1570s, the queen made use of his proficiency with languages by sending him on various diplomatic missions to European courts, particularly to Denmark and **France**. From 1589 to 1596, he held the difficult and sensitive post of English ambassador to the **Netherlands**. Bodley was knighted by **James I** in 1603.

In 1598, Bodley offered to restore and expand Oxford University's fifteenth-century library. In less than a decade, Bodley more than tripled the size of the library's holdings by his own judicious purchases and by persuading his wealthy and influential friends to act as benefactors. Bodley's collection criteria reflected his religious prejudices—he rejected printed versions of stage plays (**Puritans** saw the theater as sinful and frivolous) and anything that seemed too Catholic. He particularly strengthened the library's scientific collections. In 1610, Bodley persuaded the Stationers' Company to give a gift copy of every book it printed to the Oxford library, thus making that institution the nucleus of England's first national library. At his death in 1613, Bodley left his large personal fortune to the library for the purchase of books and for the construction of the quadrangle that has housed the library ever since.

See also Catholicism, English; Drama; Foreign Relations and Diplomacy; Liveried Company; Marian Exiles; Printing; Stationers' Register; Universities

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Boleyn, Anne (c. 1507–1536)

Anne Boleyn gained recognition as the linchpin in the English **Reformation** since **Henry VIII** chose her as his next consort when deciding to have his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** annulled. Besides giving birth to the future **Elizabeth I**, Anne conscientiously performed her royal duties until her downfall in 1536.

Anne was born in about 1507 to Sir Thomas **Boleyn** and Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas **Howard**, the future second Duke of Norfolk. The first evidence of Anne's existence is a French letter she sent to her father, probably in 1514, from the court of the **Netherlands'** regent, Margaret of Savoy, in which she explained that her tutor was teaching her to write. Hugh Paget described the scribbled handwriting as extremely difficult, if not impossible, to read, and claimed, as a maiden of honor, she must have been 13 years old, but no set age determined the girl's appointments. Moreover, rulers did not hire tutors for their maidens whose education was completed by about their 13th year. If she were 13 in 1514, she would have been too old in 1526–1527 to serve as Catherine of Aragon's maiden. In 1514, Anne was surely in the regent's nursery with the sisters of the future Habsburg emperor **Charles V**.

When Mary **Tudor**, the sister of Henry VIII, wed **Louis XII**, Anne moved to the nursery of his daughter Renee, future Duchess of Ferrara, who was born in 1510. As the dowager in 1561, Renee related her childhood friendship with Anne to the English ambassador. Anne later served as maiden to Claude, consort of **Francis I**, and his sister, Margaret, future queen of Navarre. In 1520, Anne returned home expecting to wed the Earl of Ormond's heir. That her younger sister Mary **Boleyn** had earlier married William Carey, a mere gentleman and younger son, indicates how their father favored his older child over his younger one. Henry **Percy**, the Earl of Northumberland's heir, successfully wooed Anne, perhaps in 1523. Since aristocratic marriages formed political alliances, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and Percy's father terminated the betrothal and rusticated Anne.

In 1526–1527, she returned to court as Catherine's maiden. Having decided to marry Anne, Henry wrote his now famous love letters to her in 1528, when she was absent from **court** partly because she had contracted sweating sickness. By 1532, he decided to ignore papal warnings and marry her. That autumn, he ennobled her as the marquise of Pembroke and escorted her to a **Calais** meeting with Francis. In January, when she was pregnant, they were secretly married. In April, she attended chapel as queen, and in May, Thomas **Cranmer**, archbishop of Canterbury, authorized by the Act in **Restraint of Appeals**, pronounced Henry's marriage to Catherine invalid. The next month Anne was crowned queen, and in September she gave birth to Elizabeth.

In **France**, Anne was influenced by Margaret of Navarre's spiritual beliefs, the roots of which lay partly in the movement called the *devotio moderna*, begun by the Brethren of the Common Life. Emphasizing an inner faith and seeking to imitate Christ in their daily lives, they spread their message through charitable works and educational activities. They greatly influenced the tenets of the Christian humanists, who emphasized scriptural studies and church reform but rejected Lutheran doctrine. At her arrival in England, Anne was devoted to vernacular scripture reading and later, like Henry, became a schismatic.

As queen, Anne purchased religious books; debated the scriptures with Henry; kept order in her chapel; chastised her maiden, Mary **Shelton**, for writing love poetry in a prayer book; required her maidens to sew clothing for the poor; attempted to protect her maidens' reputations and, therefore, her own; promoted monastic reform; and patronized clerics. The future beliefs of her clients, sometimes called evangelicals, could not be anticipated in the 1530s; some remained Catholics while others became Protestants.

Rumors claimed she was pregnant in 1534, but the only confirmed second pregnancy resulted in a miscarriage in January 1536. Relying on Thomas **Cromwell**'s conversations with Eustace **Chapuys**, the Imperial ambassador, the historian Eric Ives argued that for political and religious reasons, Cromwell deserted her reformist faction and led a conservative one to manipulate Henry into having her

executed. Her miscarriage did not cause her death, he claimed, for why else would Henry have delayed arresting her until May? Religious and legal traditions actually led to the delay: until churching, occurring about 30 days after childbirth, a woman could not resume her social duties, and the absence on circuit of the Westminster judicial machinery from the end of Hilary Term (part of the academic year) until Easter hindered legal action. In contrast to Ives, G. W. Bernard doubted Henry was his advisers' factional captive and pronounced Anne guilty of the illicit charges against her.

A third analysis treats seriously early modern attitudes toward childbirth. In the week after Easter Sunday, 16 April 1536, the Privy **Council** debated Anne's fate. Their deliberations must have been leaked to her, since she approached Henry to show him Elizabeth, a perfectly formed child. She also asked Matthew **Parker**, the future archbishop of Canterbury, to see to Elizabeth's welfare. Five men with unsavory reputations—Mark **Smeaton**; her brother, George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford; Henry **Norris**; Sir Francis **Weston**; and William **Brereton**—were charged with having sexual relations with her at sundry times but twice on specific days and places between October 1533 and December 1535. Before these encounters, she previously lured them with pigeon or french kisses. On some occasions she was definitely not at the stipulated places.

It seems obvious that by dating her adulterous and incestuous acts during these months, ending just before the January miscarriage, Henry hoped to prevent being recognized as the father of the miscarried fetus. A worse slur on a man's reputation than being known publicly as cuckolded some 10 times in 15 months was to be recognized as the sire of a deformed fetus. Contemporaries believed God personally intervened to punish the descendants through third or fourth generations of those individuals who committed heinous sins.

Because Thomas **Wyatt** was imprisoned, although subsequently released, Catholic polemicists later identified him as Anne's paramour. Except for the arrest of Wyatt, who was a womanizer, no contemporary evidence claimed he was her admirer. His grandson, George



Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII and mother of Elizabeth I, is receiving renewed attention from historians. (National Portrait Gallery, London, UK/Corel)

Wyatt, later created an incredible tale about the poet unsuccessfully competing with Henry for Anne's attentions. Probably George invented this scenario because he was horrified to read in Nicholas **Sander**'s study of the English schism in 1585 that his ancestor had illicit relations with Anne, who was described there as a witch. Adopting the Neoplatonic tradition, Sander painted a queen outwardly evil who he believed was inwardly evil. No reliable evidence from pre-1536 indicates she had Sander's wen and extra finger or George Wyatt's reduced moles and extra fingernail. Indeed, a hostile observer noted she was "of middling stature" and had a "swarthy complexion," a "wide" rather than "pretty" mouth, and "black and beautiful" eyes (Brown et al., *Calendar of State*, 365–366).

When discussing her relationship with Wyatt, Ives claimed Anne indulged in courtly love affairs with Henry's servants. Ives's view of courtly love, borrowed from medieval literature, involved a younger single man obsessed about his love for an older married mistress that might become sexual in nature. When individuals addressed each other as mistress and servant, however, they adopted a convention that cast romanticism over economic and political relationships. As will be seen with the 1536 arrests, even Anne's brief conversation with a young man, who claimed he entered her apartments to see her, not her maiden, led to his death.

The accusations against her included incest with her brother, who probably committed **sodomy** with Mark Smeaton, the only accused who confessed. Norris and Weston were incarcerated because the sole exchange with a man Anne could remember, which could remotely besmirch her reputation, occurred with Weston. In 1535, when the married Weston visited her quarters seeking Mary Shelton, Anne confronted him. Perhaps to protect Shelton from Anne's wrath, he claimed both he and Norris, the betrothed of Shelton, visited her because they hoped to see Anne. The queen responded by defying him. Recalling this encounter, in April 1536 she asked Norris if he hoped "to fill dead men's shoes" and demanded he swear to her almoner she was an honorable lady. Her intervention led to the two men's arrest and the charge of conspiracy against Henry's life. Brereton had a reputation for greediness and probably was guilty of usury, which was associated with sodomy, since contemporaries believed sterile money could not breed. Sir Richard Page, who like Wyatt was released, was later condemned for drunkenness, which was linked to whoredom. All these men reputedly committed at least one of the seven deadly sins.

Before her execution, Anne explained she was judged and condemned by the law and would say nothing about that but requested, "if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best." After a Calais swordsman beheaded her, she was buried in the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula at the **Tower of London**. Her crime was surely giving birth to a deformed fetus, leading Henry to punish her because he believed her gross sinfulness had caused the child's distorted features.

Retha M. Warnicke

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Boleyn, George, Lord Rochford (c. 1504–1536)

George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, the brother of Queen Anne **Boleyn**, was accused of committing incest with his sister and beheaded for **treason**. Boleyn was born in about 1504, although whether he was older or younger than his sisters Anne and Mary **Boleyn** depends on how one dates their births. Possibly educated at Oxford, Boleyn first appears in the historical record in 1522, when he and his father, Thomas **Boleyn**, were jointly granted various offices that had belonged to Edward **Stafford**, the recently executed Duke of Buckingham. Boleyn received the Norfolk manor of Grimston in his own right in 1524, about the time his sister Mary became **Henry VIII's** mistress. In about 1526, Boleyn married Jane Parker, the daughter of Henry Parker, Lord Morley. From about 1527, his sister Anne's relationship with the king brought Boleyn numerous rewards and offices, including appointment as esquire of the body.

In 1529, Boleyn accompanied John **Stokesley** on embassy to **France**. The French ambassador in **London** complained that Boleyn was too young and inexperienced for such an important mission, but advised **Francis I** to flatter the young man, since the Boleyns were in high favor at the English **court**. In December 1529, upon his father's elevation to the earldom of Wiltshire, Boleyn received the new earl's former title, Viscount Rochford. In about 1530, Thomas **Wolsey**, now in disgrace, acknowledged the Boleyn family's paramount influence with Henry by granting Rochford an annuity of 200 marks. When his sister was crowned queen in June 1533, Rochford was again on embassy to France, but was present in September when his niece Elizabeth was baptized. He was sent several more times to France in 1534, and in June of that year was appointed warden of the Cinque

Ports (a confederation of southeastern ports). Although Henry began to tire of his wife after 1534, Rochford remained in apparent favor at court, where he acquired a reputation as a poet.

Unlike his distant relationship with his sister Mary, Rochford's relationship with his sister Anne was close, and he shared her reformist inclinations to such a degree that the Imperial ambassador, Eustace **Chapuys**, considered him a Lutheran. Rochford participated in the May Day jousts of 1536, but, like Anne, was arrested the next day and conveyed to the **Tower of London**. Charged with committing incest with his sister, Rochford was condemned with Anne on 15 May and executed two days later with the four other men convicted of adultery with the queen—Henry **Norris**, William **Brereton**, Francis **Weston**, and the musician Mark **Smeaton**. Rochford's inclusion in his sister's fall is usually attributed to Thomas Cromwell's need to destroy the principal members of the Boleyn faction and to Jane **Boleyn**'s role as an informant against her husband. Whether or not Jane actually supplied evidence against her husband and sister-in-law is unclear; her motive is usually given as anger at Rochford's many infidelities. A more recent theory (see Warnicke, *Rise and Fall*) suggests that Rochford was involved in a homosexual relationship with Smeaton, which Cromwell used to extract a confession from Smeaton and to portray Rochford as a libertine capable of incest.

See also Elizabeth I

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Boleyn, Jane, Lady Rochford (d. 1542)

Jane Boleyn, Lady Rochford, is best known for her role in the downfall of two queens—Anne **Boleyn** in 1536 and Katherine **Howard** in 1542. The daughter of Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Jane was at **court** by 1522, when she participated with Anne and Mary **Boleyn** in an Easter revel arranged by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**. In about 1526, Jane married Anne's brother, George **Boleyn**, who was raised to the peerage as Viscount Rochford in 1529. Although few details are known about Lady Rochford's life, she has traditionally been portrayed as a jealous woman who willingly provided evidence to sustain the charge of incest that condemned her husband and his sister. However, the nature of her relationship with her husband and sister-in-law, and her role, if any, in their destruction are unclear.

In October 1532, Lady Rochford accompanied Anne and the king to **Calais** for their meeting with **Francis I**. In 1533, the viscountess became one of the chief ladies of Queen Anne's household. According to the Imperial ambassador, Eustace **Chapuys**, Henry banished Lady Rochford from court in 1534 for conspiring with Anne against the king's new (and unnamed) mistress, a story that accords ill with the tradition of hostility between the sisters-in-law. In 1535, Lady Rochford, whose father was a known adherent of Princess Mary, was briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London** for participating in a public demonstration on the princess's behalf.

In May 1536, Rochford was accused of committing incest with the queen. The charge has traditionally been presented as standing upon an allegation of "undue familiarity" between brother and sister made to Thomas **Cromwell** by Lady Rochford. The viscountess is also said to have informed Cromwell of Anne's remark to her that the king was impotent, a serious matter because the comment threw doubt on the paternity of Princess Elizabeth. Historians have speculated that Lady Rochford's actions were motivated by support for Princess Mary, by jealousy caused by her husband's rumored infidelities, or by his actual relationship with his sister, whatever its exact nature. A recent theory gives Lady Rochford little part in her husband's destruction, believing that she only accepted his guilt when presented with evidence of his sexual relationships with other men.

Whatever the nature or extent of her role in the **treason** trials of 1536, Lady Rochford survived the collapse of the Boleyn faction, and, after a period of retirement, returned to court in 1540 as lady-in-waiting to **Anne of Cleves**. She next became one of the senior ladies in the household of Anne's successor, Katherine Howard. In this capacity, she facilitated the queen's liaison with Thomas **Culpepper**. Although Lady Rochford later portrayed herself as a mere servant unwillingly obeying her mistress's orders, both Katherine and Culpepper described her as intimately involved in the initiation and maintenance of the secret relationship. Condemned by act of **attainder**, Lady Rochford was executed with Katherine at the Tower on 13 February 1542.

See also Elizabeth I; Mary I

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Boleyn, Mary (c. 1499–1543)

Mary Boleyn, the daughter of Thomas **Boleyn**, Earl of Wiltshire, was the mistress of **Henry VIII** and the sister of Henry's second wife, Anne **Boleyn**. The date of

Mary's birth, like those of her siblings Anne and George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, is much in doubt, as is the order of the sisters' births. One theory makes Mary the elder, placing her birth in about 1499 and Anne's around 1501 (Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 17–21), while another makes Anne the elder, placing her birth in about 1507 and Mary's around 1508 (Warnicke, *Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, 9–10). If it is true that Mary accompanied the king's sister, Mary **Tudor**, to **France** in 1514, then the former is more likely. According to a later statement by **Francis I**, Mary Boleyn's behavior at the French **court** made her "a very great wanton with a most infamous reputation" (Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 34). Henry VIII also alluded to Mary's reputation in a 1528 letter to Anne—a most ungallant reference since he had by that time contributed to Mary's bad name.

When the king's sister returned to England in April 1515, Mary likely accompanied her. On 4 February 1520, Mary wed William Carey, a gentleman of the privy chamber who was distantly related to the **Beaufort family** and thus to the king. Sometime around 1524—perhaps shortly after the birth that year of her first child, Katherine Carey—Mary seems to have become the king's mistress. About this time, the ship *Mary Boleyn* appeared in the royal fleet, while grants and awards made to William Carey became larger and more numerous between 1524 and 1526. In 1527, when Henry began contemplating marriage to Anne, he sought and obtained a papal dispensation allowing him to wed the sister of a former sexual partner. Later, when Sir George Throckmorton, a member of the **Reformation Parliament**, startled the king by charging him with sleeping with both Anne's mother and sister, the king revealingly replied "never with the mother" (Warnicke, *Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn*, 45).

When Mary's son, Henry Carey, was born on 4 March 1526, court gossip proclaimed Henry the father, a rumor that persisted throughout Carey's life thanks to an apparent resemblance to the king. Mary's relationship with Henry probably ended with her son's birth; it was certainly over before the king became interested in Anne around 1527. After William Carey died in June 1528, Mary remained at court, accompanying Anne and Henry to a meeting with the French king in October 1532 and becoming one of her sister's ladies-in-waiting after Anne became queen in 1533. In 1534, indications of pregnancy led to the uncovering of Mary's secret marriage to William Stafford, a soldier of **Calais** and second son of a minor **gentry** family. Angered by this *mésalliance*, which reflected poorly on the queen and her family, Anne and her parents banished Mary from court. Mary appealed her dismissal to Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister, but she seems to have remained unwelcome at court and to have had little contact with Anne, even while the queen awaited execution in the **Tower of London** in 1536. Mary died on 19 July 1543. Her children Henry **Carey** (later Lord Hunsdon) and Katherine Carey were later well favored by their cousin **Elizabeth I**.

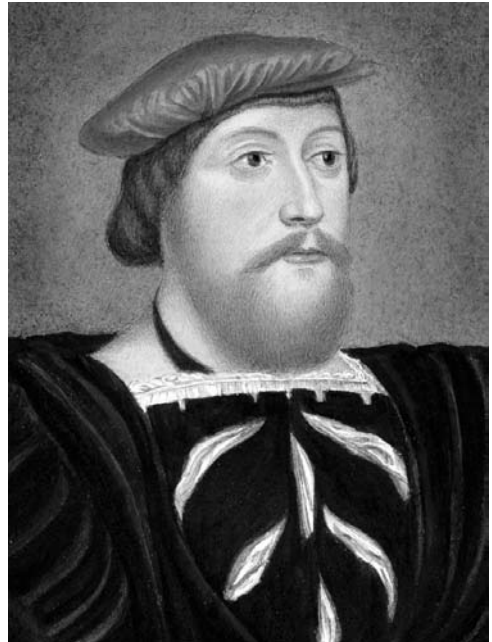
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Boleyn, Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire (1477–1539)

Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, the father of Queen Anne **Boleyn**, was an accomplished courtier and diplomat. Boleyn was the son of a wealthy Norfolk gentleman. His paternal grandfather was a successful merchant and former lord mayor of **London**, and his maternal grandfather was Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, a leading **Anglo-Irish** aristocrat. In the late 1490s, Boleyn married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and was thus well placed by family connections to launch a career at **court**. In 1497, he served with his father against the **Cornish Rebellion** and in 1503 escorted **Henry VII's** daughter Margaret **Tudor** to **Scotland** for her marriage to **James IV**. In 1509, Boleyn was knighted and named esquire of the body to **Henry VIII**. Boleyn served in the French campaign of 1513 and on the commission that negotiated an English alliance with **Spain**, the pope, and the Holy Roman Empire. Named sheriff of Kent in 1517, Boleyn, who was fluent in French and Latin, was sent on embassy to **Francis I** of **France** in 1519 and negotiated the preliminary arrangements for the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520. He was also present at the July 1520 meeting between Henry and **Charles V** at Gravelines.

In 1521, he was appointed treasurer of the royal household and in 1522 was sent on embassy to Spain with Richard **Sampson**. He was elected knight of the Garter in 1523. In June 1525, Boleyn was raised to the peerage as Viscount Rochford, a promotion that likely



Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, who married into the powerful Howard family, was a successful courtier and diplomat and father of Anne Boleyn. (Stapleton Historical Collection/StockphotoPro)

coincided with the commencement of a sexual relationship between the king and Boleyn's daughter Mary **Boleyn**. Rochford's advancement at court became even more pronounced after about 1527, when his daughter Anne first infatuated Henry. On 8 December 1529, Rochford was created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, while his son, George **Boleyn**, succeeded to his father's former title. Named Lord Privy Seal in January 1530, Wiltshire was also appointed to a commission dispatched to Germany to explain the reasons for the royal **divorce** to Charles V. Before returning to England, Wiltshire also spent time in **Italy** seeking a favorable opinion on the divorce from the University of Padua and in France seeking the same from the University of Paris.

After his daughter's marriage to the king in January 1533 and the birth of his granddaughter Princess Elizabeth the following September, Wiltshire spent most of his time at court. Although traditionally described as grasping and self-serving, a portrayal that was partly shaped by his daughter's enemies, Wiltshire was a cultured man who commissioned works from Desiderius **Erasmus** and supported poor scholars at the universities. He had also made a successful career in court service on his own merits long before his daughters interested the king. Although the arrest and execution of Anne and her brother Rochford in May 1536 destroyed the earl's position at court, little is known of his personal reaction to the disaster. Tradition says the earl abandoned his daughter, and there is no evidence that he tried to communicate with her in the **Tower of London**. Wiltshire was excused attendance at his children's trial but was thereafter stripped of the earldom of Ormond and the office of Lord Privy Seal. He died on 12 March 1539.

See also Elizabeth I

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Bomy, Battle of

See Spurs, Battle of the

Bond of Association

Shaken by the assassination of **William, Prince of Orange**, and alarmed at the continual plotting against **Elizabeth I** by the Catholic supporters of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, the Privy **Council** in October 1584 took steps to ensure the

queen's safety. Because all royal officials lost their commissions and their power to act for the government upon the monarch's death, Mary Stuart could arrange the murder of Elizabeth and then succeed her victim as heir, and none of Elizabeth's councillors would have any legal authority to act against Mary or to avenge Elizabeth. To avoid such a situation, Sir Francis **Walsingham** and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, drafted a Bond of Association to protect the queen.

The first clause of the bond pledged all who signed it to obey the queen's commands and to stand ready to resist, pursue, and destroy any persons who sought her life. Signers of the bond also agreed that any attempt on the queen's life would bar from the royal succession the person by whom the attempt had been made, and all agreed to kill that person by any means available. Although the bond never mentioned Mary, she would die for any attempt on Elizabeth's life, whether or not she had anything to do with it. The bond was also interpreted to include the heirs of anyone benefiting from Elizabeth's assassination. Thus, if Elizabeth were attacked, signers of the bond would also be free to kill Mary's Protestant son, James VI of **Scotland**.

Copies of the bond were sent throughout England, and thousands of people all over the country signed it enthusiastically. Some Protestants, although loyal to Elizabeth and opposed to Mary, refused to sign the bond because they found its endorsement of murderous vengeance to be repugnant. When **Parliament** passed the **Queen's Safety Act** in 1585, the bond was revised to remove the possibility of action against James unless it could be conclusively proven that he had been involved in the conspiracy. Although Elizabeth denied any knowledge of the bond when its thousands of signatures were shown to her in 1586, such ignorance is unlikely. She certainly disapproved of the inclusion of James and may not have seen the final version, but she was likely aware of the scheme.

See also James I

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Bonner, Edmund (c. 1500–1569)

Edmund Bonner, Bishop of **London**, was highly unpopular in his own time and much condemned later for his role in the persecution of English reformers under

both **Henry VIII** and **Mary I**. Although Bonner's infamous reputation has endured for centuries, modern research indicates that his high profile as a persecutor of heretics stemmed more from the duties of his office, the strength of London Protestantism, and his own abrasive manner rather than from any personal cruelty.

Although rumored to be the illegitimate son of a Cheshire priest, Bonner's family origins are uncertain. From 1512, he studied **civil** and **canon law** at Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford; he was ordained in 1519 and took his doctorate of civil law in 1525. He was chaplain to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** by 1529, and in 1532–1533 traveled twice to the papal court on missions involving the king's **divorce** suit. In 1536, he undertook an embassy to the king of Denmark; in 1538, he succeeded Stephen **Gardiner** as ambassador to **France**; and in 1542, he became ambassador to the **court** of **Charles V**.

He also held various ecclesiastical offices, being named archdeacon of Leicester in 1535 and bishop of Hereford and then London in 1538. Although he supported the break with Rome, even writing a preface to *De Vera Obedientia*, Gardiner's defense of the **royal supremacy**, Bonner, like the king, was conservative in doctrine. As bishop of London, the center of reformed thinking in Henry's reign, Bonner examined numerous people accused of heresy, including Anne **Askew**, whom the bishop tried unsuccessfully to save from execution in 1546. On the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Bonner was briefly suspended and imprisoned for obstructing a royal visitation of his diocese (i.e., the temporary supersession of episcopal authority by a royally appointed commission of visitors). In October 1549, Bonner was deprived of his bishopric and committed to Marshalsea Prison for failure to enforce usage of the parliamentary-mandated **Book of Common Prayer**.

Released and restored to his bishopric on Mary's accession in 1553, Bonner vigorously enforced the restoration of Catholic worship. He was, however, less zealous in the prosecution of heretics and was repeatedly reprimanded by the queen and Prince **Philip** for his leniency toward the accused. Because one-third of those executed for heresy under Mary came from the diocese of London, Bonner was required by his office to involve himself in the proceedings against them. This duty and his harsh argumentative manner in interrogating prisoners, which may have been meant to frighten them into recanting, made Bonner thoroughly hated among Protestants, who called him "Bloody Bonner" or "Butcher of London." He was thus coldly received by **Elizabeth I** after her accession in November 1558. In May 1559, Bonner refused the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth and was again deprived of his see and imprisoned in the Marshalsea. He died in prison on 5 September 1569, and was buried secretly at night to avoid disturbances.

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Book of Common Prayer

The Book of Common Prayer was the official liturgy of the Protestant Church established in England under **Edward VI**. The two editions of the Book of Common Prayer mandated by **Parliament** in 1549 and 1552 contained the prescribed forms of all rites, rituals, formulas, and ceremonies used in the worship services of the English Church.

The first Book of Common Prayer came into official use on 9 June 1549. Composed mainly by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, the prayer book replaced the Latin **Mass** with an English service, a change that removed much mystery from the ritual and promoted greater participation by the congregation. In most other ways, however, the prayer book was similar to traditional rites, especially in terms of the words used during Communion. The question of whether or not Christ's actual body and blood were present in the bread and wine of Communion was the most contentious theological issue of the age. This doctrine of Real Presence was central to the Catholic Mass but utterly repudiated by Protestants. Although the wording of the first prayer book was vague enough to encompass both positions, most parishioners cared little for theology, and opposition to the prayer book, especially as it arose in the **Western Rebellion** (or Prayer Book Rebellion) of 1549, stemmed mainly from the unfamiliar look and sound of the English service. The Act of **Uniformity**—so named because it imposed a uniform pattern of worship on the whole realm—required all clergy to use the prayer book and provided for punishments ranging from fines and loss of **benefice** to life imprisonment for refusal to do so. The act also forbade criticism of the prayer book and any attempts to obstruct its use.

Because many Roman Catholics found the conservative first Book of Common Prayer acceptable while many reformers did not, Cranmer revised the first edition to remove the most objectionable Catholic survivals. On 1 November 1552, a new Act of Uniformity required clergy to use the second Book of Common Prayer for all worship services. The act also imposed penalties on laypeople who refused to attend services conducted with the new liturgy. Even though the new prayer book gave the Communion service a more Protestant tone, many reformers still believed the wording was too conservative, forcing the Royal Council to insert the explanatory **Black Rubric** into the text to meet their objections. Although use of the prayer book was abolished in England after the restoration of Catholicism under **Mary I** in 1553, the second book continued in use among the English Protestant churches in exile in Germany and Switzerland. Because more advanced reformers objected

to the 1552 prayer book as too papist in tone and ritual, a series of bitter disputes over use of the service erupted in Frankfurt and other English exile communities. These disputes returned with the exiles to England after 1559 and continued to vex the Elizabethan Church, whose **Puritan** members disliked the prayer book.

On 24 June 1559, seven months after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, a new Act of Uniformity restored the second prayer book, with only minor revisions and without the Black Rubric, as the official worship service of the English Church. Although modified over the centuries, the prayer book devised by Cranmer remains the official liturgy of the **Anglican Church** and the only sixteenth-century worship service still in regular use in the twenty-first century.

See also Admonition Controversy; Bill and Book Episode; Catholicism, English; Council, Royal/Privy Council; Marian Exiles; Protestantism; Transubstantiation

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Book of Homilies

Authorized by royal proclamation in July 1547, the *Book of Homilies* contained 12 model sermons or homilies edited or written by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** for use by parish clergy who were untrained in preaching.

In 1542, Cranmer proposed and **Convocation** endorsed the creation of a book of homilies as a remedy for the Church's lack of trained preachers. Within a year, Cranmer had completed the volume, writing about half the sermons himself. However, the 1543 publication of the *King's Book* as the Church's official statement of faith led **Henry VIII** to refuse authorization of Cranmer's compilation, which he considered unnecessary. When finally promulgated under **Edward VI**, the *Book of Homilies* aroused vigorous protest from conservatives such as Stephen **Gardiner**, who believed the sermons violated the statute forbidding the teaching of doctrines

that contradicted the *King’s Book*. Because the *Book of Homilies* upheld the Protestant principle of justification by faith alone, while the more conservative *King’s Book* stressed the Catholic doctrine of faith and good works, the two publications appeared to be in conflict. During Edward’s reign, however, Gardiner was imprisoned and his protests ignored.

The 12 sermons in the *Book of Homilies* are biblically based and cover matters of doctrine and Christian living. The first sermon exhorts its hearers to read the **Bible**, a matter of great importance to all reformers. The second, third, and fourth sermons expound on original sin, salvation, and faith, while the remaining sermons attack the superstitions and abuses of rejected Catholic tradition and provide a Protestant commentary on how to live a godly life. The *Book of Homilies* was intended as a teaching resource for poorly educated parish priests who could not preach or who did not fully understand or accept authorized doctrines. By having such clergy read one section of one sermon each Sunday, the Church could be assured that its teachings were being properly transmitted to the people. Although the *Book of Homilies* was in use throughout Edward’s reign, modern studies suggest that rural parishes rarely purchased or used it and that the need for it gradually declined as more Protestant **lectureships** were established to make good the preaching deficiencies of parish clergy.

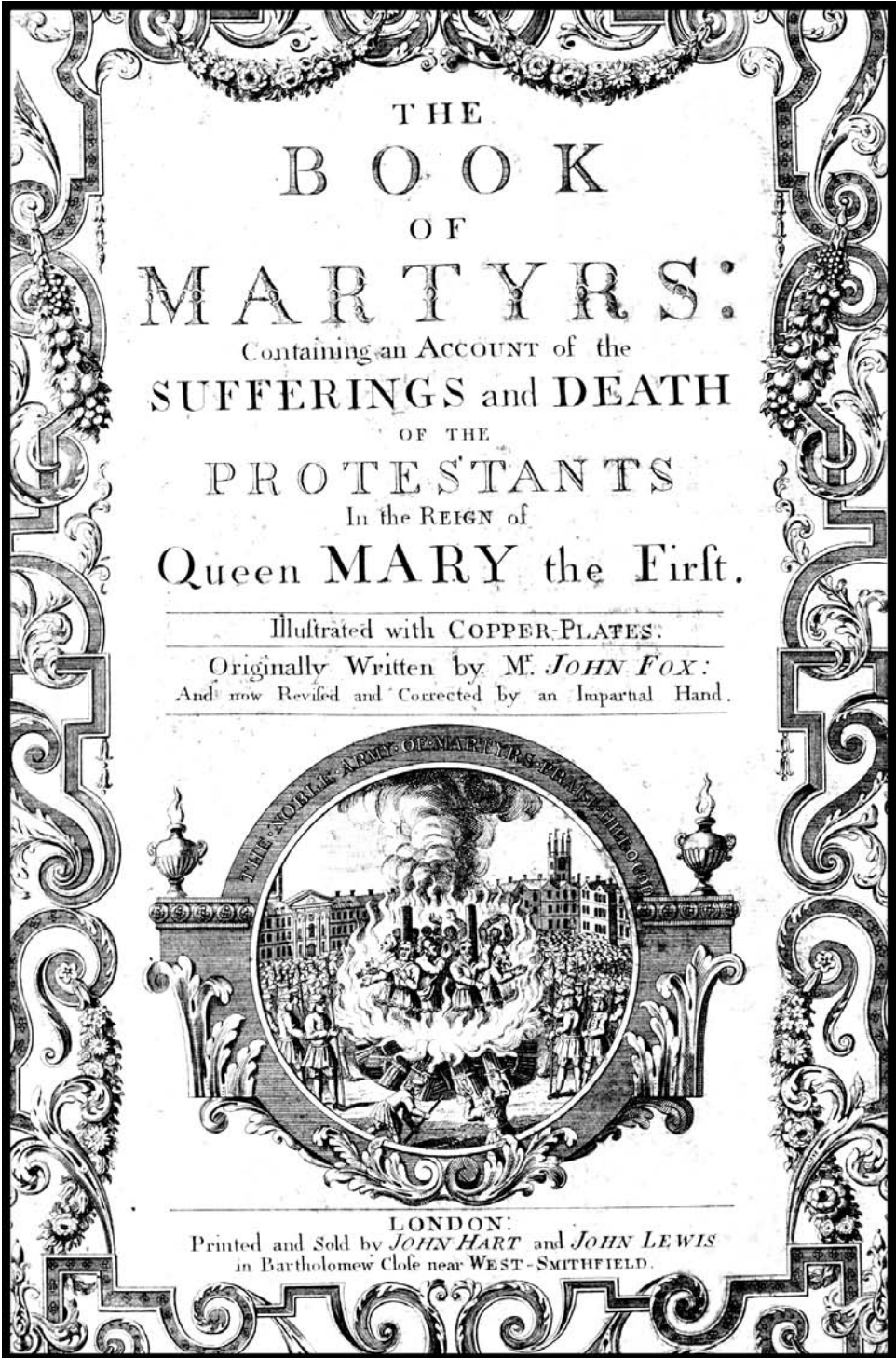
After 1553, **Mary I** suppressed Cranmer’s *Book of Homilies*, although Reginald **Pole**, the Marian archbishop of Canterbury, commissioned a compilation of Catholic sermons to help parish clergy combat Protestant heresy. The project was not completed before the 1558 accession of **Elizabeth I**, who reinstated the Edwardian *Book of Homilies* in 1559 and issued a new book, largely written by Bishop John **Jewel**, in 1563. The Elizabethan *Book of Homilies* contained 21 sermons, including one attacking disobedience and rebellion, which was added in 1571 after Elizabeth had been excommunicated by the pope.

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“Book of Martyrs”

“Book of Martyrs” was the popular name given to John **Foxe**’s *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days*, the most famous and widely read book in Elizabethan England. Published in 1563, *Acts and Monuments* was an expanded



Frontispiece to John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," the most famous and widely read book in Elizabethan England. (London Library, St James's Square, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

English edition of *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, a Latin history of the martyrs of the English Protestant Church that Foxe, a **Marian exile**, wrote and published in Europe in 1559. After returning to England, Foxe studied the episcopal registers of **London** and the southern dioceses, read the papers of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** (who had been burned to death by **Mary I**'s government), and interviewed survivors and eyewitnesses to learn all he could about the burning of Protestants under Mary. To create the "Book of Martyrs," Foxe incorporated his account of the Marian persecution into a history of Christianity that focused on the English Church in the previous three centuries. The book was an immediate success.

In 1571, the bishops ordered a copy to be placed in all cathedral churches, and many parish churches and Protestant **gentry** families also acquired copies, thereby increasing the fame and popularity of both Foxe and his work. The book gave the Elizabethan Protestant Church a resource for combating the propaganda attacks of foreign and English Catholics and gave English Protestants a rousing and readable account of the heroes of their faith. By writing in English, and by including a large number of woodcuts to illustrate the text, Foxe made his stories accessible to almost every English man and woman, whether literate or not. By telling the stories of martyred artisans, tradespeople, and apprentices, as well as of martyred bishops and gentlepeople, Foxe broadened the book's appeal to all classes of Protestant society.

Foxe spent his last years revising and expanding the book; his last edition appeared in 1583, but later versions with additions by other writers appeared throughout the seventeenth century. For generations, the "Book of Martyrs" kept fresh the memory of the **Marian martyrs** and reinforced English distrust of Catholicism.

See also Catholicism, English; Protestantism

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Borough, Stephen (1525–1584)

An explorer and navigator, Stephen Borough was one of the first English subjects to explore the Arctic Ocean and to make contact with Russia. Stephen and his younger brother, William **Borough**, were born in Northam Parish in Devon, but

little else is known about either brother before 1553, when both joined the three-ship expedition that Richard **Chancellor** and Sir Hugh **Willoughby** led into the Arctic Ocean, seeking a Northeast Passage to Asia. As Chancellor's navigator on the *Edward Bonaventure*, Stephen Borough sailed the ship around the North Cape of Scandinavia and into the White Sea, where the vessel made port at Archangel. From here, the Englishmen opened trade negotiations with the government of Ivan IV ("Ivan the Terrible"), czar of Russia. The *Edward Bonaventure* then returned safely to England, the only one of the expedition's vessels to do so. The Chancellor expedition led to the formation in 1555 of the **Muscovy Company**, a joint-stock venture intended to open English trade with Russia.

In 1556, Stephen Borough, again accompanied by his brother William, sailed as master of the *Searchthrift* on an Arctic expedition that discovered the islands of Novaya Zemlya and the opening south of those islands into the Kara Sea. The *Searchthrift* returned to England in the summer of 1557. In 1560, Stephen Borough, as master of the *Swallow*, led three ships to Russia to establish trade relations with the czar for the Muscovy Company. On his return, Borough brought back Anthony **Jenkinson**, an English explorer who reached Russia after completing a difficult journey across the Caspian Sea and Central Asia. When Borough returned to Russia in May 1561, Jenkinson, who had been named English ambassador to Persia by **Elizabeth I**, accompanied Borough to complete the first leg of the long journey to his new post. In January 1563, the queen appointed Borough chief pilot of the royal ships in the Medway, a river in southeastern England that flows into the Thames. Borough remained in royal service until his death in July 1584.

See also Joint-Stock Company

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Borough, William (1536–1599)

An explorer and seafarer, William Borough also wrote an important work on navigation. Born in Devon, William Borough was only 16 when he went to sea with his elder brother, Stephen **Borough**, as a member of the expedition that Richard **Chancellor** and Sir Hugh **Willoughby** led into the Arctic Ocean to discover a Northeast Passage to Asia. In 1556, Borough also accompanied his brother on the Arctic voyage that discovered the Novaya Zemlya islands. He later sailed on the **Muscovy Company**'s annual trade voyages to Russia, and in 1574–1575 he traveled the Russian trade route as an agent for the company. From the careful notes he kept of his travels to and through Russia, Borough wrote *A Discourse of the*

Variation of the Compass, or Magnetical Needle (1581), a work that described the worthlessness of navigational charts produced by cartographers who ignored or misunderstood compass variation.

By about 1580, Borough, like his brother Stephen, had entered royal service, becoming clerk of the ships, an administrative post in the royal **navy**, in 1582. Borough sailed with Sir John **Hawkins** on a largely unsuccessful **privateering** expedition to the Spanish coast in 1586 and was second in overall command to Sir Francis **Drake** during the **Cadiz Raid** (1587). On the latter voyage, Borough quarreled violently with Drake, who had Borough placed in custody aboard his vessel. When the crew of Borough's ship mutinied, Drake had Borough court-martialed and sentenced to death. Upon the expedition's return, Admiral Charles **Howard**, Lord Howard of Effingham, overturned the sentence and restored Borough to command of his ship. To avoid further trouble with Drake, Howard transferred Borough to command of the supply fleet in the Thames, a post Borough held throughout the **Armada** Crisis of 1588. Although Borough was somewhat involved in preparations for Sir Martin **Frobisher's Azores expedition** in 1589 and for Drake and Sir John **Norris's Portugal expedition** in the same year, he was never given another naval command. During his last decade, Borough lived quietly, dying in 1599.

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Boroughs

Boroughs were incorporated towns that held royal charters clearly defining their political and economic rights. Borough towns had the right to control their own markets and the right to restrict the activities of buying, selling, and producing within borough boundaries to their own residents. Outsiders had to pay handsomely for the right to conduct business in the town. The mayor or chief officer of the borough could hold a court to resolve disputes between citizens (although serious crimes were reserved for the royal **common law** courts), and the larger boroughs had their own sheriffs and commissions of the peace and held their own **militia** musters. A borough was collectively assessed for taxes, with the collection left to a municipal official, who was responsible for making up any shortfall in the assessment.

Boroughs also sent representatives (i.e., burgesses) to **Parliament**, although the qualifications for voting and for holding borough office varied widely and were spelled out in each town's charter. In some boroughs, the franchise was restricted to certain guilds or certain families, while in others, voting rights were more widely

distributed among male citizens. At the end of **Elizabeth I**'s reign in 1603, England had 191 parliamentary boroughs, ranging in size from **London**, with over 200,000 residents and considered a county in its own right, to small northern and Welsh boroughs of a few hundred people. After London, the next largest English borough towns were Norwich, Bristol, and York, with populations in 1600 of about 15,000, and Exeter, Coventry, Salisbury, and Newcastle, each with about 10,000 inhabitants. Although a fifteenth-century statute required that anyone sitting in Parliament for a borough constituency be a resident of the borough, most town representatives in Tudor Parliaments were outside gentlemen or the nominees of influential local peers. Smaller boroughs were willing to accept such arrangements because they were often too poor to pay the upkeep of a parliamentary representative who had to be lodged and fed for several weeks in London, while larger boroughs preferred to have their interests represented by a well-connected and articulate gentleman.

Although a number of smaller boroughs declined in population until they ceased to exist (like Old Sarum, the infamous "rotten borough" of the nineteenth century that still sent a representative to Parliament, even though the town site was deserted), most larger towns grew in size, wealth, and political sophistication during the Tudor period.

See also Gentry; Justices of the Peace; Local Government; Peerage; Revenue and Taxation

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Bosworth Field, Battle of

Fought on 22 August 1485 near the Leicestershire village of Market Bosworth, the Battle of Bosworth Field initiated the rule of **Henry VII** and the **Tudor** dynasty. Since the autumn of 1483, only months after **Richard III** had usurped the Crown of his nephew **Edward V**, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the remaining Lancastrian claimant to the throne, had been working to overthrow the Yorkist monarch. After the failure of Buckingham's Rebellion in October 1483, Richmond had based himself first in **Brittany** and then in **France**, where he became the leader of

a growing group of exiles committed to making him king. By early 1485, Richard, knowing that the earl intended to invade but unsure of where he might land, based himself in Nottingham, from where he could strike quickly in any direction. On 1 August, Richmond, having persuaded the government of **Charles VIII** to back his enterprise, departed France with a force of about 600 English exiles and 1,500 foreign mercenaries. Hoping to take advantage of his Welsh ancestry and the local influence of his uncle, Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke, and anxious to contact his stepfather, Thomas **Stanley**, Lord Stanley, whose base was in the northwest, Richmond landed in **Wales** at Milford Haven on 7 August. Collecting reinforcements in Wales, Richmond entered England at Shrewsbury, where he received a message from Stanley offering encouragement but no support. Suspicious of Stanley, who was the husband of Richmond's mother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Richard had demanded that he leave his son, Lord Strange, as a hostage when he withdrew from **court**. Upon Richmond's landing, the king interrogated Strange, who confessed that his uncle, Sir William **Stanley**, was plotting to join Richmond. In receipt of a letter from Strange begging him to join Richard, Stanley remained cautiously aloof from both armies.

On 17 August, Richmond met with Sir William Stanley, whom Richard had denounced as a traitor. Three days later, the earl met both Stanleys, but, fearing for Strange's life, neither would openly join Richmond. Doubting the loyalty of some of his own supporters, Richard marched west to the town of Sutton Cheney, which he reached on 21 August. That evening, Richmond camped about four miles away at a place called Whitemoors, while the Stanleys, with a force of several thousand men, remained at a distance from both armies. The next morning, the king, who had about 10,000 men to Richmond's fewer than 6,000, deployed on or near Ambien Hill, high ground above Richmond's position. As the two armies maneuvered for battle, the Stanleys arrived within sight of the field, but joined neither army, apparently waiting to see how the battle went. The king ordered Strange's execution, but, with the rapid onset of battle, it was never carried out. After barages of archer and artillery fire, the two armies clashed, with the Earl of Oxford leading Richmond's van and the Duke of Norfolk commanding the king's. Tradition placed the fighting on the slope of Ambien Hill, but recent research suggests that the battle occurred a half mile to the south in the plain between Ambien Hill and the village of Dadlington.

The course of the battle is also in doubt. Richmond, seeking to persuade Stanley to commit his forces, may have moved toward his stepfather's position, thus providing the king an opportunity to catch and destroy his opponent in the open field. Or Richard, sensing that the Stanleys were about to join Richmond, may have decided to descend rapidly on either the earl or Stanley before this conjunction could occur. Whatever his plan, Richard charged with his mounted retainers and became heavily engaged with Richmond's men, the king himself unhorsing Sir

John Cheney and slaying the earl's standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, father of Charles **Brandon**, the future Duke of Suffolk. Although Richmond was sorely pressed and in serious danger, Richard was unable to reach his rival before Sir William Stanley's men overwhelmed the royal retinue and killed the king. The death of Richard ended the fighting. Richmond was immediately proclaimed king as Henry VII, while Richard's body was slung on a horse and paraded naked through Leicester with a halter about his neck. Dead on the field were Norfolk and almost 3,000 men, mostly Yorkists. Several nobles who had fought for Richard, including Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, Norfolk's son, were taken prisoner. Tudor tradition states that Richard entered battle wearing a gold circlet, which Stanley found beneath a hawthorn bush and placed on Henry's head. Although possible, it is more likely that the crown was retrieved from the late king's baggage.

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Bothwell, Earl of

See Hepburn, James, Earl of Bothwell

Bouchard, Joan

See Bocher, Joan

Boulogne, Treaty of

Concluded on 24 March 1550, the Anglo-French Treaty of Boulogne ended the war begun in 1549, restored the town of Boulogne (captured by **Henry VIII** in 1544) to French control, and initiated a period of rapprochement between the two realms.

In October 1549, the English Council, responding to widespread disorders during the previous summer, overthrew Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the leader of **Edward VI**'s regency government. The new English regime, led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, inherited a war with **France**, which **Henri II** had begun in August 1549 to recapture Boulogne while the English were distracted by internal rebellion. Despite initial French successes, Boulogne held out, and in October the English Council reinforced the garrison. Although he maintained the military effort, Warwick soon realized that his government could not bear the continued expense of war and that full restoration of internal order first required restoration of external peace. The earl therefore extended cautious peace feelers in November. Increasingly anxious about the possibility of renewed war with **Charles V**, Henri replied positively to these initiatives, and in January 1550 both governments named peace commissions.

After an initial dispute over where to meet, the commissioners formally opened negotiations on 19 February in a specially constructed pavilion near Boulogne. Comprising John **Russell**, Lord Russell; William **Paget**, Lord Paget; Sir William **Petre**; and Sir John Mason, the English commission first demanded implementation of the marriage between Edward VI and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots (now resident in France), which had been arranged by the since-repudiated Treaty of **Greenwich**. As expected, the French rejected the English demand and countered with their own demand for the unconditional surrender of Boulogne, to which they received an equally firm refusal. A French demand for the surrender of English garrisons in **Scotland**, and for the comprehension of Scotland in the treaty as a French ally, was sidestepped by a compromise clause calling for certain surrenders under certain conditions and by French unwillingness to jeopardize an agreement on Scotland's behalf.

With these preliminaries concluded, the negotiators addressed the main question: How much compensation did English honor require for the surrender of Henry VIII's conquest? Eventually, the French agreed to pay 200,000 crowns (roughly £80,000) for the town and most of its military supplies, a sum that more than doubled Henri II's originally stated limit. Although some later historians criticized the treaty as a shameful betrayal of English interests (see Jordan, *Edward VI*, 116), most contemporaries approved the agreement. More recent studies have concluded that the English received good return for the surrender of a town that was costly to garrison and that the nation needed less than peace. The Boulogne agreement also led to the 1551 Treaty of **Angers**, a further Anglo-French accord that arranged a marriage between Edward VI and a French princess.

See also Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Council, Royal/Privy Council; Kett's Rebellion; Western Rebellion

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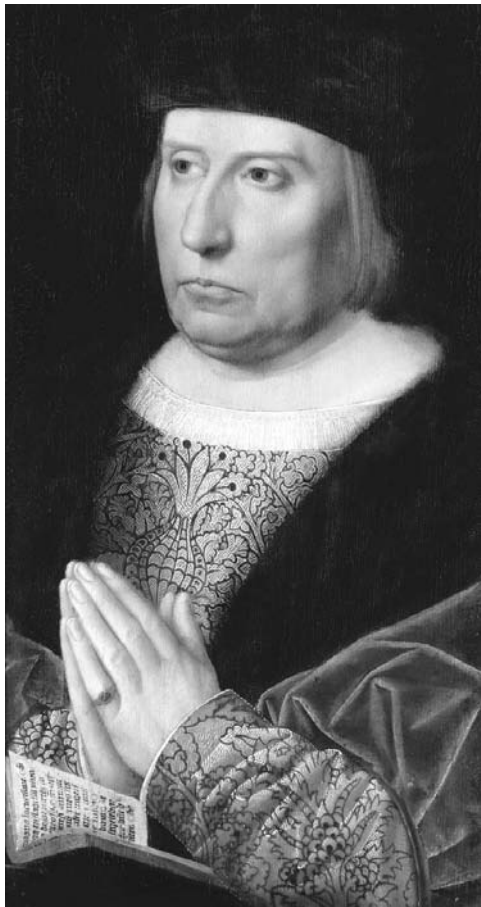
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Bouchier, John, Lord Berners (1467–1533)

John Bouchier, second Lord Berners, is best known for his English translations of various European works of history and literature, especially the fourteenth-century *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart. Because of their literary merit, many of Berners's translations influenced the work of later Elizabethan writers and chroniclers.

Little is known of Berners's early life. He succeeded his grandfather as Lord Berners in 1474, possibly attended Oxford, and probably supported Buckingham's Rebellion, the unsuccessful 1483 attempt to enthrone Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. He participated in **Henry VII's** Breton campaign in 1492 and helped thwart Perkin **Warbeck's** landing in Cornwall in 1497. Well favored by **Henry VIII**, Berners sailed to **France** in the king's suite in 1513 and returned there in the following year as chamberlain to Princess Mary **Tudor**. He became chancellor of the **Exchequer** in May 1516 and journeyed to **Spain** in 1518 as part of an embassy to Charles I. He accompanied Henry to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520 and then in the following December was appointed deputy of **Calais**, a post he held until his death on 16 March 1533.

Undertaken at the king's request, Berners's translation of Froissart's



John Bouchier, second Lord Berners, was a skilled and influential translator of important European works of literature and history. (Photo © Agnew's, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

Chronicles was published in two volumes in 1523 and 1525. His careful use of contemporary English idiom made his translation from the French read as if it were originally written in English. Berners's translation is today credited with launching the Elizabethan fashion for writing and reading English history, and the chroniclers Edward **Hall**, Robert **Fabian**, and Raphael **Holinshed** are all thought to have been influenced by Berners's style. William **Shakespeare** may have used Berners's Froissart as a source for *Richard II*. Berners's 1530 translation of *Huon of Burdeux* (1534), a French prose romance of Charlemagne, influenced a number of Elizabethan writers, including Edmund **Spenser**, who used it for the *Faerie Queene*, and Shakespeare, who drew on it for the character of Oberon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the 1590s, the troupe of actors of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, the **favorite** of **Elizabeth I**, performed a now-lost play that was also apparently based on Berners's *Huon*.

Another of Berners's translations from the French, *Arthur of Lytell Brytayne* (1555?), may also have been used by Spenser. Berners also translated two Spanish works from French versions: Diego de San Pedro's allegorical novel *Castell of Love* (1549) and Antonio de Guevara's *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* (1534), which may have influenced the euphuist style of writing practiced by John **Lyly** and other Elizabethans. Also attributed to Berners are a Latin comedy titled *Ite ad Vineam*, which was performed at Calais, and a 1532 tract titled "The Duties of the Inhabitants of Calais."

See also Charles V

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Bradford, John (c. 1510–1555)

John Bradford was a respected Protestant preacher and **Marian martyr**. Born and educated in Manchester, Bradford was deputy paymaster under Sir John Harrington during **Henry VIII**'s French campaign in 1544. In 1547, Bradford entered the Inner Temple, one of the **Inns of Court** in **London**. At the urging of fellow student Thomas Sampson, Bradford undertook a study of scripture that led him to

embrace **Protestantism**. He sold his goods to give money to the poor, and repaid to the Crown a sum of money that either he or Harrington had fraudulently misappropriated. In 1548, after translating several works of the early church fathers, Bradford entered St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, where he earned a master's degree, as well as a reputation for humility and learning. By November 1549, he was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall, where one of his students was the Elizabethan archbishop of Canterbury, John **Whitgift**, and one of his close friends was the Alsatian reformer Martin **Bucer**. In 1550, Bradford was licensed to preach by Bishop Nicholas **Ridley**, whom he also served as chaplain. A powerful and persuasive preacher, Bradford's delivery in the pulpit was even commended by the Scottish reformer John **Knox**. Two of Bradford's sermons, on "Repentance" and "The Lord's Supper," were published in London in 1574. In a sermon delivered before **Edward VI**, to whom he became chaplain in 1551, Bradford chastised the **court** for its sinfulness, and even referred to the recent fall of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, as an example of the punishment meted out to the worldly.

On 13 August 1553, only weeks after the accession of **Mary I**, Bradford and fellow reformer John **Rogers** attended a sermon delivered by Gilbert Bourne at **Paul's Cross**. Speaking at the queen's command, Bourne so vigorously denounced reformed worship that he nearly caused a riot among his Protestant listeners, who were only pacified by the efforts of Bradford and Rogers. Within days, both men were arrested and charged with inciting a riot. Imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, Bradford spent his time writing religious works such as *The Hurt of Hearing Mass* and *Meditations on the Commandments*. When the Tower filled with prisoners after **Wyatt's Rebellion** in early 1554, Bradford was lodged in the same cell with Ridley, Hugh **Latimer**, and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, the four men comforting one another with reading and study of the **Bible**. When the other three were transferred to Oxford, Bradford was sent to the King's Bench Prison, from which he was brought for examination before Bishops Stephen **Gardiner** and Edmund **Bonner** in January 1555. Accused of heresy for denying the papal supremacy and the doctrine of **transubstantiation**, Bradford refused to recant, despite strenuous efforts by Bonner and others to convince him to do so. Bradford's own accounts of his various interrogations were eventually published in 1561. Transferred later to the Compter Prison, Bradford and a 17-year-old Yorkshireman named John Leaf were burned to death at Smithfield on 1 July 1555.

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Brandon, Charles, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1484–1545)

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was a friend and **favorite** of **Henry VIII** and one of the leading political and military figures of Henry's reign. Because his father, William Brandon, was slain by **Richard III** while serving as **Henry VII's** standard-bearer at **Bosworth Field**, Charles Brandon was raised at the **Tudor** court, where his prowess as jousting and reveler made him an early companion of Henry VIII. Sharing not only the king's tastes and pursuits, but also his nature and physique, Brandon developed a special friendship with Henry. In 1513, royal favor led to Brandon's appointment as marshal and second-in-command of the English army in **France**, where he distinguished himself at Théroutanne and Tournai.

Ennobled as Viscount Lisle in 1513 and as Duke of Suffolk in 1514, Brandon risked all by secretly marrying Henry's sister Mary **Tudor** in early 1515. Widowed by the death of **Louis XII** of France, Mary played upon their mutual attraction to persuade the duke to marry her in Paris when he arrived there to congratulate **Francis I** on his accession. Although Henry supported the match, he was furious that it had been undertaken in secret and without his permission. The couple eventually purchased Henry's pardon with a large monetary payment and the surrender of half Mary's dowry, a circumstance that may in part explain Suffolk's consistently pro-French stance, for French payment of his wife's dower income was vital to his financial position.

Granted the lands of the Yorkist pretender Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, Brandon spent much time in East Anglia, where he sought, without success, to establish a local political interest to rival the Howards. Suffolk accompanied Henry to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520, led an Anglo-Dutch army that briefly threatened Paris in 1523, and worked with Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, to pacify East Anglia during the uproar over the **Amicable Grant** in 1525. With Thomas **Wolsey's** fall in 1529, Suffolk became lord president of the Royal Council, but his wife's hostility toward Anne **Boleyn** and his own uneasy relationship with Thomas **Cromwell** lessened his political influence and cooled his friendship with the king, who in 1533 compelled him to surrender his long-held office of earl marshal. Suffolk regained royal favor in late 1536 by restoring order to Lincolnshire after the **Pilgrimage of Grace**.

Following Mary Tudor's death in 1533, Suffolk married his ward, Katherine Willoughby, whose Lincolnshire estates formed the core of a new landed interest created by exchanging East Anglian estates for Lincolnshire monastic properties. Suffolk's political and military standing improved after 1540, and he took a more active role at **court** and in council. He commanded armies on the Scottish border from 1542 to 1544, led an army at the siege of Boulogne in France in 1544, and commanded the south coast defenses in 1545. Although his new wife later favored **Protestantism**, Suffolk, like the king, was conservative in religion. Dying on 24

August 1545, Suffolk was survived by two daughters by Mary Tudor and two sons by Katherine Willoughby. His granddaughter, Jane **Grey**, was briefly queen of England in 1553.

See also Bertie, Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk; Council, Royal/Privy Council; Grey, Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk

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Brandon, Frances

See Grey, Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk

Bray, Sir Reginald (1440–1503)

Sir Reginald Bray was one of the most active and trusted ministers of **Henry VII**. Born into an ancient Hampshire family, Bray began his career as receiver-general for Sir Henry Stafford, second husband of Margaret **Beaufort**, mother of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the future Henry VII. After Stafford's death in 1471, Bray continued to serve Lady Margaret as steward. In 1483, Bray acted as go-between for Margaret and John **Morton**, Bishop of Ely, both of whom were then engaged in a conspiracy being formed to dethrone **Richard III** in favor of Richmond. Bray also raised much-needed funds for Richmond and won several key gentlemen to the earl's cause, including Giles **Daubeney** and Richard Guildford.

After the failure of Buckingham's Rebellion in October 1483, Bray was pardoned by Richard III but continued to support Richmond and probably went into exile with the earl in **France**. Knighted by Henry VII after the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485, Bray was named chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and knight of the body; he also acted as under-treasurer of England, a key post in the **Exchequer**, the royal financial agency. Appointed a member of the Royal Council, Bray held various financial and administrative positions, sat in numerous **Parliaments**, and served on over 100 commissions. He was also a prominent member of the **Council Learned in the Law**, a body of royal councillors overseeing matters of royal finance. In this work, Bray was a patron of both Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, servants of Henry VII who were later executed by **Henry VIII** as scapegoats for his father's unpopular financial policies.

Bray's record of loyal service to Margaret Beaufort made him a member of Henry VII's inner circle of advisers, especially in matters of estate management and royal finance. For example, Bray was made steward and surveyor of the estates

of the late second Duke of Buckingham, which were held by the Crown during the minority of the heir, Edward **Stafford**, the future third duke. Bray was also responsible for the financial provisions that made possible construction of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster and his renovations of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. In 1497, the Milanese ambassador listed Bray as one of the leading men of the realm, and, in 1498, the Spanish ambassador called him one of the king's most influential councillors. Thus, by his death in August 1503, Bray was one of the key figures in the Tudor regime.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Empson-Dudley Affair

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Brereton, William (c. 1490–1536)

William Brereton was one of the five men executed for adultery with Anne **Boleyn**. Other than his birth into a Cheshire **gentry** family, little is known of Brereton's early life prior to his appointment as groom of the privy chamber in about 1521. Over the next decade, Brereton obtained numerous offices in his home county and in neighboring North **Wales**, becoming sheriff of Flint, constable of Chester Castle, and chamberlain of Chester. Brereton also collected numerous leases and annuities in and around Cheshire, with an outright royal gift of 200 acres in the county made to him in 1527. In 1530, **Henry VIII** approved Brereton's marriage to Elizabeth Savage, Lady Savage, who was a descendant of the **Beaufort family** and thus cousin to the king. The marriage brought Brereton both social prestige and landed wealth. By the mid-1530s, Brereton's array of local lands and offices made him the dominant political figure in Cheshire and allowed him to command an annual income of over £1,200, a substantial figure for a commoner.

On 4 May 1536, Brereton and Sir Francis **Weston**, another member of the privy chamber, were arrested and conveyed to the **Tower of London**. Six days later both men were indicted, with George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford; Henry **Norris**; and Mark **Smeaton**, for committing adultery with the queen. Of the five, Brereton's inclusion in the group is the most mysterious; the exact evidence upon which the charge against Brereton stood was never revealed. His involvement in the fall of Anne Boleyn is traditionally ascribed to his membership in the Boleyn faction at **court**, which Thomas **Cromwell** sought to destroy along with the queen. Although

Brereton supervised the collection of signatures for a 1530 petition asking the pope to grant Henry's **divorce** and may have also been the unnamed groom present at Henry and Anne's secret wedding in 1533, his connections to the Boleyns are less certain than those of Norris.

Brereton's destruction may have stemmed largely from the malice of Cromwell. In 1534, Brereton, with Anne's assistance, had arranged the arrest, on shaky grounds, of John ap Gryffith Eyton, a Welsh gentleman with whom Brereton had quarreled. Despite Cromwell's efforts to save Eyton, the Welshman was hanged. Cromwell may also have viewed Brereton as an obstacle to his plans to end the administrative independence of the county palatine of Chester, where royal authority was not yet fully exercised. Alternatively, Brereton's inclusion may have stemmed from evidence given by one of Anne's ladies, Elizabeth Somerset, Countess of Worcester, Brereton's sister-in-law. The countess may have related incidents that Cromwell used to make a plausible case for Brereton's adultery with the queen, or she may have divulged family knowledge of Brereton's sexual excesses, which made Brereton seem a likely adulterer (see Warnicke, *Rise and Fall*). In any event, Brereton and the other commoners were condemned on 12 May 1536 and beheaded at the Tower five days later.

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Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia

Because it was written by an Englishman who had actually lived in Virginia, the *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* was one of the most influential and persuasive procolonization tracts published in Elizabethan England. In 1585, Thomas **Harriot**, the author of the *Report*, was a member of the first colonial expedition sent to Virginia by Walter **Raleigh**. The colonists established themselves on Roanoke Island (off what is now North Carolina), but a lack of supplies and disputes with the local Indians led them to abandon their settlement and return to England with Sir Francis **Drake** in June 1586.

Harriot, who believed that North America promised to be more than simply a base for **privateering** against **Spanish America**, published the *Report* in 1588

to convince the English government and people that **America** would eventually return the investment of money and effort required to develop it. Illustrated with 23 drawings by fellow colonist John **White**, the *Report* was divided into three sections covering foodstuffs, building materials, and “merchantable” commodities, those potentially profitable products needed to entice investment in colonization. Responding to allegations that the Roanoke colonists had left Virginia because they were starving, Harriot described the area’s rich soil and the many crops the Native Americans cultivated, especially the beautifully colored maize that grew quickly and provided enormous yields.

In an attempt to dispel rumors that Virginia was nothing but a barren sandbar, Harriot used the section on building materials to describe Virginia’s forests and varied landscape. As to profitable products, Harriot described rich native dyes, oils for soap and textile manufacture, giant walnuts and acorns, and fat grapes. He also believed that many medicinal plants could be found and that sugarcane and other valuable commodities of Africa and the West Indies could be grown. Eager to encourage long-term development and to discourage searches for quick wealth, Harriot downplayed mineral resources, saying only that iron was a possibility and that the Indians had small amounts of copper and silver. Widely read and reprinted, the *Report* even found its way into the library of the Virginia Company, the joint-stock enterprise that established Jamestown, the first permanent English colony in North America in 1607.

See also Joint-Stock Company; Lost Colony; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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Brinkelow, Henry (d. 1546)

Henry Brinkelow is best known for writing social and religious satire under the pseudonym “Roderick Mors.” Little is known of the life of Henry Brinkelow. Born in Berkshire, the eldest son of a yeoman farmer, Brinkelow entered the Franciscan order of Grey Friars. Adopting the basic tenets of **Lutheranism**, Brinkelow left the order and married. He became a mercer (i.e., a cloth merchant) and citizen of **London** and fathered a son. In his most famous work, *The Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, Brinkelow claimed that he was banished from England by the bishops, who

were frequent targets of his satire. Whether this is true or not is uncertain. Being a lapsed friar, Brinkelow's flight may have been due to his marriage, or it may simply have been a ruse, like his pseudonym, to hide his identity from the authorities. Brinkelow's will, proved in November 1546, attests to his unbending **Protestantism**. He wanted no outward signs of mourning, strictly forbidding his wife to wear any "worldly fantastical dissembling black gowns" (Brinkelow, *Complaynt*, vi). Brinkelow viewed death as a joyful event and left £5 for his neighbors to have dinner after his burial. To carry on his work, he left another £5 to the "Godly learned men which labour in the Vineyard of the Lord and fight against Antichrist" (vi).

The *Complaynt* (1543) is an angry protest against **enclosures** and other forms of social oppression perpetrated by the rich against the poor. A prototype for the tracts and sermons later associated with the Edwardian **Commonwealth Men**, the *Complaynt* expresses the disappointment of a radical reformer who had believed that destruction of papal authority would transform England into a godly paradise. Contending that king and **Parliament** had left the **Reformation** unfinished, Brinkelow saw worldly bishops and grasping landowners replace the pope as the great oppressor of the commons. Brinkelow urged Parliament to complete the destruction of clerical wealth that had only begun with the **dissolution of the monasteries**: "Ye must first down with all your vain **chantries** . . . and specially your forked wolves of bishops" (Brinkelow, *Complaynt*, 47). Brinkelow also warned his readers to "take no example at the distribution of the abbey goods and lands" as carried out in England, but to look instead to the German Lutherans, "who divided not such goods and lands among the princes, lords and rich people" (47). Brinkelow suggested that Parliament use clerical wealth to provide the poor with medical care and free schools of Greek and Latin.

Besides the *Complaynt*, which was banned by the Crown, Brinkelow wrote (also under the Mors pseudonym) *A Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London* (1542), and is thought to be the author of *A Supplication to Our Most Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth* (1544) and *A Supplication of the Poor Commons* (1546).

See also Becon, Thomas; Crowley, Robert

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Bristol, Treaty of

The 1574 Treaty of Bristol was temporarily successful in stopping the deterioration of relations between **Spain** and England that developed following the **Treasure**

Crisis of 1568. Each country had seized the other's shipping in 1569, and trade between England and Spain and between England and the Spanish-controlled **Netherlands** had been disrupted, with serious economic consequences for both countries. Because neither **Elizabeth I** nor **Philip II** of Spain was ready for war in the early 1570s, the two countries concluded the 1573 Treaty of **Nymegen**, a preliminary agreement that restored trade for two years.

In August 1574, representatives of the two countries met in the western English port of Bristol to negotiate a permanent settlement encompassing mutual compensation for the shipping losses each country had suffered at the other's hands since 1568. Signed on 21 August, the Treaty of Bristol restored full diplomatic and commercial relations between Spain and England and initiated a six-year period of relatively friendly and stable intercourse between the two. In the agreement, England admitted to being the debtor by estimating Spain was responsible for shipping losses totaling £70,000, while accepting Spanish claims against England of £90,000.

The treaty said nothing about the illegal trading and **privateering** expeditions undertaken by John **Hawkins** and Francis **Drake** in **Spanish America**, and both countries continued to attack and seize each other's shipping, especially in American waters. In Europe, however, each monarch worked to maintain the new spirit of friendship. In 1575, Philip expelled English Catholic dissidents from the Netherlands, something England had long demanded. Elizabeth returned the favor by agreeing to refuse sanctuary in England to any rebels against the Spanish Crown, an especially important concession in the case of Dutch rebels. However, despite these efforts at peacemaking, religious differences, the ongoing **Netherlands Revolt**, and continuing English raids on Spanish America eventually nullified the Treaty of Bristol and brought the two countries to open war by 1585.

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Britannia

William **Camden**'s *Britannia* was the first historical/topographical survey of the British Isles and was the inspiration for a new genre of descriptive writing on the counties and regions of England and Britain. In English translation, the full title is *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Adjoining Islands from the Most Profound Antiquity*. "Chorography" refers to the practice of describing in detail the history, culture, and topography of a particular region, a type of historical/geographic writing uncommon in the twentieth century but popular in the sixteenth.

Designed “to restore Britain to its antiquities,” *Britannia* is based on vast amounts of historical and archaeological material collected by Camden over more than a decade of traveling and researching throughout the British Isles. The first part of *Britannia* is a chronological survey of British history from earliest times to the Norman Conquest in 1066. Camden supplied little of his own narrative, but described (and liberally quoted from) other important sources. He was among the first English historical writers to critically examine and partially dismiss such myths of British origins as the story of Brutus (a descendant of Aeneas of Troy who supposedly came to Britain around 1100 BCE) and the legends of Arthur. The second part of *Britannia*, a survey of each of the counties of England and **Wales**, provides the following kinds of information: “who were the ancient inhabitants, what was the reason of the name, what are the bounds of the county, the nature of the soil, the places of greatest antiquity, and most eminent at present; and lastly, who have been dukes or earls of them since the Norman Conquest.”

Britannia was first published in **London** in 1586 and was dedicated to William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Although written in Latin, the work was popular, going through five new editions by 1600 and appearing in an enlarged and revised sixth edition in 1607. Foreign editions were published in Germany in 1590 and 1616. The sixth edition contained maps and plates of coins and inscriptions collected by Camden. An English translation, supervised by the author, appeared in 1610 and was reprinted in 1637.

See also Antiquarianism

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Brittany

Because it controlled part of the English Channel coast and conducted a flourishing trade with England, Brittany, an independent duchy in northwestern **France**, played an important role in Tudor history. Although the dukes of Brittany held their title from the king of France, the duchy in the fifteenth century was an independent state, with its own administrative and ecclesiastical structure and its own legislative and judicial bodies. Breton independence served English interests, for a French Brittany threatened English security. Lying across the English Channel



The Castle of the Dukes of Brittany in Nantes, France, was an important residence for sixteenth-century French kings. (John Gordon)

from England, the Breton peninsula had a long coastline and the duchy was strong in ships and experienced seamen; in French hands, Brittany was a potential base for invading England. Alternatively, England could employ an autonomous Brittany to trouble France in the same way France encouraged **Scotland** to threaten England.

To maintain Breton independence from France, Duke Francis II (d. 1488) sought closer ties with England. In 1468, a threatened French invasion and a thriving English cloth trade persuaded Francis to conclude formal treaties of commerce and alliance with **Edward IV**. In 1471, after restoration of the House of **York** forced them to flee England, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and his uncle Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke, were driven onto the Breton coast by storms. In 1472, this literal windfall allowed Francis to pressure Edward into sending English archers to help the Bretons repel a French invasion. In 1483, after **Richard III** usurped the throne of his nephew **Edward V**, Richmond, who was kept in increasingly rigorous confinement, became a serious threat to the new English regime. Because Richard was too insecure to materially assist Brittany, Francis provided Richmond with men and ships and allowed him to join Buckingham's Rebellion in October 1483. After the failure of that uprising, a band of English exiles formed around Richmond in

Brittany. In 1484, when the pro-English faction at the Breton court used the duke's illness to secretly negotiate with Richard for the earl's surrender, Richmond fled into France, from where he launched a successful invasion of England in 1485.

Now king as **Henry VII**, Richmond made the preservation of Breton independence a cornerstone of his foreign policy. In 1488, the French invaded Brittany, forcing Francis to sign a treaty that made his 11-year-old daughter a ward of the French Crown. In February 1489, only months after the duke's death, Henry negotiated the Treaty of **Redon** with the Breton government. The agreement committed Henry to send 6,000 men to defend Brittany for one year, while the Bretons agreed to support English policy, pay for the English troops, and deny shelter to English rebels. However, by 1491, the military situation in Brittany had deteriorated, forcing Duchess Anne to break the Redon agreement by marrying **Charles VIII** of France. In 1492, Henry, seeking to show himself a ruler of European significance, invaded France, ostensibly on Anne's behalf. Brittany, however, was beyond recovery, and the campaign ended quickly with the Anglo-French Treaty of **Etaples**, whereby Henry acquiesced in the Breton takeover in return for a French pension and an agreement to expel Perkin **Warbeck** and other Yorkist pretenders from France. Although the Breton Estates (a legislative assembly) did not formally vote for perpetual union with France until 1532, the duchy was effectively a French province after 1491.

See also Bosworth Field, Battle of

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Brittany Expeditions

The Brittany expeditions were a series of English military campaigns conducted in **France** between 1591 and 1595 to assist the French king in combating invading forces from **Spain** and the **Netherlands**. **Philip II** of Spain sent troops into the **Brittany** peninsula of northwest France in 1590 to assist the **Catholic League** against **Henri IV**, the new Protestant king of France. Philip also ordered Alessandro **Farnese**, Duke of Parma, his governor-general in the Netherlands, to invade northern France and break Henri IV's siege of Catholic Paris. Pressured to enter the conflict by young courtiers like Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, who longed for military glory, and fearing that a Spanish seizure of French ports on the English

Channel might lead to an invasion of England, **Elizabeth I** agreed to provide Henri with military assistance.

A force of 600 men commanded by Sir Roger **Williams** left England for Brittany in March 1591. A second force of 3,000 under Sir John **Norris** landed in Brittany in May. As punishment for his secret marriage, Elizabeth kept Essex at court until August, when he arrived in France at the head of 4,000 men. The earl participated bravely if ineffectively in the siege of Rouen before surrendering his command in January 1592 when the Spanish commander declined to resolve the siege by meeting Essex in single combat. Parma relieved the siege of Rouen in April, and the Spanish inflicted a severe defeat on Norris in May.

Unimpressed with English assistance and suspicious of Elizabeth's desire for a French town (to replace long-lost **Calais**), Henri sought to end the war with Spain by converting to Catholicism in July 1593. Although this action angered Elizabeth, it did not immediately mollify Henri's French enemies, and the king could renew the English alliance only by agreeing to pay for a new English expedition to help carry on the war. This force, eight ships and 4,000 men under the command of Norris and Sir Martin **Frobisher**, landed in Brittany in September 1594. In November, Frobisher and Norris won a major victory at Crozon. Although England had lost thousands of men in France and had severely strained its financial resources, the Brittany campaigns were successful in that they frustrated Spanish efforts in France, stalled Spanish operations in the Netherlands, and limited Spanish opportunities to intervene in **Ireland**.

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Bromley, Sir Thomas (c. 1530–1587)

Sir Thomas Bromley was solicitor-general and lord chancellor of England under **Elizabeth I**. Bromley was born into a Shropshire **gentry** family of legal practitioners. His father, George Bromley (d. 1545), was a bencher (i.e., senior member) of the Inner Temple, one of the **London Inns of Court**, while his uncle, Sir Thomas Bromley (d. 1555), was chief justice of the Court of **King's Bench**, and his brother, George Bromley, was chief justice of Chester.

Thomas Bromley entered the Inner Temple in the early 1550s. In 1558, he sat in **Parliament** for the Shropshire borough of Bridgnorth, and in 1559 for the Lancashire **borough** of Wigan. Through the **patronage** of Henry **Fitzalan**, Earl of Arundel, for whom he was executor, Bromley represented the Surrey borough of Guildford in the Parliament of 1563. During these years, Bromley also held

various posts at the Inner Temple, including auditor for the treasurer, attendant on the reader, and, in 1566, reader (i.e., a senior member chosen annually to deliver lectures on a specific legal topic). In 1573, he was elected treasurer of the Inner Temple. He was also, in 1566, appointed recorder (i.e., senior judge) of London and elected to Parliament for London, although he continued to sit for Guildford in the 1566 session.

Through the patronage of such prominent figures as Henry **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, and William **Cecil**, Bromley won appointment as solicitor-general, one of the Crown's chief legal officers, in March 1569. As solicitor-general, Bromley sat on the commission that tried the **Northern Rebellion** rebels in 1569, participated in the **treason** trial of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, in 1572, and served on the commission that examined Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, regarding the **Ridolfi Plot** in 1572. Bromley also maintained a flourishing legal practice, serving, for instance, as legal counsel for Katherine Willoughby **Bertie**, Duchess of Suffolk, and her husband, Richard Bertie, in a breach-of-trust suit before the Court of **Chancery**.

Upon the death of Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas **Bacon** in February 1579, Bromley succeeded him as lord chancellor, a title never granted to his predecessor. Also admitted to the Privy **Council** and knighted, Bromley's promotions, according to the Spanish ambassador Bernadino de Mendoza, owed much to the influence of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and Sir Christopher **Hatton**, who viewed him as an ally in their support of the queen's marriage to Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, the heir to the French throne. Quickly caught up in the furor over the marriage, which Leicester and most of the realm came to oppose, Bromley soon changed his opinion to support the majority view and thus earned the displeasure of the queen.

Bromley left his mark in English jurisprudence with his involvement in the decision rendered in 1581 in *Wolfe v. Shelley*, from which arose the "Rule in Shelley's Case," an important principle in English real-property law. In 1586, Bromley participated in the interrogations of Anthony **Babington** and then presided over the commission that tried the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay for her involvement in the **Babington Plot**, which included a plan to murder Elizabeth. With the Speaker of the Commons, Bromley presented to the queen the parliamentary petition of 1586 calling for Mary's execution, and, in February 1587, authenticated under the Great Seal the Scottish queen's death warrant. Shortly thereafter, his health broke, and he died on 12 April 1587.

John A. Wagner

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Brooke, Lord

See Greville, Fulke, Lord Brooke

Browne, Sir Anthony (c. 1500–1548)

A friend and companion of **Henry VIII** and half brother of William **Fitzwilliam**, Earl of Southampton, Sir Anthony Browne was a prominent Henrician courtier. The eldest son of Sir Anthony Browne of Surrey, who was standard-bearer to Henry VII, the younger Browne was likely raised in the royal household and was present at **court** at an early age. His royal service began in 1518 when he was named surveyor and master of the hunt at various Yorkshire castles and attached to an embassy charged with restoring Tournai to **Francis I** of **France**. By 1519, he became a gentleman of the privy chamber and one of the king's young boon companions known as the **minions**. He participated in a tournament at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520 and was knighted by Thomas **Howard**, future third Duke of Norfolk, in 1522 for service against the French.

In 1525, Browne was appointed lieutenant of the Isle of Man and served as ambassador to France in 1527. He was royal standard-bearer from 1528 until his death and **justice of the peace** for Surrey from 1532, when he also accompanied the king and Anne **Boleyn** to France for their meeting with Francis I. Although he loyally conformed to all the religious changes of the 1530s, Browne was a conservative and may have had some involvement in the downfall of Anne Boleyn. Browne's sister, Elizabeth Somerset, Countess of Worcester, was said to have provided the information upon which the charges of adultery leveled at the queen were based. Browne also fell briefly into disfavor in 1536 for too strongly supporting the restoration of Princess Mary to the succession. However, he restored his position by the end of the year by participating in the suppression of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** and in October 1537 was present at the baptism of Prince Edward.

By 1539, Browne was a privy councillor, master of horse, and captain of the king's guard, the Gentlemen Pensioners. Browne was member of Parliament for Surrey in every **Parliament** from 1539 until the end of the reign. On New Year's Day 1540, the king sent Browne to meet **Anne of Cleves** upon her arrival at Rochester, and in the following July he gave testimony regarding the king's subsequent dissatisfaction with her manner and appearance. In early 1540, as the Cleves marriage collapsed, Browne and Southampton worked with conservative councillor Stephen **Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester, against Thomas **Cromwell**, the architect of the match. Browne apparently helped Gardiner make a case for **heresy** against Robert **Barnes**, a clerical ally of Cromwell's who was later burned at the stake. After Cromwell's fall in June 1540, Browne and Southampton supported the

ascendency of the Duke of Norfolk, but avoided any loss of favor when Norfolk was overthrown by the adultery of his niece Queen Katherine **Howard** in 1542. In 1543, Browne apparently worked with Gardiner to encourage the **Prebendaries Plot**, which aimed for the destruction of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**.

Browne served in the French wars of the 1540s and assisted Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, in securing the country's coastal defenses in 1545–1546. Browne involved himself in the political maneuvering that preceded the death of Henry VIII, taking part in the proceedings against Norfolk and his son Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and attempting to persuade the king to name Gardiner to Prince Edward's regency council. As Henry lay dying in January 1547, it was Browne who informed him of his approaching end. Named an executor of the king's will and guardian of Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth, Browne, with Hertford, informed both children of their father's death. When Hertford was created Duke of Somerset and appointed lord protector for **Edward VI**, Browne was among the first to support him. Browne died shortly thereafter on 28 April 1548; he was succeeded by his son Anthony **Browne**, later Viscount Montagu.

John A. Wagner

See also Elizabeth I; Mary I

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Browne, Anthony, Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)

The son of the Henrician courtier Sir Anthony **Browne**, Anthony Browne the younger was, thanks to his father's wealth and influence, and despite his own open Catholicism, a prominent courtier under three monarchs. He was also one of the wealthiest noblemen in Sussex, commanding an income of over £2,000 per year. The elder Browne, who at his death in 1548 left his son an estate worth almost £1,200 per year, launched the younger Browne's public career by returning him

as member of **Parliament** for Guildford in Surrey in 1545 and 1547. The elder Browne also associated his son with himself in the office of standard-bearer of England and used his position as the king's master of horse to win appointment for his son as equerry of the stable.

After his father's death, the younger Browne, through his religious conservatism and open support of Princess Mary, antagonized the Protestant regime of **Edward VI**, but still managed to win appointment as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1552 and to be returned as member of Parliament for Petersfield in Hampshire in 1553. Although as a sheriff his support was solicited by her supporters, Browne did nothing to further the attempt to enthrone Jane **Grey** in place of Princess Mary in the summer of 1553. Upon the accession of **Mary I**, Browne received various offices and rewards from the new Catholic government. He sat again for Petersfield in the Parliament of October 1553 and as knight of the shire for Surrey in the Parliament of 1554. He was named keeper of Guildford Park in 1553 and steward of **Hampton Court** and **justice of the peace** for Surrey and Sussex in 1554. Also in 1554 he was appointed master of horse to Mary's husband, Philip of **Spain**, with an annuity of £200, and raised to the peerage as Viscount Montagu. In 1555, he was made a knight of the Garter and sent with Bishop Thomas **Thirlby** and Sir Edward **Carne** on a diplomatic mission to Rome to negotiate England's return to papal allegiance. In 1557, Montagu was named lieutenant-general of the army and appointed to the Privy **Council**.

Dropped from the Privy Council by **Elizabeth I**, Montagu voted against the Elizabethan Acts of **Supremacy** and **Uniformity**, but was still sent as special ambassador to Spain—perhaps because of his past association with **Philip II**—in 1560, and as trade negotiator to the **Netherlands** in 1565. Although implicated in the plot to marry Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, in 1571–1572, Montagu suffered no punishment and continued to serve as lord lieutenant of Sussex until the start of war with Spain in 1585. Despite rumors that he was disloyal, or perhaps as part of a plan to test his loyalty, Montagu was named to the commission charged with trying the Queen of Scots for **treason** in 1586. He actively supported the government during the **Armada** Crisis of 1588 and lavishly entertained the queen at his home at Cowdray in 1591. Montagu died at his manor house in Surrey on 19 October 1592.

John A. Wagner

See also Northumberland's Coup

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Browne, Robert (c. 1550–c. 1633)

Robert Browne was an early English **Separatist**. Born into a Rutland **gentry** family, Browne was educated at Cambridge, where he completed his bachelor's degree in 1572. After graduation, Browne moved to **London** and supported himself as a schoolmaster. Browne soon became disgusted with the entire governance structure of the **Anglican Church**, rejecting both bishops and the parish system in favor of independent congregations of like-minded believers. By 1581, he had moved to Norfolk and gathered around him a group of followers called Brownists, because they had elected him to be their pastor. Having chosen to separate themselves from the Anglican Church, the Brownists agreed to be governed only by the regulations set forth in the Bible. Such extreme nonconformity was unacceptable to the religious thinking of the age, and Browne was repeatedly imprisoned for his beliefs, winning release each time through the influence of his kinsman William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley.

Late in 1581, Browne and most of his congregation moved to Middelburg in the **Netherlands** to escape Anglican persecution. But Browne's imperious manner combined with poverty and personal disputes among members to break up the congregation by late 1583. Traveling to **Scotland** with a few followers, Browne angered the leaders of the Scottish Presbyterian Church with his vehement unauthorized preaching and was soon imprisoned. Browne returned to England in 1586 and underwent a mysterious change of heart; he gave up his unlicensed preaching and troublemaking and withdrew his support from English separatism. He then served for five years as master of a Stamford grammar school. In about 1591, he obtained a **benefice** in the Anglican Church through the influence of Burghley. Although Browne held this church living for more than 40 years, preaching to his congregation in full conformance with Anglican doctrine and policy, he is today hailed by modern **Congregationalists** as an early and important leader of their movement. Browne died in Northampton in about 1633.

See also Universities

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Brownists

See Browne, Robert; Congregationalists

Bruges, Treaty of

Concluded on 25 August 1521, the Treaty of Bruges created an Anglo-Imperial military alliance against **France**. Flowing from the 1520 Treaty of **Calais**, an Anglo-Imperial compact that stopped short of firm military commitments, the Bruges agreement ended the mediatory role that **Henry VIII** had played in international affairs since the Treaty of **London** in 1518 and brought England into the ongoing Franco-Imperial war as an ally of **Charles V**.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Calais, Henry and Charles agreed to meet with the French at **Calais** in August 1521. By the time Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** landed at Calais on 2 August, France and the empire were already at war. The cardinal attempted to negotiate a truce for the duration of the conference, but the Imperial representatives had no power to treat for one. Telling the French that he hoped to persuade the emperor to empower his ambassadors to conclude a truce, Wolsey left for a meeting with Charles at Bruges on 14 August. Over the next 11 days, the terms of a new Anglo-Imperial accord were worked out. England agreed to declare war on France by November 1521 if a state of war still existed between France and the empire at that time. An English naval campaign against the French was to follow in 1522. If Charles and **Francis I** were at peace come November, England's declaration of war on France in alliance with Charles would be delayed until the spring of 1523, when Henry would provide an army of 40,000 for a joint invasion of France with Imperial forces. Pope Leo X was also party to the agreement, undertaking to place France under papal interdict and to grant a dispensation for Charles's marriage to Princess Mary, whose already agreed-upon marriage to the French dauphin was thereby abrogated. To deceive the French, the terms of the Bruges agreement were kept secret.

Although Charles had gotten the desired English commitment, Wolsey had delayed its implementation and had convinced Charles to allow his ambassadors to negotiate a truce, thus making possible a general peace that might yet make English involvement in the Franco-Imperial war unnecessary. When the Calais talks, which Wolsey resumed on 26 August, failed of their purpose, England entered the war in November under the terms of the Bruges accord. Henry's position as the peacemaker of Europe was destroyed, but the near inevitability of conflict between Charles and Francis made maintenance of that role unlikely in any event. Given this high probability of war, the Imperial alliance was attractive to Henry, who was not the man to remain quietly neutral while his brother monarchs sought military glory on the European stage.

See also Mary I

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Bruno, Giordano (1548–1600)

Giordano Bruno was an Italian mystic, philosopher, and early advocate of the Copernican model. Bruno supported the Copernican model not for scientific reasons, but for mystical and philosophical reasons. He asserted that the universe was infinite and that inhabited worlds orbited stars other than the sun. He lived in **London** in the household of the French ambassador from 1583 to 1585.

Born Felipe Bruno in Nola, near Naples, in 1548, Bruno entered a Dominican monastery at the age of 15. In the course of his studies, he became an expert at the art of memory, which then had mystical overtones. On one occasion, he was (by his own claim at least) called upon to exhibit his remarkable skill in memory in front of Pope **Pius V**. His intellectual preoccupations took an unorthodox turn. It appears that he kept works of Desiderius **Erasmus** hidden in the privy, and he was suspected of Arianism. He left the monastery for Rome in 1576. By this time, he was already committed to Neoplatonic Hermeticism. He wandered in northern

Italy and southern **France**, scratching a living as a teacher. At one point, he lived in Geneva and may have become a Calvinist. He received a doctorate in theology from the University of Toulouse. In Paris, he gained some powerful patrons, including King **Henri III**. He published several Latin books on memory there, showing hostility to the rationalistic simplicity of the followers of Peter Ramus. In 1583, he traveled to England to take his place in the household of the French ambassador Michel de Castelnau. In London, Bruno became associated with the circle of Sir Philip **Sidney**, which included John **Dee**, Edmund **Spenser**, and Fulke **Greville**.



Giordano Bruno, an Italian mystic and philosopher, lived in the French ambassador's household in London in 1583–1585. (Library of Congress)

Renaissance Neoplatonic Hermeticism had originated with Marsilio Ficino in fifteenth-century Florence. Ficino translated and interpreted not

only the works of Plato but also those of ancient Neoplatonists such as Plotinus. In Plotinus's thought, there exists a being of perfection called the One, and the visible world is not a creation but rather an emanation of the One. Successive emanations create a Great Chain of Being, from most perfect to least perfect. Closely associated with Neoplatonism were the works of Hermes Trismegistus, which existed in Greek, but which were then thought to be of much more ancient Egyptian origin. It was believed that Moses himself had learned ideas of true religion from the Egyptians. Ficino, and other Neoplatonists after him, believed that they could use their esoteric understanding to work virtuous magic.

The art of memory, while apparently a set of techniques for memorizing names and speeches, made use of sets of memorable images to organize thought. Some of these, such as the zodiac, are mystical in nature. One may attribute effective memory to the poetic power of the image, or one may say that the contemplation of a divinely powerful image brings arcane knowledge and abilities. In London, Bruno published three major works, all in Italian. The Spenser circle was Italianizing, and it has been suggested that he wrote in Italian rather than Latin to aim his work narrowly at them, as few others could understand Italian.

La cena de la ceneri, published in London in 1584, constitutes Bruno's principal defense of the Copernican model. It is apparent in the work that Bruno was not expert in astronomy. Rather, he derived his acceptance of the model from a certain vision of a Neoplatonic spiritual world. He rejected the better-known Neoplatonic image of the stationary earth as the basest element of a series of concentric spheres. Bruno was a pantheist and saw the divine power as spread through all creation. That was why a decentered vision of the cosmos appealed to him. He pushed the model further, asserting famously that there are many suns in the universe, and that around them orbit planets with intelligent life on them.

Bruno became prominent in modern scholarship in 1964, with the publication of Frances Yates' *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*. Yates brought a great deal of new interest to the relation between Neoplatonism and the history of science. Her characterization of the art of memory, greatly based on Bruno's thought, has been influential and is still cited, even in scholarship taking a very different view of the topic.

Various efforts have been made to link Bruno's thoughts to Elizabethan literature, including for example *Hamlet* and William Shakespeare's **sonnets**. It has also been held that Bruno influenced, variously, William Harvey, in his ideas on the circulation of blood, and Giambattista Vico, on the workings of meaning and memory.

Matthew DeCoursey

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Bryan, Sir Francis (d. 1550)

A courtier and diplomat, Sir Francis Bryan is best known as a boon companion of **Henry VIII** and as the most notorious member of the king's band of **minions**. Famously described by Thomas **Cromwell** as the "vicar of hell," Bryan acquired a reputation among contemporaries as an unscrupulous libertine. The son of Sir Thomas Bryan of Hertfordshire and his wife Lady Margaret **Bryan**, who was governess to Henry VIII's children, Francis Bryan began his public career in 1513 as captain of the royal ship *Margaret Bonaventure* during the first Henrician war with **France**. An expert jousting and avid hunter, both frequent royal pastimes, Bryan soon became one of Henry's intimate friends and a leading participant in court entertainments. In 1516, Henry made Bryan royal cupbearer and in 1518 master of the toils (i.e., hunting nets) and gentleman of the privy chamber, all posts that kept Bryan in close contact with the king.

In May 1519, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, backed by the Royal Council, banished Bryan, Sir Nicholas **Carew**, and the other minions from the royal presence, arguing that they treated the king with inappropriate familiarity and had conducted themselves dishonorably on a recent embassy to France, from which they returned "all French, in eating, drinking and apparel, yea, and in French vices and brags" (Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 597). However, Bryan was back at court by October and accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520, although he was not restored to his post in the privy chamber until 1528. He served under Thomas **Howard**, future third Duke of Norfolk, in **Brittany** in 1522, and in **Scotland** in 1523, but spent most of the 1520s at court, where he gained a reputation for gambling and dissolute living that clung to him for the rest of his life. In 1526, he lost an eye in a joust, which added to his rakish persona.

Trusted by the king, to whom he spoke with a candor few others dared, Bryan conducted Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** to England and became Henry's special emissary to both **Francis I** of France and Pope **Clement VII**, the two men best placed to help the king annul his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. A kinsman of Anne **Boleyn**, Bryan was soon identified with her interests, and between 1528 and 1531 promoted Henry's matrimonial causes at both the French and papal courts. He also used his friendship with the king to further his own interests and those of his friends, becoming **justice of the peace** in Hertfordshire and other counties and sitting for Buckinghamshire in the 1534 session of the **Reformation Parliament**.

Sensing the king's growing estrangement from Queen Anne, Bryan signaled his withdrawal from the Boleyns by quarrelling with George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, the queen's brother, in late 1534. When the queen was arrested in May 1536, Bryan was summoned to court, but, unlike other Boleyn adherents, he was not arrested. After interviews with Cromwell and the king, at which it seems some deal was struck for his abandonment of his Boleyn relatives, Bryan became chief gentleman of the privy chamber and received £100 out of the revenues of the bishopric of Winchester. It was in the letter announcing this latter grant to Stephen **Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester, that Cromwell referred to Bryan as the "vicar of hell." On 17 May, Bryan carried news of Anne's condemnation to her successor Jane **Seymour**.

Despite his reputation for libertinism and **anticlericalism**, and an apparent enthusiasm for the English **Bible**, Bryan was conservative in religion and, after the death of Queen Anne, was suspected of supporting the restoration of Princess Mary. He regained favor by leading forces against the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels in the autumn of 1536. In 1537, Henry sent Bryan to France, ostensibly to convince Francis to refuse an audience to Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, but in fact to arrange for Pole's abduction or assassination. The cardinal, however, was forewarned, perhaps by Bryan himself, and escaped. In 1538, Bryan was sent again as emissary to Francis, this time to act in concert with Sir Thomas **Wyatt**, ambassador to **Charles V**, to prevent the king and emperor from allying against England. During the long and difficult talks, Bryan gambled and acted intemperately, thereby losing the confidence of both Henry VIII and the French king. Although he continued to serve at court thereafter, his influence with Henry was much diminished.

In 1546, Bryan again abandoned a declining faction, transferring his political allegiance from the Howards to Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, the brother of the late Queen Jane. For this change of coat, Bryan became a freeman of London and acquired some property of Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, after his execution in 1547. In 1548, Bryan married his second wife, Joan Butler, dowager Countess of Ormond. The match made him a man of influence in **Ireland**, where he commanded royal forces as lord marshal and won appointment as lord justice, despite the protests of the lord deputy. Bryan died in Ireland on 2 February 1550.

John A. Wagner

See also Court, Royal; Mary I

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Bryan, Margaret (c. 1468–1552)

Lady Margaret Bryan was governess to **Mary I**, **Elizabeth I**, and **Edward VI**. The daughter of Sir Humphrey Bourchier, who was slain fighting for **Edward IV** at the battle of Barnet in 1471, Margaret married Sir Thomas Bryan sometime before 1490 and bore him two children who lived to adulthood—the courtier Sir Francis **Bryan** and his sister Elizabeth, who married Sir Nicholas **Carew**. Both Margaret and her husband, who died by January 1518, served Queen **Catherine of Aragon**, Margaret as one of her **ladies-in-waiting** and Sir Thomas as her vice chamberlain. After the birth of Princess Mary in February 1516, Margaret was appointed lady mistress of the princess’s household and made a baroness in her own right.

In 1533, Lady Bryan, who was aunt to Anne **Boleyn**, whose mother was Lady Bryan’s half sister, became governess to Anne’s daughter, Princess Elizabeth, supervising her establishments at Hatfield and Eltham. In 1537, upon the birth of Jane **Seymour**’s son Edward, Lady Bryan became the prince’s governess, the supervision of Princess Elizabeth falling to Katherine **Ashley**. Much of what we know about the early childhoods of both Elizabeth and Edward comes from letters that Margaret Bryan sent to Thomas **Cromwell** to report on the status of her royal charges. Anne Boleyn’s execution in May 1536 made Elizabeth a bastard and threw her household arrangements into confusion, as Lady Bryan complained to Cromwell: “As my Lady Elizabeth is put from that degree she was in, and what degree she is at now, I know not but by hearsay, I know not how to order her, or myself, or her women or grooms” (Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 8). In the same letter, the governess also begged Cromwell to replenish the princess’s wardrobe, for since the queen’s death no attempt had been made to keep the growing child in clothes and she now had almost nothing to wear.

Concerning Prince Edward, Lady Bryan informed Cromwell in 1538 that the child was in “good health and merry” (Loach, *Edward VI*, 8) with three teeth and another on the way. In 1539, she proudly reported that when the minstrels played “His Grace danced and played so wantonly that he could not stand still, and was as full of pretty toys as ever I saw [a] child in my life” (Jordan, *Edward VI*, 39). Although Lady Bryan retained the title of lady mistress even after Edward’s accession in 1547, her last years were spent not at court but at her estate in Essex, where she enjoyed a generous annuity of £70 per year.

In about 1519, Lady Bryan married David Zouche, who died by 1536 at the latest. In 1539, following the execution of her son-in-law, Sir Nicholas Carew, for **treason**, she wrote a worried letter to Cromwell asking for assistance for her widowed daughter. Lady Bryan died in 1552, shortly before the proving of her will on 21 June.

John A. Wagner

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Bucer, Martin (1491–1551)

An Alsatian reformer who came to England in 1549 at the invitation of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Martin Bucer influenced both the revision of the **Book of Common Prayer** and the drafting of the **Forty-two Articles**.

Born at Schettstadt in Alsace, Bucer involuntarily entered the local Dominican monastery in 1506. In April 1518, while in Heidelberg to study Greek and Hebrew, he heard Martin Luther dispute the doctrine of free will. In April 1521, after initiating a correspondence with Luther, Bucer sought and obtained a papal release from his monastic vows. While still a priest, Bucer married in early 1522, becoming one of the first reformers to do so. Traveling to Weissenberg in 1523, Bucer delivered a series of decidedly Lutheran sermons, which aroused the hostility of the local ecclesiastical authorities and forced Bucer to flee to his father's house in Strasbourg. In 1525, Bucer made an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the rapidly diverging views of Luther and the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli on the nature of the Eucharist. Luther continued to hold to the traditional view of the Real Presence of Christ in the bread and wine, while Zwingli totally rejected any such doctrine. Although personally inclined toward Zwingli's position, Bucer continued to seek a middle ground between the two men, whose dispute was damaging to the cause of reform.

Because the victory of **Charles V** at Mühlberg in 1547 made continued residence in Germany unwise, Bucer accepted Cranmer's invitation and left for England in April 1549. Having once been consulted by **Henry VIII** on his **divorce**, Bucer was well known to the leaders of English **Protestantism**. Warmly welcomed by the archbishop, Bucer was granted an interview with **Edward VI**, who requested the reformer's assistance with the preparation of a Latin New Testament that was destined eventually for translation into English. Bucer also opened correspondence with the reformer Peter Martyr **Vermigli** and involved himself with the German and French refugee congregations in **London**. Appointed Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1549, Bucer began a popular course of lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians in 1550. Invited to participate in the revision of the first Book of Common Prayer, Bucer made a number of suggestions that were eventually incorporated into the second prayer book. Bucer seems also to have

consulted on the drafting of the Forty-two Articles, a Protestant statement of faith promulgated for the English Church in 1553. Bucer died in Cambridge on 28 February 1551 and was buried in Great St. Mary's Church. In February 1557, **Mary I** ordered that Bucer's remains be exhumed and burned for heresy.

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Buckingham, Duke of

See Stafford, Edward, Duke of Buckingham

Bullbaiting

See Animal Sports

Burbage, James (c. 1530–1597)

James Burbage was the owner and builder of the first theater in Elizabethan England. By 1574, Burbage had left his original trade as a joiner to become a member of the Earl of Leicester's company of actors. He is therefore likely to have taken part in the famous series of entertainments that the company's patron, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, provided for the queen at Kenilworth during her visit there on progress in 1575. In April 1576, responding to the mayor of London's opposition to the performance of plays in the courtyards of the city's inns, Burbage, with the financial assistance of his father-in-law, began construction of an enclosed wooden playhouse at a site on Holywell Street in Shoreditch that he leased for 21 years from Giles Allen. Soon known simply as The Theatre, the structure was the first to be built in England specifically for the performance of plays.

Opening in 1577, The Theatre was a great success, with its profits and popularity soon spawning the construction of a rival playhouse nearby, The Curtain. Besides managing The Theater, Burbage selected and trained its company of actors, which

included his father-in-law, his son Richard **Burbage**, and the famous comic actor Richard **Tarlton**. Despite the growing opposition of **Puritans** to the public performance of plays, Burbage continued to enjoy success, and he sought in 1596 to expand his business by turning part of the old Dominican monastery in London (known as Blackfriars) into an indoor playhouse called the Blackfriars Theatre. However, the strong opposition of neighboring residents delayed the opening of the theater until after Burbage's death. In 1597, a dispute with Giles Allen over the renewal of the lease on The Theatre led Burbage's sons to move the playhouse to the south shore of the Thames in Southwark, where they renamed it the **Globe Theatre**.

See also Drama; Entertainment; Progresses, Royal

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Burbage, Richard (c. 1567–1619)

Richard Burbage was one of the most popular dramatic actors in Elizabethan England. The son of theater owner James **Burbage**, Richard was trained in acting by his father and made his stage debut at an early age. In 1587, when he was about 20 and already a popular performer, Burbage joined the Earl of Leicester's company of players and stayed with the group throughout the 1590s, when it became first the Earl of Derby's Men, then the **Chamberlain's Men**, and finally, at the accession of **James I** in 1603, the King's Men. From 1594, one of Burbage's closest associates in the acting company was the playwright and actor William **Shakespeare**, in whose plays Burbage frequently performed leading roles.

On his father's death in 1597, Burbage and his brother inherited the two London playhouses at Shoreditch and Blackfriars. The Theatre at Shoreditch was closed in 1597 because of a dispute with Giles Allen, who had leased the site of the playhouse to James Burbage in 1576. Fearing that Allen might raze the structure, the Burbage brothers dismantled it themselves and had it reconstructed in Southwark, on the south side of the Thames. Shakespeare was among those loaning money for the difficult and costly move. Renamed the **Globe Theatre**, the reconstructed playhouse opened in the autumn of 1599. At the Globe, Burbage's fame as an actor grew, and he was sought out by many playwrights for the leading roles in their works. He was, for instance, the first actor to play the roles of Richard III, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, King Lear, and Romeo in the plays of Shakespeare; Richard III was perhaps Burbage's most popular role.

As the majority shareholder in the Globe, Burbage acquired great wealth, and in 1609 he was able to buy out the lease of the acting company performing at the Blackfriars Theatre and install the King's Men there. The members of the company, including Shakespeare, were also shareholders in the Globe and the Blackfriars and shared in the profits of the two playhouses. The Globe burned to the ground on 29 June 1613 during a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, Burbage barely escaped with his life. A rebuilt Globe opened in 1614, and Burbage continued to act there until his death in March 1619.

See also Drama; Shakespeare, Works of

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Burghley, Lady

See Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley

Burghley, Lord

See Cecil, William, Lord Burghley

Burgundy

See Netherlands

Burgundy, Duchess of

See Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy

Butler, Thomas, Earl of Ormond (1532–1614)

Known as the “black earl” for his dark hair and complexion, Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, was one of the most important political figures in Elizabethan **Ireland**.

Brought to England at an early age, Butler was raised at the **court** of **Henry VIII** as a Protestant English nobleman. In 1546, after his father was poisoned, the 14-year-old Butler succeeded to the wealthy Irish earldom of Ormond. Returning to Ireland in 1554, the earl served the Irish government as lord treasurer and privy councillor. He worked to reconcile the Irish and **Anglo-Irish** nobility to the English administration, for instance, persuading the rebellious Shane **O'Neill** to submit to the queen in 1561.

In the mid-1560s, Ormond reopened the ancient Butler-Fitzgerald feud by retaliating against attacks on Butler lands by Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Desmond, leader of the Fitzgerald family. To restore order, **Elizabeth I** summoned both earls to England in 1565 and forced them to make peace. Because the queen was attracted to Ormond, who was her cousin on her mother's side, she kept him at court. He finally returned to Ireland in 1569 when his brothers supported the rebellion of James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald**, who opposed the Irish government's plans to settle English colonists in southern Ireland. Ormond's brothers, particularly Sir Edmund Butler, joined the uprising mainly to attack Sir Peter **Carew**, an Englishman whose claims to ancient family estates in Ireland threatened to deprive Butler of much of his property. To save his brothers, Ormond denounced Carew and Sir Henry **Sidney**, the lord deputy of Ireland, but otherwise continued to support the English administration against Irish rebels, helping Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** crush uprisings in southern and western Ireland in 1570–1571.

After ending the Fitzgerald feud in 1583 by decisively defeating Desmond at Kerry, Ormond consistently supported the English government, capturing and killing shipwrecked Spaniards after the **armada** in 1588 and working uneasily but loyally with Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, to suppress the rebellion of Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, in 1598–1599. For Ormond's services, Elizabeth granted him extensive lands in southern Ireland in 1602, and **James I** named him vice admiral of Ireland in 1612. The earl died at age 82 in November 1614.

See also Butler Wars; Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Nine Years War

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Butler Wars

The term “Butler wars” refers to an uprising led by the younger brothers of Thomas **Butler**, 10th Earl of Ormond, that occurred in the Carlow region of southeastern

Ireland in the summer of 1569. Although the rising began in conjunction with **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion** in Munster to the southwest, it had little to do with the religious and political grievances fueling that insurrection. The Butler wars arose almost solely from the dissatisfaction of Sir Edmund Butler with the outcome of a lawsuit initiated by Sir Peter **Carew** to regain lands that his family had held in Ireland some 200 years earlier.

Carew had come from England with the permission of **Elizabeth I** to seek recovery at law of his family's long-lost estates. Part of the property claimed by Carew was a Carlow district known as the Dullough, which formed the core of Butler's lands. When the Irish Council under Lord Deputy Sir Henry **Sidney** found Carew's claims to be valid and ordered that he be placed in possession of the Dullough, Butler used the outbreak of Fitzmaurice's Rebellion as a cover to begin his own campaign of revenge against Carew and Sidney in Carlow. Butler harried Carew's lands, harassed his tenants, and drove off his cattle. Given command of a troop of government soldiers, Carew responded by besieging Butler's castle at Clogrennan and by inflicting a costly defeat on Butler's force of **gallowlasses** and **kerns** near Kilkenny.

When word of his brother's actions reached Ormond in England, the earl, who was a **favorite** of Elizabeth's, obtained permission to return to Ireland. Having the queen's ear, Ormond was able to convince her that the uprising had been precipitated by Carew's high-handed attempts to dispossess **Anglo-Irish** landowners of long-held properties, to which he had little right. Although Butler suffered a spell of imprisonment for his attacks on Carew, the queen also put a stop, at least for a time, to Carew's land suits. The Butler wars were a sign of the rising conflict between English settlers and Anglo-Irish landowners for political and economic control of Elizabethan Ireland.

See also Fitzgerald, James Fitzmaurice; Plantations, Irish

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Butts, Sir William (d. 1545)

Sir William Butts was physician to the **court** of **Henry VIII**. A confidant of the king, Butts often used his influence with Henry to aid his friends and to further the cause of religious reform. Born in Norfolk and educated at Cambridge, Butts took his MA

in 1509 and his MD in 1518. He became court physician in about 1524. Besides Henry VIII and his wives and children, including Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, Butts's patients included Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**; Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk; and George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford. Paid a salary of over £100 per year and knighted for his services, Butts stood high in the king's confidence. In 1528, Henry, who was deathly afraid of infection, sent Butts to Hever Castle to treat Anne **Boleyn**, who may have been suffering from the sweating sickness. After about 1536, Butts treated Henry's chronically ulcerous leg, a difficult task, for the king was a notoriously ill-tempered patient. In 1540, Butts reassured Henry that his inability to consummate his marriage with **Anne of Cleves** was not a result of his impotence but of Anne's failure "to excite and provoke any lust in him" (Williams, *Henry VIII*, 176).

Because of his frequent and intimate contact with a king who trusted him, Butts was ideally placed to help people in need of royal favor. In 1529, he tried to reconcile the king with Wolsey, and in 1535 he impressed upon Princess Mary's unsympathetic governess, Anne Shelton, Lady Shelton, that she would be blamed should the princess be poisoned while in her charge. Butts's religious sympathies were reformist. He attempted to convert the monks of Sion who were imprisoned for denying the **royal supremacy**, and he promoted the ecclesiastical advancement of Hugh **Latimer** and the political advancement of Sir John **Cheke**. He several times intervened on behalf of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, obtaining for him the grant of a Nottinghamshire abbey and helping to uncover the **Prebendaries Plot** launched against him in 1543. Later that year, when the conservatives on the Royal Council believed themselves authorized to arrest the archbishop, Butts raised Henry's ire on Cranmer's behalf by informing the king of how Cranmer was being forced to wait outside the council chamber in humiliation until his enemies were ready to seize him. Butts also saved Richard Turner, the reformist curate of Chartham, from being whipped out of the country because his parishioners had angered Henry by celebrating Turner's acquittal for heresy. At an opportune moment, when the king was with his barber, Butts mentioned Turner's case and succeeded in having all action against him halted. Much to the ailing king's grief, Butts died in November 1545.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Mary I

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Byrd, William (c. 1540–1623)

William Byrd was the most important English composer and musician of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age. He was particularly famed for his sacred vocal music,



William Byrd, organist in the Chapel Royal and prolific composer, poured his faith into his music and is considered the greatest Tudor composer. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

much of which reflected his Roman Catholic faith at a time when it was dangerous to practice it.

Byrd was born in late 1539 or early 1540, probably in **London**. Little is known about his earliest years, but it is likely that he began his musical education as a boy chorister in the **Chapel Royal**, where he would have first come into contact with Thomas **Tallis**, although there is no documentary evidence to support the commonly held notion that he was a pupil of Tallis. In 1563, Byrd took up the post of organist and master of the choristers at Lincoln Cathedral, remaining there until February 1572, when he successfully secured a singing position as one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.

In January 1575, **Elizabeth I** granted Byrd and Tallis a joint monopoly over the sale of printed music and lined music paper. Later in 1575, the two composers published their *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*, a collection of Latin motets dedicated to the queen. Since the performance of Latin-texted sacred music would have been unthinkable in Anglican services (apart from perhaps in Elizabeth's own Chapel Royal), it seems likely that these were marketed with domestic performance in mind. However, this volume was not a commercial success and,

two years later, the two men petitioned Elizabeth for a lease on a property, complaining about the costs that they had incurred as a result of the work's publication.

Around this time, Byrd moved to Harlington in Middlesex where, over the course of the next decade, he was frequently charged under recusancy laws for his failure to attend Anglican services. The 1580s were a particularly dangerous time for English Catholics—the decade saw a wave of Jesuits executed and both the **Throckmorton** and **Babington** plots (1586)—yet Byrd continued to defy the authorities and forge links with wealthy Catholic **gentry** such as Sir John Petre. He also published two further collections of *Cantiones sacrae* (1589 and 1591), both of which seem to have been conceived for use in the private devotions of Catholic **recusant** communities.

Many of the texts set to music in these volumes address themes such as the Old Testament destruction of Jerusalem (“Vide, Domine, afflictionem nostrum”), the Babylonian and Egyptian exiles of the Jewish people (“Domine tu iurasti”), and martyrdom (“Deus venerunt gentes”)—all potent metaphors for the plight of English Catholics at this time. Byrd's Catholic sympathies also permeated other aspects of his work during this period; his 1588 consort song anthology *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* included a setting of “Why do I use my paper, pen and ink?” a poem commenting on the 1581 execution of the Jesuit martyr Edmund **Campion**.

By the early 1590s, Byrd rarely attended services at the Chapel Royal, but he continued to compose music for covert use by Catholic communities. He published three settings of the Ordinary of the **Mass** between about 1592 and 1595, a risky enterprise that prompted his printer, Thomas East, to issue these without title pages or a colophon as an act of disassociation. From around 1594 onward, Byrd lived in Stondon Massey in Essex, where he continued to be cited regularly as a recusant and worked on a huge collection of music for the Proper of the Mass, published as two books of *Gradualia* in 1605 and 1607.

Although much of Byrd's contemporary reputation was founded on his skill as a composer of sacred music, he also composed a large number of secular songs. However, his involvement with the burgeoning English **madrigal** school of the 1580s and 1590s was rather cursory; he contributed just one work to Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) and two to Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590). Nor did he respond to the fashion for solo songs with lute accompaniment that followed the phenomenal success of John **Dowland**'s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), instead choosing to work within the older consort-song tradition—that is, writing for a solo voice accompanied by a group of viols.

Besides his vocal music, Byrd also produced a substantial amount of influential keyboard music, including complex imitative fantasias; pieces in fashionable dance forms, such as the pavan and galliard; and sets of variations on popular chord progressions and melodies. He also left a large body of works for viol consort.

Byrd died on 4 July 1623 and was probably buried in Stondon Massey, as he had requested in his will. Although much of his music is powerfully expressive—his Latin sacred works in particular stand out as intensely vivid statements of his personal convictions at a time of religious turmoil—it is also rather conservative when compared with the works of some of his contemporaries. As a result, the popularity of Byrd's music declined steadily after his death, although some of his English-texted sacred music remained in the repertory of Anglican cathedral choirs. Interest in Byrd's music also persisted in some antiquarian circles, but it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that it began to be revived more widely by scholars and performers. This period saw the publication of important editions of his keyboard works, a collected edition of his sacred vocal music, and, significantly, the tercentenary of his death in 1923, which was widely celebrated in England.

Michael Gale

See also Anglican Church; Catholicism, English; Jesuit Mission; Music; Printing

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Cabot, John (c. 1450–c. 1498)

John Cabot, an Italian merchant, cartographer, and navigator, secured the backing of **Henry VII** for three voyages of exploration into the north Atlantic in the 1490s. His second voyage, the first recorded English crossing of the Atlantic, reached North America and established an English claim to the new continent.

Born probably in Genoa, Cabot engaged in the Mediterranean spice trade, voyaging to the Middle East and the Black Sea and even supposedly visiting Mecca in disguise. Being proficient in the creation and use of maps, Cabot settled in **Spain** in about 1490 but was unsuccessful in convincing any Iberian monarch to fund an Atlantic expedition. In about 1494, Cabot arrived in Bristol, where his schemes for Atlantic exploration were welcomed by merchants experienced in Atlantic voyaging and eager to enter the spice trade and exploit new fishing grounds. With the backing of such Bristol merchants as Hugh Elyot and Robert Thorne, Cabot obtained a royal patent authorizing him to find and occupy any western lands not held by a Christian ruler. Issued on 5 March 1496, the patent granted Cabot a monopoly on trade with the inhabitants of such lands, licensed Bristol as the only port from which such trade could be conducted, and reserved 20 percent of the profits for the Crown.

Launched in 1496, Cabot's little-known first voyage was unsuccessful. In May 1497, Cabot launched his second voyage from Bristol, departing with a crew of 20 in the 50-ton *Matthew*. On 24 June, the feast day of Saint John the Baptist, he made landfall somewhere on the eastern coast of North America, most likely Newfoundland. Calling his discovery the island of Saint John, he claimed the territory for England. His party did not advance inland and saw no people, but it did find signs of human habitation. Cabot then sailed along the coast and through the waters of the rich Grand Banks fishery. Believing he had reached Cathay (China), Cabot returned to Bristol on 6 August.

Welcomed as a hero and rewarded with a pension of £20 a year, Cabot received enthusiastic support from the king and the English merchant community for a third voyage, which left Bristol in early May 1498. Comprising five ships—one supplied and outfitted by the king and the other four by **London** and Bristol merchants—the

enterprise sailed into mystery; none of the five vessels ever returned and nothing definite has ever been learned of their fate. However, Cabot's disappearance proved only a temporary setback for English voyaging in the Atlantic. His earlier expedition had stimulated a permanent interest in and connection with North America, which was soon recognized as Cabot's landfall. In 1501 and 1502, Henry VII authorized the Company Adventurers to the New Found Land to open trade and plant colonies on the new continent. In about 1508, Cabot's son, Sebastian **Cabot**, secured royal support for a new North Atlantic venture aimed at finding a **Northwest Passage** to Asia. John Cabot's voyages thus became the impetus for a host of later English trading and colonizing ventures in North America.

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Cabot, Sebastian (c. 1484–1557)

The Italian navigator and cartographer Sebastian Cabot, the son of explorer John **Cabot**, fostered English interest in overseas trade and exploration, especially in efforts to find a northern passage to Asia.

Born probably in Venice in the 1480s, Cabot came to Bristol with his father in about 1494. Little is known about his early life, and even the facts of his later life were rendered uncertain by Cabot's apparent tendency to exaggerate his role in and importance to various ventures, including his father's voyages of the 1490s. He seems to have had no part in the elder Cabot's expeditions, but he was involved in the organization of some of the fishing and trade voyages dispatched to America by Bristol merchants and fishermen between 1501 and 1505. In the latter year, **Henry VII** granted him a pension of £10 for "diligent service and attendance" in and about Bristol (Routh, *Who's Who in Tudor England*, 360). About 1508, he led a two-ship expedition partially financed by the Crown to the coast of Labrador and may even have discovered Hudson Strait before his men mutinied and forced him to return.

Although Cabot prepared maps for the 1512 English expedition to **France**, royal funding for American exploration dried up after **Henry VIII's** accession, and Cabot eventually became a pilot in the service of the Spanish Crown, living in

Seville from 1512 to 1515. He came again to **London** in 1521, seeking to interest the government in the search for a **Northwest Passage** to Asia. When this effort failed, Cabot returned to **Spain** and the service of **Charles V**. He was brought back to England in 1548 by the government of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who was lord protector for his nephew **Edward VI**. Given a substantial pension, Cabot helped encourage English trade with Africa and in 1551 became governor of a new trading company established to open a Northeast Passage to Cathay (China). He drafted the ordinances and provided the chief impetus for the company's first venture—the 1553 expedition of Sir Hugh **Willoughby** and Richard **Chancellor**. In 1555, Cabot became governor of the newly incorporated **Muscovy Company**, which grew out of Chancellor's initial trade contacts with the Russian czar. Cabot's last project was assisting in the organization of another northeastern voyage, this one conducted in 1556–1557 by Stephen **Borough** in the *Searchthrift*. Cabot died in 1557.

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Cadiz Raid (1587)

Sir Francis **Drake**'s 1587 attack on the harbor of Cadiz, **Spain**'s most important Atlantic port, delayed the sailing of Spain's great **armada** for more than a year. As the threat of Spanish invasion mounted in the late 1580s, **Elizabeth I**'s naval commanders began clamoring for permission to launch a preemptive strike at Spain. In April 1587, the queen finally allowed Drake to put to sea with a large fleet capable of meeting any Spanish force on its way to England and strong enough to descend on Spain and "distress the ships within the havens." This Drake did immediately upon reaching Cadiz on 19 April; the English fleet sailed straight into the harbor before the Spanish could respond. Defying shore batteries and fireships, Drake held the harbor for three days, destroying some 30 vessels and great quantities of provisions being collected for the armada, including the casks and barrel staves needed to load supplies on the Spanish ships. Having thus "singd the king of Spain's beard," Drake then seized the fort and anchorage of Sagres near Cape Vincent on the southwestern tip of Spanish-controlled Portugal. From there, Drake raided the Portuguese coast for almost two months, inflicting further damage on the reputation and financial credit of **Philip II**.

When disease and lack of supplies began to weaken his crews, Drake abandoned Sagres and sailed into the Atlantic to the **Azores**, where he captured an East Indian treasure ship with a rich cargo. This capture was enough to secure a financial profit for the expedition, which had been organized on the usual joint-stock basis and thus needed to satisfy investors as well as accomplish military goals. Although Drake's raid severely disrupted Spain's preparations for the invasion of England, Philip was undaunted and began again the long process of gathering ships and supplies. Thus, the sailing of the armada was only delayed by the Cadiz Raid of 1587, not averted. However, the extra year bought by the raid gave England much-needed time to prepare her defenses and strengthen her fleet.

See also Cadiz Raid (1596); Joint-Stock Company; Navy; Privateering

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Cadiz Raid (1596)

Just as the **Cadiz Raid** of 1587 enhanced the fame of Sir Francis **Drake**, the Cadiz Raid of 1596 made a popular hero of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. In 1596, when word reached **London** that **Philip II** of **Spain** was preparing a new naval expedition against England, the Privy **Council** again authorized a preemptive strike to be launched against Cadiz, Spain's main Atlantic port. When the Spanish attacked the French port of **Calais**, a former English possession, Essex wished to participate in the city's defense. However, **Elizabeth I**, who had never reconciled herself to the loss of Calais, would only assist in the town's defense if **Henri IV** agreed to return it to England. While the two monarchs dickered, Calais fell to Spain, and the English returned to their original plan.

Operating under the joint command of Essex and Charles **Howard**, Lord Howard of Effingham, the largest and best-equipped English fleet of the war left Plymouth early in June 1596. The force numbered nearly 150 ships and over 6,000 soldiers. The fleet arrived off Cadiz in late June to find the port undefended and a rich Indies fleet anchored outside the harbor. While Essex attacked the town by sea, Howard landed his troops and completed the capture of the city. Although Cadiz was subjected to a thorough sacking, the Indies fleet was destroyed before the

English could seize it. Essex gallantly ordered that all churches remain unharmed and that all women, children, and religious be allowed to depart in safety. The earl then declared himself governor of Cadiz and knighted 68 of his men.

On 1 July, the English burned the town and sailed for the **Azores** where they expected to find a treasure fleet from **America**. But no treasure ships materialized, and the fleet returned to England with little to show for its efforts. The English people hailed Essex as a conqueror, but the queen chastised him for the venture's lack of profit. Despite its military success, the raid began the earl's downfall. The popularity Essex won at Cadiz soon brought him into conflict with Elizabeth, who would share her special place in the hearts of the English people with no man.

See also Armada; Virgin Queen

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Calais

Until 1558, Calais, an English Channel port in northwestern **France**, was the last remaining English possession in Continental Europe. Although expensive to maintain, Calais was of economic importance as the continental mart for English wool exports and of psychological importance as a symbol of past military glory.

Captured by Edward III in 1347, Calais was formally ceded to England in 1360. The town and its surrounding Pale, which covered an area of about 120 square miles, was considered English soil. Under constant French pressure, Calais and its Pale were heavily fortified. Stout rectangular walls and a deep moat enclosed the town and a series of inner defenses that included Calais Castle, which was a virtual ruin by the 1550s, and the tower of Rysbank, which dominated the harbor. The Pale defenses centered on the forts of Guisnes, Hammes, and Newnham Bridge, which were all rebuilt in the early 1540s. Each fort had its own commander, its own garrison, and its own sizable complement of artillery.

The **Merchants of the Staple**, the company that controlled the wool trade, established its staple, or overseas mart, at Calais in 1363. Under **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII**, the company paid the garrison and maintained the fortifications in return for recognition of its monopoly in wool. The Calais garrison was the largest

standing military establishment under the English Crown, and its maintenance proved a heavy financial burden both for the staplers and for the government.

The king governed Calais through the lord deputy and his council. From 1533 to 1540, the deputyship was held by Arthur **Plantagenet**, Lord Lisle, Henry VIII’s uncle. Under Lisle’s lax rule, corruption and disorder flourished and the town became a haven for English reformers, the secret protection of whom helped topple Thomas **Cromwell** in 1540. In 1536, **Parliament** passed the Calais Act, which, like similar statutes for **Wales**, more firmly integrated Calais into the English State. Based on the recommendations of William **Fitzwilliam**, Earl of Southampton, whose commission had surveyed the town in 1535, the measure prohibited the sale of offices and reorganized the garrison and the town’s finances. The act also permitted Calais to send two representatives to **Parliament**, one chosen by the deputy and council and the other by the mayor and burgesses.

In 1557, England went to war with France as an ally of **Mary I**’s husband, **Philip of Spain**. Prolonged neglect of the Pale defenses allowed the town to fall to the French in January 1558. Despite Calais’s economic and nationalistic importance, the **council** believed recovery of the town was beyond the nation’s financial and military capabilities, and no effort was made to regain it. In the tripartite talks that began at **Cateau-Cambr sis** in 1558, Philip had no wish to jeopardize peace for Calais, and the Marian government was persuaded to abandon the town.

After her accession in November 1558, **Elizabeth I**, also needing peace more than Calais, reluctantly agreed, although the queen never ceased to scheme for its return. In 1560, Elizabeth’s intense desire to regain Calais complicated the negotiations among England, France, and **Scotland** that culminated in the Treaty of **Edinburgh**. When France refused to restore Calais to English control, Elizabeth grudgingly accepted an agreement to have French troops and influence removed

Tudor Lord Deputies of Calais

Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney	1489–1509
Sir Gilbert Talbot	1509–1514
Sir Gilbert Talbot and Sir Richard Wingfield	1514–1520*
John Bouchier, Lord Berners	1520–1533
Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle	1533–1540
Henry Arundel, Lord Maltravers	1540–1544
George Cobham, Lord Cobham	1544–1550
William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby	1550–1552
William Howard, Lord Howard	1552–1553
Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth	1553–1558

* At some point before 1520, Talbot left office and Wingfield was associated in the deputyship with Sir John Peche.

from Scotland, a concession that ultimately proved far more important to England than the return of Calais because it led to peace between the realms of England and Scotland. Although the queen's desire to regain Calais complicated Anglo-French relations for the rest of her reign, Calais was formally and permanently lost to England in the 1564 Treaty of **Troyes**.

See also Anglo-French War (Mary I); Brittany Expeditions; Hampton Court, Treaty of

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Calais, Treaty of

The Treaty of Calais (or Gravelines) was an Anglo-Imperial alliance concluded at Gravelines near **Calais** on 10 July 1520. Although the agreement allowed **Henry VIII** to continue posing as an international peacemaker, committing him to little beyond an undertaking to negotiate no new pacts with France for two years, it aroused French suspicions, weakened support for the Treaty of **London**, and led in 1521 to the Treaty of **Bruges**, a full-fledged Anglo-Imperial military commitment.

In late May 1520, Henry, then in the midst of travel preparations for his meeting with **Francis I** at the **Field of Cloth of Gold**, spent three days entertaining **Charles V** at Dover and Canterbury, where Charles for the first time met his aunt, **Catherine of Aragon**. As a counterbalance to Henry's upcoming meeting with the French monarch, the talks with Charles were meant to enhance the king's reputation as a peacemaker, which he had won in 1518 through his sponsorship of the London peace pact. Because contrary winds had delayed Charles's sailing from **Spain** and forced a curtailment of their meeting, Henry and Charles agreed to confer again shortly after the conclusion of the Anglo-French conference.

Accordingly, Henry and Charles met in early July in Imperial territory at Gravelines. The two monarchs renewed all existing treaties between their states, promised to provide each other with military assistance when needed, and agreed not to make separate compacts with France within the next two years. They also discussed the possibility of a marriage between Charles and Princess Mary, although

because the princess was only four and already promised to the French dauphin by an agreement of 1518, the matter was not pursued. Both rulers also agreed to meet jointly with the French at Calais in August 1521, Charles to try to resolve his differences with Francis short of war, and Henry to continue his role as international mediator. On 12 July, upon the conclusion of the Gravelines discussions, Henry and Charles rode to Calais, where the English treated their guests to two days of handsome entertainments similar to those staged at the Field of Cloth of Gold.

Although it did little to alter the balance among the three powers, the Treaty of Calais generated French mistrust of English intentions and encouraged Imperial belief that the English would eventually abandon neutrality and join an anti-French alliance. When the three parties met at Calais in 1521, neither England nor the empire sincerely sought peace, and Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** negotiated the Anglo-Imperial Treaty of Bruges while the Calais talks were still in progress.

See also Mary I

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Calendar

In the sixteenth century, Europe still used the Julian calendar, devised in the first century BCE by Julius Caesar. Because the Julian year was slightly longer than the solar year, the calendar had, by the sixteenth century, accumulated a surplus of 10 days. The vernal equinox, which in the first centuries of the Christian era had fallen on 21 March, was in the sixteenth century falling on 11 March. To rectify this problem, Pope **Gregory XIII** ordered the suppression of 10 days in 1582. To prevent a recurrence of the problem, the pope declared that, thereafter, all years ending in "00" would not be leap years (i.e., years that added one day to total 366) unless they were divisible by 400. Thus, 1600 was to be a leap year, but 1700, 1800, and 1900 were not; the Julian calendar had considered all four years to be leap years. This reformed calendar, called the Gregorian calendar, was readily adopted by most of Catholic Europe, but was only gradually accepted by Protestant countries, such as England, which retained the Julian calendar until 1752.

England's refusal to accept Gregory's reforms meant that crossing to **France** moved Elizabethan travelers forward 10 calendar days, and returning to England moved them back 10 days. This meant that if you had left England on 20 August 1590 and experienced an average four-hour crossing of the English Channel, you would have landed in France on 30 August 1590. England's rejection of the

Gregorian calendar also meant that Elizabethans started their new year on a different day from Catholic Europe. The Gregorian calendar begins years on 1 January, the start of the Roman new year, but in England the year began on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation. Thus, the months of January and February 1595 in France were January and February 1594 in England. On 25 March, the year 1595 began in England and the Elizabethans remained in line with Catholic Europe until the next 1 January. Elizabethans sometimes addressed this difference by writing the date as, for instance, 21 January 1594/1595. The day 1 January was called New Year's Day in Tudor England and gifts were exchanged. The day was officially observed on the ecclesiastical calendar as the feast day of the Circumcision of Christ.

See also Holidays (Holy Days)

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Calvin, John (1509–1564)

John Calvin was a French theologian and reformer whose ideas heavily influenced the theology and governance of the Protestant churches in England, **Scotland**, **France**, and the **Netherlands**. Born in Picardy in northern France, Calvin studied theology in Paris and law in Orleans before returning to Paris in 1531 to study Greek and Hebrew. He converted to **Protestantism** by 1530, and by 1534 was a leading figure in the French Protestant community. Persecuted for his religious views, Calvin fled France and eventually settled in the Swiss town of Geneva, where he began to lecture and was accepted as a minister.

In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin had described a system of ecclesiastical and civil government based on the law of God as revealed in the Bible. However, when Calvin attempted to establish this system in Geneva, he aroused opposition and was expelled from the city in 1538. He spent three years in Strasbourg, where he wrote several new theological treatises and thoroughly revised the *Institutes*. In 1541, continuing religious turmoil convinced the Genevan authorities to recall Calvin, who established a theocratic government that, by 1555, directed the affairs of the city and the social and individual lives of the citizens. Through such **Marian exiles** as John **Knox**, who visited Geneva in the 1550s, Calvin had a great influence on both the English and Scottish churches. His ideas, such as the superiority of a presbyterian church government, also formed the core of Puritan thinking.

The godly commonwealth that English **Puritans** and **Separatists** established in North America in the seventeenth century was an extension of the godly government Calvin established in Geneva in the sixteenth century. By systematizing



John Calvin systematized Protestant doctrine in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which was used by reformers in England, Scotland, and elsewhere. (Library of Congress)

Protestant doctrine in his *Institutes* and by setting a pattern for Protestant church government and discipline in his theocracy in Geneva, John Calvin gave the reformed churches of Britain and western Europe the strength, organization, and adaptability to both survive and shape the social, political, and economic changes of the seventeenth century. Calvin died in Geneva in 1564.

See also Calvinism, English; Huguenots; Presbyterian Movement

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Calvinism, English

Calvinism refers to the teachings of John **Calvin** and his followers, which for a time became dominant in the leadership of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England. Usually considered the leading Protestant reformer after Martin Luther, Calvin took an active interest in the spread of Protestant reform in Europe, where the non-Lutheran Protestant churches are generally referred to as “Reformed.”

While the English **Reformation** is indebted to a number of continental influences, including those of Martin **Bucer**, Peter Martyr **Vermigli**, and Heinrich Bullinger, by the later sixteenth century Calvin’s influence became predominant, particularly through his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and his commentaries and sermons on most of the **Bible**, which by popular demand flooded the English press, outnumbering those by English and other continental writers. Other factors promoting English Calvinism included the very popular Geneva Bible

and the stay of English exiles in Geneva and other Calvinist centers during the reign of **Mary I**, after which a number became bishops in the English Church. Although Calvin sought to make the Bible accessible to all, his writings appealed especially to the educated, and Calvinism flourished at the English **universities**, where the *Institutes* became a standard text. A catechism based on Calvin's was also widely influential. Rural and remote parts of England were less affected by Protestant ideas.

In Elizabethan and Jacobean England, Calvin's teachings were welcomed by those who came to be known as **Puritans**, some wishing to emulate in England a Genevan-style polity and worship. But significantly, theological Calvinism was also very well accepted by most of the church leadership, including bishops and archbishops, but not by **Elizabeth I**, who had been offended by John **Knox's** badly timed *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment [Rule] of Women*, published in Geneva in 1558, just before Elizabeth's accession. Calvin himself, while advocating a presbyterian form of church government, was tolerant of English episcopacy and firm in supporting local church order. While some admirers of the Genevan example threatened to divide the English Church over presbyterian polity and ritual, as a whole Calvinist soteriological teachings (those addressing the doctrine of salvation) became and remained "the theological cement of the Jacobean church," binding together conformists and moderate Puritans (Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, 82). The result has been called a "Calvinist consensus" in the English Church leadership (Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church," 32–33).

In Elizabeth's time, the archbishops combined support for Calvinist doctrine (as reflected in the **Thirty-nine Articles**) with a commitment to episcopacy and the **Book of Common Prayer**. Only Edmund **Grindal** sought to go further by authorizing "**prophesyings**," but was thereupon sequestered from his duties by the queen. Archbishop John **Whitgift** could justifiably claim Calvin for his side of the argument against dissident Puritans like Thomas **Cartwright**. The next reign brought some measure of religious peace because **James I**, theologically a Calvinist, was willing to tolerate good preachers who had misgivings about English forms but were willing to conform only to a degree.

Calvinism was a growing and changing phenomenon in which Calvin was only the leading figure. Theodore de Bèze, Calvin's successor at Geneva, notably modified the teaching, making it more specific and rigid on topics like **predestination**. In England, William Perkins carried on this hard, scholastic line. In Holland, Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) led a challenge to such views as limited atonement (only a predetermined number can be saved), and in England there developed a small "avant-garde" conformist movement of people like Richard **Hooker**, Lancelot Andrewes, and John Overall, forerunners of the Laudians (also known as Arminians), that came to power in the mid-1620s Church of England.

What was the essence of English Calvinism? It should certainly not be considered identical with Puritanism because it also appealed strongly to the official church leaders, probably including all the Elizabethan and Jacobean archbishops. Calvinism was not simply presbyterianism in church government nor objection to elements of the liturgy not prescribed in scripture. Nor was its center in predestination, although more broadly it did emphasize the sovereignty and grace of God. English Calvinism can be called “word-centered” because of its focus on scripture and on preaching (as well as on Christ, the living Word), whereas anti-Calvinists minimized preaching, concentrating instead on celebration of the **sacraments** and conformity to outward ritual. Yet Calvinists did not neglect Holy Communion, which Calvin held in high regard, calling for its more frequent celebration. English Calvinists were characterized by “a general sympathy with the continental Reformed tradition in all its purely doctrinal aspects, and a sense of identification with the West European Calvinist Churches and their fortunes” (Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 8).

Daniel W. Doerksen

See also Admonition Controversy; Eucharist, Views of the; Marian Exiles

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Cambridge University

See Universities

Camden, William (1551–1623)

William Camden, an Elizabethan antiquary and historian, wrote the first topographical survey of the British Isles and what is considered the best contemporary account of the reign of **Elizabeth I**. Born in **London**, the son of a painter, Camden was educated at Oxford, which he left in 1571 to begin traveling about Britain on a study of the history, archaeology, and topography of the island.

In 1575, Camden's research slowed when he became second master at Westminster School. In 1577, the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius, then visiting England, urged Camden to publish the material he had collected during his travels. This encouragement launched Camden on almost another decade of travel and research, which culminated in 1586 with the publication of *Britannia*, a Latin historical/topographical survey of Britain dedicated to William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. The work was well received, running to five editions by 1600 and appearing in an enlarged sixth edition in 1607. Philemon Holland published the first English translation in 1610. Along with William **Lambarde**'s work on Kent, *Britannia* inspired a whole series of county topographical surveys, such as Richard **Carew**'s *Survey of Cornwall* (1602).

Although he became headmaster of Westminster School in 1593, Camden continued to publish, including a Greek grammar in 1597, a list of epitaphs found in Westminster Abbey in 1600, and a collection of early English chronicles in 1603. After abandoning the writing of a general history of England as too ambitious, Camden undertook in 1608 to write a history of the reign of Elizabeth I. The first part of the *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha*, which was published in 1615, carried the story of the reign through 1588. Although Camden completed the second part of the *Annales* in 1617, it was



William Camden, antiquary, historian, traveler, and schoolmaster, wrote the best contemporary account of the reign of Elizabeth I. (Library of Congress)

not published in London until 1627, four years after his death. The first complete English translation of the *Annales* appeared in 1630.

See also Antiquarianism; Grammar School; Universities

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Campe, Treaty of

Concluded in June 1546, the Anglo-French Treaty of Campe ended the state of war that had existed between the two kingdoms since 1543. Although it proved only a temporary settlement of outstanding issues, the treaty created an uneasy Anglo-French amity that prevailed until the deaths of both **Henry VIII** and **Francis I**.

In March 1546, Henry reversed his earlier refusal to seek peace with **France** and acceded to his **council**'s request to open talks. Despite his personal desire to continue the fight, Henry could no longer afford war. Burdened with debt and hampered by bad harvests that made it difficult to feed his troops, Henry used the third-party mediation of Francesco Bernardo, a Venetian with contacts in both countries, to clear the way for direct talks between the two governments. On 17 April, the king appointed a commission consisting of William **Paget**; John **Dudley**, Lord Lisle; and Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, to treat with French representatives at **Calais** or some neutral site. Beginning on 24 April at Campe, midway between Guines and Ardres, the peace talks were protracted and difficult. Henry was unwilling to surrender Boulogne, the French town he had captured in 1544, and Francis demanded that **Scotland**, a French ally threatened by English invasion, be included in any settlement.

Although Henry withheld his approval until 6 June, the basic outline of the treaty was completed by 15 May. England was to retain Boulogne until 1554, when the town, along with any new fortifications constructed by the English, was to be

surrendered to France upon payment of 2 million French crowns (approximately £400,000). France also agreed to pay all pensions due the English Crown under any previous Anglo-French accord. Scotland was vaguely “comprehended” into the agreement by a provision pledging England to refrain from warring on the Scots unless the Scots first broke the peace. The formula for Boulogne allowed Henry to hold on to his conquest for a time—permanently if the French defaulted on their huge payment—while establishing a mechanism for eventual French reacquisition of the town. The Scottish formula merely saved face on both sides and allowed an agreement to be concluded, although it proved to be easy enough for either side to find a pretext for resuming intervention in Scotland.

Signed on 7 June 1546, the Treaty of Campe (or Ardres) was looked upon by both sides as a short-term solution to the problems of Boulogne and Scotland; financial exhaustion made both monarchs willing to accept the compromise formulas. However, the death of Henry in January 1547 and of Francis the following March left both countries under regimes that were unwilling or unable to abide by the Campe agreement. **Henri II**, the new king of France, was determined to regain Boulogne, while **Edward VI**’s regency government, headed by his uncle Hertford, now Duke of Somerset, was too weak to hold the French to their promises. Somerset was also anxious to renew the **Rough Wooing**, Henry VIII’s aggressive policy toward Scotland. By the summer of 1549, the precarious peace established by the Treaty of Campe collapsed and war resumed between England and France.

See also Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

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Campeggio, Lorenzo (c. 1472–1539)

In 1529, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, Bishop of Salisbury and cardinal protector of England, presided with Thomas **Wolsey** over a legatine court authorized to hear **Henry VIII**’s suit for a **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**.

Born into a noble family of Bologna in **Italy**, Campeggio, like his father, studied law. Educated at Bologna and Pavia, he married and fathered a son, but, with the death of his wife sometime after 1504, he took holy orders and eventually became bishop of Feltri. Leo X made him a cardinal in 1517 and in the following year sent him to England as papal legate with orders to persuade Henry VIII to join a crusade against the Turks. His passage of the English Channel was delayed for a month until the pope agreed to Henry’s demand that Wolsey also be named legate.

Although received with much ceremony, Campeggio failed to win Henry for the crusade, and Wolsey used the legate's visit as cover to begin secret negotiations with the French that led eventually to the Treaty of **London**.

In 1524, the pope made Campeggio bishop of Bologna and the king allowed his appointment as absentee bishop of Salisbury. In the same year, he presided in Germany at the Diet of Ratisbon, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to halt the spread of **Lutheranism**. Following the May 1527 sack of Rome, Campeggio was besieged in the Castel Sant' Angelo with Pope **Clement VII**, who in the following year sent Campeggio again to England as legate to try the royal divorce case.

Landing in September 1528, Campeggio found the king eager for action but was himself under orders from Clement to delay as long as possible and to find some way of resolving the case short of public trial. He pressed Catherine to consider entering a nunnery and thus free Henry to remarry, but she refused all entreaties. Badgered by Henry and Wolsey, rebuffed by the queen, and tortured by gout, Campeggio grew weary of the whole affair and asked the pope to revoke the case to Rome. Before such instructions arrived, the legatine court, jointly conducted by Campeggio and Wolsey, opened at Blackfriars on 18 June 1529. On 31 July, after weeks of testimony, Campeggio, in accordance with the Roman trial calendar, adjourned the court until October, a decision that everyone understood meant the case would be revoked to Rome as Catherine and her nephew **Charles V** had demanded. His plans thus frustrated, Henry demonstrated his displeasure by ordering English customs officers to conduct an insultingly thorough search of Campeggio's baggage when the cardinal left England in September. Deprived of the bishopric of Salisbury by **Parliament** in 1534, Campeggio died in Rome in 1539.

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Campion, Edmund (1540–1581)

Edmund Campion, who with Robert **Parsons** initiated the **Jesuit mission** to England, was one of the English Jesuits executed for treason by **Elizabeth I**'s government. The son of a **London** bookseller, Campion took his master's degree at Oxford in 1564. A talented speaker, Campion, when only 13, delivered a speech of welcome to **Mary I** on her entry into London in 1553. In 1566, he welcomed Elizabeth to Oxford with a speech that won him the praise and **patronage** of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. Ordained a deacon in the **Anglican Church**, Campion

taught at Oxford until 1570, when his conversion to Catholicism forced him to leave the university.

Sheltered for a time in **Ireland** by Lord Deputy Sir Henry **Sidney**, the father of his friend Philip **Sidney**, Campion wrote a verse *History of Ireland* that he dedicated to Leicester. Campion also began a prose history of Ireland, which was later completed by his student Richard **Stanyhurst** and was included in the first edition of **Holinshed's Chronicles**. In 1571, he fled to William **Allen's** English Catholic college at Douai in the **Netherlands**. He then entered the Jesuit order in Rome, accepting appointment to a Jesuit college in Prague. In 1580, Allen chose Campion and Robert Parsons to become the first Jesuit missionaries in England. They arrived in June and began immediately to travel about the country saying **Mass** and ministering to lapsed and practicing Catholics. Campion moved through the western and northern counties, finding refuge in Catholic **gentry** homes, while Parsons stayed nearer London. In June 1581, Campion caused a stir in Oxford with the distribution by confederates of his secretly printed pamphlet *Decem Rationes* (Ten Reasons), which attacked the Anglican Church.

With spies and informers everywhere posing as Catholics, Campion's arrest in Berkshire in July 1581 was only a matter of time. Tortured three times on the rack, Campion finally divulged the name of a few of his Catholic protectors. When brought to trial at Westminster in November, he was too weak from torture to enter a plea. Campion was convicted of **treason**, and on 1 December 1581 was dragged through the streets of London to his execution at Tyburn. Because Campion had professed loyalty to the queen and had shown no interest in the Jesuit political agenda, his execution, which was witnessed by a large crowd, was unpopular.

See also Catholicism, English; Universities

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Canon Law

Canon law was the law of the church and was employed, along with **civil law**, in the **church courts**. By the Tudor period, canon law consisted of a series of basic texts and documents (canons) evolved over the centuries by church councils and reforming popes. Although reviled by sixteenth-century humanists as repetitive and pedantic, an extensive body of commentary had also developed around canon

law during the Middle Ages. Canon law was taught in the **universities** and practiced with elements of Roman civil law in church courts and, to some degree, in secular courts of **equity**. Canon law differed from English **common law** in its well-developed procedure for gathering evidence and its lack of jury trials.

Canon law had jurisdiction over matters of **heresy** and clerical discipline as well as over such lay concerns as **marriage** and divorce, wills and testaments, defamation, **tithes**, and a wide range of morals violations. Because canon law was closely tied to papal authority, **Parliament**, once it had acknowledged the **Royal Supremacy** in the 1530s, subordinated canon law to statute law, English custom, and the royal **prerogative**. The teaching of canon law at the universities was abolished, and efforts were undertaken to compile a new code of church law known as the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. However, the *Reformatio* was never adopted, and English church courts continued to practice a modified form of medieval canon law.

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Carberry, Battle of

The Battle of Carberry, which was really nothing more than an armed negotiation, set the stage for ending the rule of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and for initiating the reign of her son, James VI. In the months following the murder of her husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, in February 1567, Queen Mary showed increasing signs of unfitness to rule. Her refusal to observe even the conventions of mourning and her stunning marriage in May 1567 to James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, who was widely suspected of involvement in the **Darnley murder**, drove many of even her strongest supporters into opposition. Because Mary had been mysteriously seized and carried off by Bothwell about a month before the sudden marriage, a group of 12 earls and 14 lords bound themselves in early June in an alliance known as the Confederate Lords. Tired of Mary's weak leadership and unwilling to be subservient to Bothwell, the Confederate Lords announced their intention of freeing the queen from the earl's control and punishing the murderers of Darnley.

On 15 June 1567, the army of Mary and Bothwell faced the army of the Confederate Lords at Carberry, about eight miles west of **Edinburgh**. Bothwell challenged several of the lords to single combat, but they refused, and the queen's army gradually dispersed during the long, hot day as the two sides negotiated a settlement. By evening, Bothwell agreed to leave **Scotland** under a safe-conduct in return for the Lords' promise to treat Mary honorably. In a state of mental collapse,

Mary was brought back to Edinburgh where the citizens greeted her with cries of “Burn the whore!” and “Kill her!” Imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, the queen miscarried twins in early July. On 24 July, the Confederate Lords forced her to abdicate in favor of her year-old son, James, who was crowned five days later at Stirling. Mary’s half brother, James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, who had prudently absented himself from the events surrounding his sister’s abdication, returned to Edinburgh in August to become regent for the young king. The negotiations at Carberry in 1567 illustrated clearly how little faith in Mary’s ability to rule remained among the members of Scotland’s political elite.

See also James I

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Carew, Sir Gawen (c. 1503–c. 1583)

A soldier, sailor, and long-standing royal servant of Protestant leanings, Sir Gawen Carew, a member of a prominent West Country **gentry** family, fought in the French wars of **Henry VIII**, helped suppress the **Western Rebellion**, involved himself in the anti-Spanish plots surrounding **Wyatt’s Rebellion**, and served in local government in Devon during the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

The uncle of Sir George **Carew** and Sir Peter **Carew**, with whom he was later frequently associated in royal service, Sir Gawen in the 1520s was attached with the former to the household of Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, a maternal relative of the Carews and the premier West Country magnate. In 1531, Gawen Carew married Anne Brandon, the widowed sister of Henry VIII’s friend and brother-in-law, Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk. After her death, Carew married another widow, Mary Wotton, who died in 1558, and then Elizabeth Norwich, who outlived him. In 1533, Carew was briefly imprisoned for participating in a court brawl that left one man dead and another “sore hurt” (Wagner, *Devon Gentleman*, 53), and, in 1543, he was examined by the Royal Council for eating meat during Lent without license. However, in 1539, he and his nephew Peter were appointed members of the Gentlemen Pensioners, the king’s new royal bodyguard.

Carew served in Henry VIII’s 1544 invasion of France, being required to supply seven horsemen and four archers for the campaign. In 1545, Carew commanded the *Matthew Gonson* during the naval battle of Portsmouth, where he witnessed the death of his nephew Sir George Carew, who drowned when his ship, the *Mary*

Rose, sank as it prepared to engage the French fleet. A month later, he and his nephew Peter were knighted by John **Dudley**, Lord Lisle, for their distinguished service in action against the French at Treport. In December 1545, Carew sat as member for Devon in the **Parliament** that dissolved the **chantries** and was thereafter named to the commission charged with surveying chantries in Devon, Cornwall, and Exeter. In 1548, Carew was appointed sheriff of Devon.

In 1549, the Edwardian government sent Carew and his nephew Sir Peter into the West Country to suppress the Western Rebellion against the new **Book of Common Prayer**. Wounded in an assault on the rebel-held bridge at Feniton, Carew was later rewarded for his service by a grant of the Cornish lands of Humphry **Arundell**, one of the leading rebels. Although he had no part in the attempt to enthrone Jane **Grey** in 1553, and indeed was subsequently thanked by **Mary I** for his support in securing her accession, Carew joined the attempt led by Sir Peter Carew to initiate an uprising in Devon against Mary's proposed marriage to **Philip of Spain**. In January 1554, when the uprising collapsed and Sir Peter fled to **France**, Gawen Carew was arrested and imprisoned in the **Tower of London** until the summer of 1555, when he was pardoned and released.

After Elizabeth's accession in 1558, Carew largely withdrew from court and became closely associated in West Country government with Francis **Russell**, Duke of Bedford, a leading western peer and a firm Protestant. In 1559 and 1563, Carew sat in Parliament, representing the Devon borough of Plympton Earle in the former assembly and the county of Devon in the latter. In 1562, he was named to the Devon commission of the peace and continued active in local administration almost until his death, his last known service being as a member of a 1582 commission charged with reforming postal service in the West Country. Because he outlived Sir Peter by almost a decade, he is thought to have been a key source for the biography of his nephew written in the 1580s by John **Hooker**. Despite his three marriages, Carew had no children; he probably died shortly after the writing of his will on 11 October 1583.

John A. Wagner

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Carew, Sir George (c. 1505–1545)

Sir George Carew was vice admiral of the English fleet and commander of the *Mary Rose*. Born into a prominent **gentry** family from Devonshire, Carew was the

son of Sir William Carew of Mohun's Ottery. The first record of Carew concerns an unlicensed trip to **France** in 1526. After unsuccessfully offering their services to the French Crown, Carew and his friend Edward Rogers drifted to **Calais**, where they were detained by the deputy and examined on orders of the Royal Council. By late November, both men were back home and in receipt of pardons for their misadventure.

Carew's public career began in January 1536, when he was returned as member of **Parliament** for Devonshire. Knighted in July at the ceremony elevating Thomas **Cromwell** to the peerage, Carew attended Queen Jane **Seymour** during the **Pilgrimage of Grace** uprisings in October. In November, Carew was chosen sheriff of Devonshire for the following year. In August 1537, Carew and Sir John **Dudley** conducted an energetic campaign in the English Channel against French and Breton pirates. Appointed captain of the Calais fortress of Rysbank in 1539, Carew was one of the few Calais councillors to show sympathy for the town's Protestants, a stance that angered the deputy, Arthur **Plantagenet**, Lord Lisle. Returning to England in April 1540, Carew was conveyed to the **Tower of London** in June to confront Lisle, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of **treason**. Mistakenly assuming that he was also under arrest, Carew fell into such a panic that he was physically unable to leave the Tower for several days.

In the French campaign of 1543, Carew charged the enemy so zealously that he was captured when the French rear guard suddenly turned on their pursuers. His brother, Sir Peter **Carew**, tried unsuccessfully to ransom him, but Carew remained a prisoner until the king arranged his release some months later. During the Boulogne campaign of 1544, Carew's efficient handling of naval transport won him appointment as vice admiral of the fleet and commander of the royal vessel *Mary Rose*.

On 19 July 1545, while Carew dined with the king and other fleet officers aboard the *Great Harry* off Portsmouth, the French fleet sailed into the harbor. As the diners dispersed to their ships, Henry called Carew aside and transferred a chain and gold whistle, the traditional insignia of the vice admiral's office, from his neck to Carew's. However, within hours, Carew was dead; in one of the worst naval disasters of the Tudor era, the *Mary Rose* foundered and sank as it prepared to engage the enemy. Carew and all but about 35 of the 700 men on board drowned before the eyes of **Henry VIII**.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Carew, George, Earl of Totnes (1555–1629)

As lord president of Munster, George Carew was instrumental in defeating the Irish rebel leader Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, and ending the **Nine Years War**. Educated at Oxford, Carew and his elder brother Peter joined their cousin Sir Peter **Carew in Ireland** in 1574. Upon Sir Peter's death in 1575, Carew volunteered to serve in the Irish army under Lord Deputy Sir Henry **Sidney**. When his brother was killed by Irish rebels in 1580, George Carew succeeded him as constable of Leighlin Castle. In 1583, George murdered an Irishman who had boasted of killing his brother. Although condemned for this rash act, Carew rehabilitated himself by 1586, when Lord Deputy Sir John **Perrot** knighted him and sent him to England to report on the state of Ireland. In this duty, Carew favorably impressed both **Elizabeth I** and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, and was appointed Irish master of ordnance. In 1591, he obtained the same post for England through the influence of his distant relative, Sir Walter **Raleigh**. He participated in the **Cadiz Raid** (1596) and set out on the **Islands Voyage** in 1597, but a storm damaged his vessel and forced him to return.



George Carew, Earl of Totnes, distinguished himself in military service in Ireland; and, like his friend William Camden, was a man of antiquarian interests. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

An ally of Sir Robert **Cecil**, Carew won appointment as lord president of Munster in 1600 as a counterbalance to the new lord deputy, Charles **Blount**, Lord Mountjoy, who was a supporter of Cecil's rival, Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Despite their political differences, Carew was one of Mountjoy's chief lieutenants in crushing Tyrone's rebels during the Nine Years War, and especially distinguished himself in the successful action against the Spanish troops at **Kinsale**. Through a skillful combination of ruthlessness and diplomacy, Carew restored order to Munster by the time of Elizabeth's death in 1603.

Carew found immediate favor with **James I**, who created him Baron Carew of Clopton House in 1605. The king later appointed him councillor for the colony of Virginia, governor of Guernsey, and a member of the Privy **Council**. In 1610, James sent Carew back to Ireland to report on the state of

the island. In 1618, Carew pleaded unsuccessfully for the life of Raleigh. Created Earl of Totnes by Charles I in 1626, Carew died in **London** in 1629. A man of antiquarian interests, and a friend of William **Camden** and Sir Robert **Cotton**, Carew carefully collected and organized his family papers, thus creating what is today an important archive of information on Elizabethan Ireland.

See also Antiquarianism; Carew, Richard; Universities

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Carew, Sir Nicholas (c. 1496–1539)

Although he held official posts as royal cupbearer and master of horse, Sir Nicholas Carew is best known as an expert jousting and member of the informal group of royal companions who shared **Henry VIII's** youthful pastimes. An accomplished courtier, Carew remained high in royal favor until 1538, when his religious conservatism and friendship with Princess Mary fatally entangled him in the **Exeter Conspiracy**.

Born into the Surrey branch of an ancient West Country **gentry** family, Carew came to **court** while still a youth, becoming groom of the privy chamber in 1511. In 1513, Carew accompanied the king to **France** and obtained the lieutenancy of **Calais** Castle. In 1515, Carew received a royal loan of horse and armor to encourage development of his obvious abilities as a jousting. His boisterous personality and skill at the tilt, for which he was soon renowned, gave Carew entrée into the select group of boon companions who daily partook of Henry's pleasures and amusements. In May 1519, the Royal Council banished Carew and the other so-called **minions** from court for behaving with inappropriate familiarity toward the king. Sent to Calais as lieutenant of the fortress of Rysbank, Carew was back at court by the end of the year and in attendance on the king in the following summer at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and the Gravelines meeting with **Charles V**. Carew also served as a soldier and diplomat, fighting in the Anglo-French War of 1522, participating in the embassy that conferred the Garter on **Francis I** in 1527, and accompanying Richard **Sampson** to the Imperial court to promote the royal **divorce** in 1529. Carew also served as sheriff of Surrey in 1528 and sat for the county in the **Reformation Parliament** beginning in 1529.

Although outwardly acquiescing in all the king's efforts to annul his marriage, Carew intimated his sympathy for **Catherine of Aragon** to Eustace **Chapuys**, the

Imperial ambassador. When ordered to make preparations for the October 1532 meeting between Henry and Francis at Calais, an interview meant to introduce Anne **Boleyn** to the French king and solicit his assistance in obtaining the annulment, Carew confessed to Chapuys that he would rather hinder than help the project. Carew and his wife were soon in secret communication with Princess Mary, whom they advised to submit to her father in all things. However, even disclosure of this correspondence did not harm Carew's standing with the king, who in 1537 favored Carew with a prominent role in the baptism of Prince Edward, and who on several occasions down to 1538 visited Carew at his house at Beddington.

The reasons for Carew's sudden fall are therefore somewhat mysterious. In November 1538, Carew was named to a commission charged with receiving the indictments against Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, the accused leaders of the Exeter Conspiracy. Carew was himself arrested on 31 December after further interrogation of Sir Geoffrey **Pole**, the government's chief informant, uncovered letters between Carew and Exeter. Indicted for holding treasonable conversation and correspondence with the marquis, Carew was tried and condemned. Because the evidence of **treason** against Carew was slight, Chapuys believed that Henry destroyed his old companion as part of an effort to deprive Mary of all influential friends. Carew was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 8 March 1539. He was posthumously included in the act of **attainder** passed in the spring of 1539 against all the Exeter conspirators.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Edward VI; Mary I

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Carew, Sir Peter (c. 1514–1575)

Sir Peter Carew was an important figure in the Elizabethan colonization and conquest of **Ireland**. Born into a Devonshire gentry family, Carew proved a poor student, and in 1526 traveled to **France** as a page for one of his father's acquaintances. For six years, Carew lived by his wits in France and **Italy**, losing contact with his family and attaching himself to the service of various noblemen. In about 1532, he returned to England, stunning his parents, who had given him up for dead. Fluent in French and Italian and full of current knowledge about continental fashions and military practices, Carew found a ready reception at the English **court**. **Henry VIII** used him in various military and diplomatic capacities, and the

governments of **Edward VI** employed Carew in Devon and Cornwall to suppress the 1549 **Western Rebellion** (which arose out of opposition to the first **Book of Common Prayer**) and to institute the king's Protestant policies.

In 1553, Carew, unhappy with **Mary I**'s choice of a Catholic, Spanish consort, joined the conspiracy that led to **Wyatt's Rebellion**, an unsuccessful attempt to replace Mary with her half sister Elizabeth. Carew spent two years in European exile until captured in the **Netherlands** in May 1556 by agents of Mary's husband, Prince **Philip**. After several months' confinement in the **Tower of London**, Carew was pardoned, perhaps in part for informing on other antigovernment conspirators. For the first two years of her reign, **Elizabeth I** employed Carew on various assignments, but after 1560 he withdrew from court, perhaps for financial reasons.

In 1568, he turned his attention to regaining at law various long-lost family estates in Ireland. With the queen's permission, Carew traveled to Ireland to institute legal proceedings that recovered a portion of these lands, but severely disaffected the former landholders and triggered an uprising. The queen ordered Carew to desist, and when he came to England to plead his case, she refused him permission to return to Ireland. He spent his last years seeking to revive his Irish causes and arguing that peace and stability in Ireland required more English settlers, stronger military efforts, and more repressive government—views that gained greater favor in government circles after his death. Carew died in Ireland on 27 November 1575.

See also Butler Wars; Carew, Sir Gawen; Carew, Sir George; Carew, George, Earl of Totnes; Carew, Richard; Hooker, John; Plantations, Irish

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Carew, Richard (1555–1620)

Richard Carew was a well-respected Elizabethan scholar and antiquary. A distant cousin of Sir Peter **Carew**; George **Carew**, Earl of Totnes; and the seventeenth-century poet Thomas Carew, Richard Carew was born at Antony, his family's estate in Cornwall. He was educated at Oxford, where he befriended William **Camden** and held his own in a public disputation with Philip **Sidney**. In 1577, he returned

to Cornwall, where he busied himself with learning languages and studying the natural and human history of the county.

He was appointed a **justice of the peace** in 1581 and sheriff of Cornwall in 1582. Carew served in **Parliament** for the town of Saltash in 1584 and for the town of Saint Michael's in 1597. He was also deputy lieutenant of Cornwall under Sir Walter **Raleigh**, whose son Carew Raleigh was Richard Carew's godson. Simply through reading, Carew taught himself French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Greek. He joined the Society of Antiquaries in 1589 and began a stimulating correspondence on various topics with Camden and other members. In 1605, Camden published one of Carew's letters, titled *Excellency of the English Tongue*; this letter makes reference to William **Shakespeare** as the equal of the Roman poet Catullus. Carew also translated various works from other European languages and produced a fantasy tale in verse titled *A Herring's Tail* (1598).

Carew's most important work was his *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), a detailed study of his home county that he dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. The *Survey* was widely read and well received, but Carew's plans for a second edition were spoiled by his declining health. Carew died at Antony in 1620. His son, also named Richard, wrote an account of his father's life, and later published a work titled *True and Ready Way to Learn the Latin Tongue*, which is often erroneously attributed to the elder Richard Carew.

See also Antiquarianism; *Britannia*; Universities

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Carey, George, Lord Hunsdon (1547–1603)

George Carey was lord chamberlain of England and patron of the **Chamberlain's Men**, an acting company, which included William **Shakespeare** and Richard **Burbage** among its members. As a grandson of the queen's aunt, Mary **Boleyn**, Carey was a cousin of **Elizabeth I**. Educated at Cambridge, Carey served under Thomas **Radcliffe**, Earl of Sussex, in campaigns against the **Northern Rebellion** and on the Scottish border between 1569 and 1571. Knighted by Sussex in 1570, Carey became constable of Bamburgh Castle in 1574 and captain-general of the Isle of Wight in 1582. In the latter post, he was responsible for strengthening the island's defenses and for securing parliamentary representation for the **borough** of Newtown, a service that earned him the right to nominate one of the town's members of Parliament for life. Carey himself sat for Hertfordshire in the **Parliament** of 1571,

and for Hampshire in 1584–1585, 1586–1587, 1589, and 1593. The queen sent him on diplomatic missions to **Scotland** in 1582 and 1589.

Carey succeeded his father, Henry **Carey**, as second Lord Hunsdon in 1596, and as lord chamberlain in 1597. The chamberlainship gave Hunsdon the **patronage** of the Chamberlain's Men, whose members moved themselves, in 1598, to the new **Globe Theatre** in Southwark. Hunsdon often presented the company in performances at court or at his residence at Hunsdon House. The company's last appearance before Elizabeth was on 2 February 1603, a few weeks before her death. Hunsdon was present at **Richmond Palace** when the queen died on 24 March, and he assisted his younger brother, Robert Carey, in leaving the guarded palace to ride for Scotland to inform James VI of his accession. Hunsdon died a few months later, shortly after the Chamberlain's Men came under royal patronage and became the King's Men.

See also Court, Royal; James I; Officers of State; Universities

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Carey, Henry, Lord Hunsdon (1524–1596)

Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon, was lord chamberlain of England and cousin to **Elizabeth I**. As the son of Elizabeth's aunt, Mary **Boleyn**, Henry Carey was the queen's first cousin, although court rumors claimed he was the queen's half brother because his true father was **Henry VIII**, who had been Mary Boleyn's lover before her marriage to William Carey. Elizabeth showed Carey immediate favor upon her accession in 1558, knighting him and raising him to the **peerage** as Lord Hunsdon. By 1561, Hunsdon was a knight of the Garter and a member of the Privy **Council**. He became an important figure in Anglo-Scottish relations in 1568 when Elizabeth made him governor of Berwick. The post gave him partial responsibility for border defenses and sent him on diplomatic missions into **Scotland**, but also involved him in a dispute with the queen over the untimely payment of his salary and official expenses.

Hunsdon took the field against the **Northern Rebellion** in 1569, defeating the rebel earls in battle. Because Elizabeth had appointed him lord chamberlain in 1583, the company of actors that came under his **patronage** in the mid-1590s became known as the **Chamberlain's Men**, a troupe that included Richard **Burbage** and William **Shakespeare**. A commissioner at the 1586 trial of Mary **Stuart**,

Queen of Scots, Hunsdon in 1587 was given the unenviable assignment of explaining to James VI of Scotland why his mother's execution was necessary. Elizabeth next named Hunsdon lord warden of the Scottish marches (i.e., borders) and made him one of the commanders at the army's main camp at Tilbury during the **Armada** Crisis of 1588. Hunsdon died in 1596 at Somerset House in **London**, a royal residence the queen allowed him to use.

See also Court, Royal; James I; Officers of State

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Carey, Mary

See Boleyn, Mary

Carle, Lancelot de (c. 1508–1568)

Lancelot de Carle (or Carles), French civil servant, man of letters, and bishop, is perhaps best known today as the author of a 1,318-line poem, *Epistre contenant le process criminel fait a l'encontre de la royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre*, dated 2 June 1536, that details the life and execution of Anne **Boleyn**, a work consulted by most biographers of Anne.

Carle was born into a noble family in Bordeaux, although few details of his young life are available. His father, Jean de Carle, was a lawyer and the second president of the parlement of Bordeaux, and his two older brothers distinguished themselves in local government service. He was distantly related by marriage to both Etienne de La Boetie and Montaigne. He was certainly well educated, but old claims that he studied at a university in **Italy** are unlikely.

Carle's life in government service included roles as ambassador's secretary, ambassador, and almoner to the king and dauphin of France. Like many French civil servants, he was rewarded with a bishopric (of Riez); but, unlike many, he is known to have spent time in his bishopric and performed good works there.

In 1536, Carle was in **London** in service to Antoine de Castelnau, **Francis I's** ambassador to the court of **Henry VIII**. It is while he was in England that Carle is believed to have written the poem about Anne Boleyn, and because the poem quickly reached Francis I, it may have been, at least in part, a form of diplomatic report. Although it was once claimed that Carle was a witness to Anne's execution,

that has been disproven by modern historians. Carle states at the opening of the poem that he is relating what he has heard from various sources since he first arrived in England. The handful of obvious factual errors and the lack of names for any of his sources have contributed to speculation and disagreement among historians over the value of the poem as documentary evidence.

Prior to his work in England, Carle is known to have been in Paris, where he wrote poetry and was connected with a circle of poets at court that included Clement Marot. After he returned to France, Carle was again associated with the important poets of his time. He was known in literary circles and his personal support was solicited by a number of well-known sixteenth-century French poets, including Pierre de Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay, who dedicated works to him. Although not prolific, Carle wrote verses in Latin, Italian, and French and did some translations of classical and biblical texts. He is perhaps most well known for a short work detailing the last words of François de Lorraine, duc de Guise. Although some in his time recognized him as an accomplished poet, by the end of the nineteenth century, literary critics seldom gave more than a nod to his work.

After his return from London, Carle spent the rest of his life in service to the French Crown. He became almoner first to Francis I and then in 1545 to the dauphin. In 1547, as a councillor to the king, he was sent to Rome on a successful mission to reconcile the pope and the French king. He was named bishop of Riez in 1550. He went on a second mission to Italy in 1554, and apparently, unlike many sixteenth-century French bishops, spent a noticeable amount of time in his see. In his position as a royal councillor, he assisted in Provence during a time of civil troubles and advised both Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, and Catherine de **Medici**. He died in 1568, probably in Paris.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Guise Family

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Carne, Sir Edward (c. 1496–1561)

A diplomat of Welsh descent, Sir Edward Carne played a leading role in English diplomatic efforts to secure papal annulment of **Henry VIII's** marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Born into a **gentry** family in Glamorgan, which claimed descent from Welsh kings, Carne earned bachelor's and doctoral degrees of **civil law** from Oxford in 1519 and 1524, respectively. In 1525, he was admitted to the College of Advocates in **London**, where his legal skills brought him to the attention of the king.

In 1530, after the legatine court conducted in England by Cardinals Lorenzo **Campeggio** and Thomas **Wolsey** had been adjourned and the king's annulment suit revoked to Rome, the king sent Carne to the papal court with instructions to delay proceedings in the rota, the papal court of appeal, for as long as possible. He therefore appeared not as the king's formal representative, but as a private subject objecting to the impropriety of a papal decree ordering Henry VIII to leave his kingdom and duties to personally appear in Rome. So successful was Carne that he delayed hearing of the case for over two years, thus buying Henry and his ministers time to canvass the universities of Europe and to prepare for shifting resolution of the matter from Rome to England. Carne finally left Rome in late 1532, when the papal court ordered Henry to send another agent to represent him.

Once the break with Rome had occurred, the king continued to employ Carne in marriage diplomacy. In 1538, he served with Thomas **Wriothesley** and Stephen Vaughan on an embassy to Mary, sister of **Charles V** and regent of the **Netherlands**. The ambassadors were charged with negotiating Henry's marriage with the Duchess of Milan and Princess Mary's with a Portuguese prince. The recent conclusion of peace between Charles V and **Francis I** threatened creation of a Franco-Imperial alliance against schismatic England and made the ambassadors' efforts both vital and difficult. However, neither marriage was concluded and Carne and his colleagues barely escaped arrest before receiving Henry's permission to withdraw to **Calais** in March 1539.

Carne next was named, with Dr. Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde, to a royal embassy to the German duchy of Cleves, which was charged with negotiating a marriage between Henry and the duke's sister **Anne of Cleves**, as well as between Princess Mary and the duke's son. The former union came to fruition in 1540, but the latter never occurred. It was Carne who arranged for a portrait of Anne to be painted for the king's consideration. Despite the king's later dissatisfaction with Anne and the rapid failure of the marriage, Carne remained in favor and was knighted by Henry in 1540.

In 1541, Carne was sent with Vaughan to the Netherlands to resolve a commercial dispute, but returned to England in 1542 when talks stalled. In England, Carne served as a royal commissioner for the **dissolution of the monasteries**, acquiring some monastic properties for himself. He returned to the Netherlands in 1544 as resident ambassador and served until 1548. During the reign of **Edward VI**, he served on various government commissions and was a member of the **Council in the Marches of Wales**. His defense of Stephen **Gardiner** at the conservative bishop's trial cost him royal favor during the last years of the reign.

During the reign of **Mary I**, Carne sat as member of **Parliament** for Glamorgan in the Parliament of 1554, and in 1555 he was part of an embassy sent to Rome to announce England's formal return to papal allegiance. When his colleagues returned to England, Carne remained as resident ambassador, the last from England

to the papal court until the reign of Charles II. His main achievement in this post was the defense of Archbishop Reginald **Pole** against charges of heresy leveled by Pope Paul IV. When Pole was summoned to Rome in 1557, Carne warned him to ignore the order or risk imprisonment. Ordered by the queen to demand that any such charges be investigated in England, Carne was eventually successful in having the charges dropped. Although recalled by **Elizabeth I** in 1559, Carne willingly stayed in Rome after being named warden of the English College by the pope. He died in Rome on 19 January 1561.

John A. Wagner

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Carthusian Martyrs

The term “Carthusian martyrs” refers to those English members of the Carthusian religious order who died for their refusal to accept the **royal supremacy**. With Sir Thomas **More** and Bishop John **Fisher**, the Carthusians became the most prominent victims of **Henry VIII**’s religious revolution.

Although they had only nine houses in England, the Carthusians were the most vigorous and respected order in the realm. Both John **Colet** and More considered joining the Charterhouse in London. The strength and popularity of the order rested on its rejection of the communal monasticism of the Middle Ages and its adoption of the personal piety and practical charity of the *Devotio Moderna*, the most vibrant mode of spirituality in the late medieval Church. Carthusian monks lived in private cells, spending their days in prayer and contemplation. Because of its strictness, the order tended to attract only older men with a strong sense of vocation.

In 1534, Archbishop Edward Lee of York convinced Prior John **Houghton** of the London Charterhouse to withdraw his initial refusal to take the oath required by the first Act of **Succession**. However, Houghton could not accept the unequivocal renunciation of papal supremacy required by the 1535 Act of **Supremacy**. Examined by Thomas **Cromwell**, Houghton was then dispatched to the **Tower of London** with two of his equally recalcitrant fellow priors, Augustine Webster of Axholme and Robert Lawrence of Beauvale. For refusing the oath of supremacy, the three men, along with Richard Reynolds, a member of the associated Bridgettine house at Sion, and John Hale, the vicar of Isleworth, were tried for **treason** on 28 April 1535. The men defended themselves by claiming their refusal

of the oath was not malicious denial of the supremacy, a requirement for conviction under the new Treasons Act. But pressure from Cromwell and a judicial ruling that any denial was in and of itself malicious overthrew their defense and secured a conviction from the jury. All five were hanged, drawn, and quartered on 4 May. Three other members of the London Charterhouse, Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Newdigate, were executed on 19 June.

In 1536, four remaining malcontents in the London house, Maurice Chauncy, John Foxe, John Rochester, and James Walworth, were transferred to the Carthusian houses at Beauvale and Hull. By May 1537, two-thirds of the remaining 30 monks swore to the supremacy. The 10 dissenters were imprisoned in Newgate, where all died except William Horne, who survived only to be executed in August 1540. Although many took the oath to save their house, the 20 who complied were forced to surrender the London Charterhouse within three weeks of their capitulation. Most of the remaining English charterhouses surrendered without resistance. In 1540, Chauncy and several other Carthusians fled to the **Netherlands**, where they practiced their vocation until the 1553 accession of **Mary I** allowed them to return and refound a Carthusian house at Sheen. In 1559, after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, the government allowed Chauncy and his fellows to leave England unmolested.

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Cartwright, Thomas (1535–1603)

Thomas Cartwright was the foremost Puritan advocate of presbyterianism in Elizabethan England. The son of a Hertfordshire yeoman (i.e., small farmer), Cartwright was educated at Cambridge, where he became a convinced Protestant. He spent the reign of the Catholic queen, **Mary I**, practicing law, but returned to Cambridge after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558 to teach, becoming Lady Margaret professor of divinity at St. John's College in 1569. Cartwright's lectures were tremendously popular, but his vocal opposition to a system of church government based on bishops, and his support for the presbyterian system of governance based on a hierarchy of representative church assemblies, brought him into conflict with the university administration.

Cartwright was convinced that a presbyterian system of church government was laid down in the **Bible** and that the episcopal system enjoined by **Parliament** and demanded by the queen was ungodly. Deprived of his professorship and forced to leave England, Cartwright departed in 1570 for Geneva, where John **Calvin** had instituted a presbyterian church. Agreeing with Calvin that ministers should be chosen by the people, and that church members should be disciplined in their local congregations by the pastor and a popularly elected council of elders, Cartwright returned to England in 1572 to involve himself briefly in the **Admonition Controversy**, a pamphlet war between English presbyterians and Anglican bishops and ministers.

Cartwright's activities soon forced him to flee again to Europe, where he spent some years in the **Netherlands** as minister to the English congregation at Antwerp. He returned to England in 1585 to become master of an almshouse founded by the royal **favorite** Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, a patron of **Puritans**. Cartwright soon renewed his attacks on the **Anglican Church**, and in 1590, two years after Leicester's death, Cartwright was arrested and imprisoned. Released in 1592, Cartwright spent his last years establishing Puritanism in the English Channel Islands. He died in December 1603.

See also Presbyterian Movement; Universities

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Casket Letters

On 20 June 1567, George Dalglish, servant to James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, third husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, surrendered a silver casket of documents to the Protestant lords then opposing Mary. The casket (or box) contained eight letters from Mary to Bothwell, a love sonnet written by the queen, and two contracts of marriage between the queen and the earl. Mary's opponents revealed the casket and its contents in 1568 to prove that the queen had plotted with Bothwell to murder her second husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. Led by James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, the regency government that had supplanted Mary in 1567 sought to prevent her return to **Scotland** by persuading Elizabeth to keep Mary in captivity in England.

If genuine, the letters depicted a woman completely under the domination of Bothwell and fully involved in a conspiracy to murder Darnley. The letters exist today only in copies. The original documents and the casket disappeared in 1584 while in the possession of Mary's son, James VI; no one has seen them since. Historians have long debated the authenticity of the letters, but most current scholarly opinion rejects them as forgeries or, in the case of the most incriminating document, Letter II, as a genuine letter that has been significantly altered to provide seemingly conclusive evidence of Mary's involvement in the **Darnley murder** (see Guy, *Queen of Scots*; Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*). As a queen whose letters might be intercepted, Mary had since childhood used ciphers when writing about sensitive matters. That she would have openly committed to paper her hatred for Darnley and her passion for Bothwell is extremely unlikely. What's more, the falsification of letters and documents for political reasons was a not uncommon practice in sixteenth-century Europe. Many candidates among Mary's opponents have been suggested as possible forgers, with Sir James Balfour, who was himself implicated in Darnley's murder, one of the most likely.

In any event, whether faked or genuine, the Casket Letters proved extremely useful to Mary's opponents in Scotland and England, such as Moray and Sir William **Cecil**. Both men were interested in convincing Elizabeth that Mary was unfit to rule and that she should remain in confinement or, especially after Mary's involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot** became known, that she be proceeded against even more harshly. The speed with which James VI managed to "lose" the letters may indicate that he believed them to be genuine, but it is more likely that he was simply concerned to protect the reputation of his family and thus his own interest in the English succession.

See also James I

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Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of

Concluded on 3 April 1559 during the first months of **Elizabeth I**'s reign, the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis made peace between **France** and **Spain** and ended English control of **Calais**. By allying herself with her husband, **Philip II** of Spain, **Mary I** had involved England in a war that led in January 1558 to the French capture of Calais. By Elizabeth's accession in the following November, French, Spanish, and English commissioners had begun negotiations to end the war.

Bankrupt and war-weary, both Spain and France were eager to make peace; they quickly agreed to restore prewar conditions by mutually withdrawing from recently conquered territories. The great sticking point was Calais, which Elizabeth was determined to regain and France was equally determined to keep. Although Calais was expensive to maintain and of little military benefit, the town's symbolic importance was enormous. An English possession since 1347, Calais was the last remnant of England's once extensive European empire. To lose it was devastating to English pride and honor. Although Philip was bound, as an ally, to support England's demand for Calais, his need for peace eventually led him to abandon the issue. Without Spain's support, Elizabeth was forced to accept a face-saving scheme. The final treaty ceded Calais to France for eight years, at the end of which time it was to return to England. However, the return was so hedged with restrictions and conditions, including England's good behavior toward **Scotland**, France's ally, that it was clear Calais would remain a French possession.

Elizabeth never reconciled herself to the loss of Calais; the **Le Havre expedition** in 1563 and negotiations with the Dutch and with **Henri IV** of France in the 1590s were all complicated by Elizabeth's desire to regain the town. Besides the loss of Calais, the Treaty of Cateau-Cambr sis had an unexpected effect on Elizabethan foreign policy. **Henri II** of France was killed in an accident that occurred during the treaty celebrations. His death made his daughter-in-law, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots—Elizabeth's presumed heir—the new queen of France, bringing to a crisis the issue of French influence in Scotland and Elizabeth's lack of an acceptable Protestant successor.

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Catechism

A catechism is a summary of church doctrine and practice that is used by a particular Christian denomination as its official manual of religious instruction. Catechisms often take the form of a series of questions and answers. The catechism of the **Anglican Church** was written by Alexander **Nowell**, the dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in **London**. In 1562, **Convocation** authorized Nowell, author of the first English Protestant catechism issued under **Edward VI** in 1549, to prepare a new catechism for the new English Protestant Church that emerged from the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559. Like other Calvinist churches in Europe, the Anglican Church recognized the need to create a clear and formal statement of its beliefs and practices to instruct English children and to clearly distinguish itself from Roman Catholicism.

Issued in 1570 and later distributed in an abridged version, Nowell's catechism presented an Anglican statement of faith, described Anglican practice, explained Anglican sacraments, and outlined Anglican doctrine. As a former **Marian exile**, Nowell heavily emphasized John **Calvin's** doctrines of **predestination** and election and repudiated such Roman Catholic doctrines and practices as **transubstantiation** and the use of images in worship. In terms of church governance, Nowell was a strong supporter of the **royal supremacy**, and his catechism demanded that Anglicans give strict obedience to civil authority, a feature that won the catechism the warm support of the government and the Anglican Church hierarchy. Nowell's catechism remained in use until the English Revolution of the 1650s.

See also Calvinism, English

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Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536)

Catherine of Aragon was the first wife of **Henry VIII** and the mother of **Mary I**. Born on 16 December 1485, the youngest child of **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain**, Catherine arrived in England in October 1501 and married Arthur **Tudor**, eldest son of **Henry VII**, on 14 November. When Arthur died on 2 April 1502, Catherine remained in England and was betrothed to Arthur's younger brother Henry in 1503. In 1504, Catherine's mother died and her father's political position weakened, leading Henry VII to rethink his Spanish alliance. In June 1505, Prince Henry, acting at his father's direction, protested against his betrothal, leaving Catherine with an uncertain future. Isolated and destitute, for both her father and Henry VII denied her sufficient support, Catherine refused to leave England and continued to work for the agreed-upon union.

In April 1509, the death of Henry VII and the changing foreign policy needs of the realm made the match possible; Catherine wed Henry VIII on 11 June, two weeks before the royal couple was crowned at Westminster. The marriage began happily; the couple had real affection for each other and shared numerous interests, such as **music**, **hunting**, and dancing. The king respected his wife's intelligence and judgment, and Catherine's influence was felt in many areas, especially foreign policy, which became decidedly pro-Spanish. In 1513, while campaigning in **France**, Henry entrusted Catherine with the government of the realm; she therefore shared responsibility with Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, for the English victory

at **Flodden Field**, which resulted in the death of **James IV** and the destruction of a Scottish army. In 1512 and 1514, her father's perfidy in abandoning his English ally during joint war with France damaged Anglo-Spanish relations, and the queen's influence on the making of policy gradually lessened.

Between 1509 and 1518, Catherine was pregnant at least six times, but only one child, a daughter named Mary who was born in February 1516, survived infancy. Having herself received humanist training, Catherine carefully supervised her daughter's education, commissioning the Spanish humanist Juan Luis **Vives** to devise a program of study for the princess. Although the king was occasionally unfaithful—Henry **Fitzroy**, his illegitimate son by Elizabeth **Blount**, was born in 1519—the queen was secure in her position

until about 1526, when her age (40) convinced Henry that he would never have a son with her. Consumed by the need for a male heir, infatuated with Anne **Boleyn**, and bolstered in his conscience by the book of Leviticus, which said a man who married his brother's widow would be childless, Henry in 1527 authorized Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** to secretly inquire into the validity of his marriage.

When informed of the proceedings, Catherine vigorously defended her marriage against the king's assertion that it was invalid, that she was only his brother's widow. When Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** came to England in 1528 to try the king's **divorce** suit, Catherine stoutly rejected the cardinal's efforts to convince her to retire to a nunnery and so free Henry to remarry. She also rejected Henry's belief that Leviticus explained their dead sons, arguing that her marriage to Arthur, being unconsummated, was invalid, thus robbing Henry's claim of any legal weight. In 1529, when Campeggio's legatine court convened at Blackfriars to consider the matter, Catherine dropped to her knees before the king and begged him to say whether or not she had been a virgin when she married him—Henry refused to answer.

The king banished Catherine from **court** in 1531; she never saw her husband or daughter again. In 1533, the English Church, newly separated from Rome, pronounced Catherine's marriage invalid and her daughter a bastard. The king's new wife, Anne Boleyn, was declared true queen by **Parliament**, and Anne's



Catherine of Aragon, youngest child of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, was the first wife of Henry VIII and mother of Mary I. (Corel)

daughter Elizabeth was declared Henry's heir. Catherine never accepted this verdict. Although her household was much reduced and she was deprived of her jewels and servants, she never acknowledged the illegitimacy of her marriage or the validity of Anne Boleyn's. She also refused, despite much urging by the Imperial ambassador, Eustace **Chapuys**, to use her popularity with the people to raise rebellion against Henry, for whom she retained affection until the end. Although poison was rumored, Catherine died of natural causes on 7 January 1536.

See also Elizabeth I

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Catherine of Valois (1401–1437)

The daughter of Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) of **France** and the wife of Henry V (r. 1413–1422) of England, Catherine of Valois became, through her children born of a later liaison, an ancestor of the House of **Tudor**.

Negotiations for a marriage between Catherine and Henry V opened in 1413 and continued until 1415, when Henry collapsed the talks by demanding a dowry of 2 million crowns and the surrender of most of western France. By 1419, Henry had conquered Normandy, and the French, distracted by civil war, were eager to reopen negotiations. Concluded in 1420, the Treaty of Troyes made Henry regent of France during Charles's lifetime and arranged a marriage between Henry and Catherine, who had charmed her prospective husband during a meeting set up by Catherine's mother. Betrothed on 21 May and married at Troyes on 2 June 1420, Catherine accompanied her husband to England in February 1421. The new queen was crowned at Westminster on 24 February and went on progress with the king later that year. On 6 December 1421, Catherine gave birth to the future **Henry VI** at Windsor. In the following spring, she returned to France with her husband and was at Senlis with her parents when Henry died on 31 August 1422.

Returning to England, Catherine lived for a time with her son at Windsor. In 1424, she took up residence at Baynard's Castle, which had been granted to her by

Parliament. In response to rumors that the young widow might marry, and fearful of the influence a stepfather might have on the boy king, the Royal Council, led by the king's paternal uncle Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, persuaded Parliament to enact a statute prohibiting anyone from marrying the queen dowager without the consent of the king and his council. Since the king's consent could not be given until he reached full age, Catherine was effectively barred from remarriage for almost a decade. However, by about 1429, Catherine became sexually involved with Owen **Tudor**, a minor Welsh gentleman who was master of the queen's wardrobe. The couple may have secretly married in 1430 when Catherine became pregnant, although this is uncertain. She eventually bore Tudor four children. Edmund **Tudor**, the eldest, and Jasper **Tudor**, the second brother, were raised to the English peerage by Henry VI, becoming the earls of Richmond and Pembroke, respectively. Owen became a monk at Westminster and the daughter, Tacina, married Lord Grey de Wilton.

Catherine retired to Bermondsy Abbey in 1436, dying there on 3 January 1437 after a long but unknown illness. Although briefly imprisoned, Owen Tudor was eventually taken into royal favor and lived the life of an English gentleman until his execution by the Yorkists in 1461 during the **Wars of the Roses**. By his marriage to Margaret **Beaufort**, Henry VI's cousin, Catherine's son Edmund became the father of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was born posthumously in 1457. In 1485, Catherine's grandson Richmond became king as **Henry VII**.

John A. Wagner

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Progresses, Royal

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Catholic League

The Catholic League was a sixteenth-century union of French Catholics who opposed the extension of civil rights and religious freedom to French **Huguenots**. In the 1560s, as civil war between Catholics and Huguenots weakened the authority of the French Crown, Catholic nobles and churchmen in **France** formed small, local unions of believers to defend the Catholic faith. In 1576, after the government made political concessions to the Huguenots, these local groups united to form a national Catholic League under the leadership of the **Guise family**.

Suspicious of King **Henri III**, who seemed willing to compromise with Huguenots, the league looked to **Philip II of Spain** for financial and military assistance. In 1577, Henri suppressed the league by declaring himself its leader and then decreeing its dissolution. The league was revived in 1585, a year after the death of Henri's brother, Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, made a Protestant succession likely. The new Catholic League centered not on the rural followers of wealthy nobles and bishops, but rather on the middle-class professionals, artisans, and clergymen of Paris and the larger towns. Denouncing the king for his tolerance of Huguenots, the new Catholic League replaced royal officers with league officials in municipal governments throughout France. In 1588, during the Day of the Barricades, a league-inspired mob in heavily Catholic Paris drove Henri out of the city. After the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1588, Paris and other towns renounced their allegiance to the Crown and established revolutionary governments. In Paris, a committee called The Sixteen seized power and created a Committee of Public Safety to arrest and execute traitors and Huguenots.

Frightened by the revolutionary fervor of their lower-class colleagues, most aristocratic members of the league accepted the Huguenot leader, Henri of Navarre, as King **Henri IV** in 1589. However, civil war continued to rage between the Catholic League and the king until 1593, when Henri converted to Catholicism. In 1594, Henri finally entered Paris, and the power of the league began to decline as the influence of the monarchy revived. By prolonging the French wars of religion, the activity of the league isolated France and left Elizabethan England as the main counterbalance to Spain after 1560. Also, league resistance to Henri IV brought English troops to France on the king's side after 1589.

See also Brittany Expeditions; Valois, House of

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Catholic Reformation

The term “Catholic Reformation” describes the movement of internal reform and renewal that the Roman Catholic Church underwent during the second half of the sixteenth century. Most modern historians prefer the term “Catholic Reformation” to the more traditional term “Counter-Reformation,” which is viewed as more narrowly defining the series of initiatives taken by the Roman Catholic Church to counter the spread of **Protestantism**, although the Catholic renewal movement allowed Rome to regain ground that had been lost to the Protestant **Reformation** in the early decades of the century.

The recovery was initiated by the general council of the Church convened at Trent in northern **Italy** by Pope Paul III. Meeting in intermittent sessions from 1545 to 1563, the Council of **Trent** issued numerous decrees calling for reform of abuses within the Church and mapping a strategy for recovery of the Church's authority in areas of Europe lost to **Protestantism**. Although some German Lutherans attended the early sessions in hopes of arriving at a compromise with Rome, the council ultimately rejected any accommodation with Protestantism. The Council of Trent came to be characterized by a fierce loyalty to the institution of the **papacy** and a determination to reinvigorate the Catholic religious orders. The most important new order was the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, a highly trained and disciplined order founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1543; the Jesuits became the chief agents of Catholic renewal throughout Europe.

The Catholic Reformation began to direct its attention to England in 1570, when Pope **Pius V** issued the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* excommunicating **Elizabeth I** and absolving her subjects of their allegiance to her. Pope **Gregory XIII** implemented many of the Trent decrees and strongly supported the first **Jesuit mission** to England, which was initiated by Edmund **Campion** and Robert **Parsons** in 1580. Recognizing the politically active Jesuits as the most dangerous element in the English Catholic clergy, the Elizabethan government passed various statutes to outlaw their work in England. The Jesuits and the Catholic Reformation helped preserve a small English Catholic community, but made little headway in restoring England (or **Scotland**) to Roman Catholicism. However, in **Ireland**, the Catholic Church, by identifying itself with resistance to English rule as well as to English Protestantism, was able to forge a strong and lasting bond between itself and the Irish people.

See also Catholicism, English; Penal Laws; Seminary Priests

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Catholicism, English

Although the English Church became officially Protestant again during **Elizabeth I**'s reign, not everyone was wholly committed to the reformed religion and a minority continued to see themselves as Roman Catholics. This was only a small

group in the tens of thousands, but with a strong presence in the north. Ecclesiastical and government authorities penalized conspicuous Catholicism in the realm, and Catholics had to adapt the ways they could follow their religion to the circumstances present in England.

While **Mary I** attempted to return England to religious unity with Rome, Elizabeth introduced the Act of **Supremacy** and the Act of **Uniformity**, making the English Church again separate from Rome and with reformed doctrine and practices. The Crown offered the Marian bishops the Oath of Supremacy, acknowledging Elizabeth's role as governor of the Church, but only one agreed to take it. The others lost their positions and were imprisoned or kept under house arrest. The **Mass** was abolished, and parishes had to remove from their churches images and other items of Catholic ritual. Adherents to Catholicism in England then had to practice their religion in a different, often secret, manner. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, some clergy, whether conformist or deprived, still celebrated Mass and administered **sacraments**. Later, missionaries trained at seminaries abroad provided ministry to Catholics in England.

The most identifiable English Catholics were **recusants**, the term used for those who refused to attend local church services as mandated by the law. Other Catholics outwardly conformed by attending Protestant services but considered themselves to be Catholic in belief. Also known as church papists, some signaled their dissent by inattentive or even disruptive behavior during service, and most did not take part in Communion. In some households, the husband and father conformed while the wife and children did not. Women played an important role in this period as Catholicism became a religion observed and passed on in the home. Whatever their church-attending habits, Catholics had ways to connect to their religion through such customs as fasting, praying the rosary, and reading devotional works. Religious books published abroad were smuggled into England or were printed from secret presses within the country. Certain houses kept hidden priests' vestments, books, and altar cloths in case an opportunity arose for a Mass to be held.

Catholics might practice their religion privately in homes, but there were also opportunities to do so in such public places as the embassies of Catholic countries and even in prisons where priests could minister to Catholic prisoners. English Catholics also traveled to the Continent to join religious orders. English Bridgettines and Carthusians had their own establishments in the Spanish **Netherlands**, while English Catholics also joined religious houses of foreign groups. Parents could also send their children to Catholic countries for their education, although this was illegal.

Laws targeting Catholic nonconformity were not always enforced, but the consequences could be severe if the full penalties were applied to an offender. Absence from church services was punishable by fines; originally 12 pence for every week missed, this penalty eventually increased to £20 per person per month. Other laws

and royal proclamations forbade bringing papal bulls into England, or any blessed religious items, such as pictures, crosses, or rosaries. Receiving a person in England into the Catholic Church was a crime. Saying or hearing Mass was punishable by fine or imprisonment. It was also a felony to aid a priest; it was **treason** to be a Jesuit or a seminary-trained priest—known as seculars—within the country. Numerous laypersons and clerics were imprisoned for any of these offences, and over 120 priests, including seminary and Jesuit priests, and those from other orders as well as about 60 laypersons were executed during Elizabeth's reign.

No traditional religious hierarchy existed for the English Catholic Church since the queen had replaced the Marian bishops. Secular priests pushed for the introduction of Catholic bishops in England to keep things better organized there. Instead, Jesuits were responsible to their superior and secular priests answered to a more senior priest. Until his death in 1594, the exiled Cardinal William **Allen** was the religious leader for English Catholics. In the late 1590s, the **papacy** appointed George **Blackwell** as archpriest, an office whose authority extended over secular priests in England, but not over Jesuits or lay Catholics.

Far from being a solution to the problem of leadership in the English Catholic Church, Blackwell's appointment aggravated existing divisions between Jesuit and secular clergy and their respective supporters among the laity. Tensions over Jesuit influence in the mission and at the English colleges developed into public quarrels in Rome and among a group of missionary priests imprisoned in England. Blackwell's opponents thought him too close to the Jesuits and considered the position of archpriest unsatisfactory for the administration of the mission in England. A group appealed to Rome—earning themselves the name Appellants—first to argue against the arrangement and eventually, also unsuccessfully, for Blackwell's removal.

These disputes over authority and organization were part of the ongoing conflicts within the Catholic community over how to gain official toleration in recognition of their loyalty to the Crown. The polemical literature and treasonous plots coming out of the English Catholic exile community made matters difficult for Catholics in England who were trying to present themselves as loyal. Laymen with Catholic leanings or with Catholics in their family might still attain public office, but such connections could also be a barrier in a career. Legislation and distrust of Catholics increased in the decades after 1570, when Pope **Pius V** excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth. The ongoing threats of invasion, plots to overthrow Elizabeth, and the flow of priests trained in realms hostile to Elizabeth engendered not just official persecution, but also popular anti-Catholicism.

Some English Catholic exiles portrayed their coreligionists at home as numerous and willing to support action against Elizabeth if encouraged; this was not the case, and the efforts of the Catholic Church and other Catholic powers to bring change in England were unsuccessful. Some English Catholics hoped for a future Catholic restoration, or at least toleration, if Elizabeth married a Catholic or if

her cousin Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, inherited the throne. Catholics were especially optimistic when **James I** succeeded to the throne in 1603. **Parliament**, however, confirmed the Elizabethan Catholic **penal laws** early in the new reign. Despite this setback, small numbers of English Catholics continued to preserve the Roman faith in the country.

Anne E. Cummings

See also Archpriest Controversy; Babington Plot; Jesuit Mission; *Regnans in Excelsis*; Ridolfi Plot; Seminary Priests

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Cautionary Towns

The small Dutch ports of Flushing and Brill, which came to be known as the “cautionary towns,” played important roles in the development of the **Netherlands Revolt** and in the formation of Elizabethan foreign policy. Now known as Vlissingen and Brielle, sixteenth-century Flushing and Brill were located about 45 miles apart on the northeastern coast of the Spanish **Netherlands**. In April 1572, the towns became the focus of the faltering Dutch rebellion against **Philip II** of **Spain**.

On 1 April 1572, the **sea beggars**, an irregular naval force created by the Dutch rebels in 1568, fell suddenly upon the undefended town of Brill, where they seized the port, sacked Catholic churches, and drove out Catholic residents. Deprived of any safe port since July 1568, the beggars had taken to the open seas where they preyed upon the shipping of neutral states. **Elizabeth I** gave them safe haven in English ports, but their continued attacks on merchant vessels forced the queen to order their expulsion on 1 March 1572. The beggars’ capture of Brill one month later and their occupation, on 22 April, of Flushing, where the citizens expelled the Spanish garrison and welcomed the beggars as protectors, gave the rebel naval force safe ports from which to operate and revived the Netherlands Revolt by establishing beachheads from which it could expand.

In 1585, the ports again linked England and the Netherlands by becoming, as the so-called cautionary towns, the security guaranteeing the Treaty of **Nonsuch**, a political and military alliance between England and the United Provinces. In return

for English troops and money, the Dutch surrendered Flushing and Brill to English control as a gesture of good faith. In 1598, the two countries restructured the Treaty of Nonsuch, leaving the towns in English hands as pledges for the £800,000 the Dutch owed the queen. After Elizabeth's death in 1603, **James I** made peace with Spain, but his efforts to settle the Dutch debt and withdraw from the cautionary towns were unavailing until 1616, when the English returned the towns to Dutch control for a payment of only some £200,000 of the original debt.

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Cavendish, George (c. 1499–c. 1562)

George Cavendish was gentleman-usher to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and author of *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, the most influential sixteenth-century account of the cardinal's life. Little is known of Cavendish's early life. He was born into a Suffolk **gentry** family in about 1499 and studied at Cambridge in about 1510, although there is no record of his having taken a degree. His father, Thomas Cavendish, was an **Exchequer** official under **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII** and may have used his position to introduce his son into Wolsey's service in about 1522. In the early 1520s, Cavendish married, as his second wife, Margery Kemp, a niece by marriage of Sir Thomas **More**. This family connection perhaps accounts for the lack of any reference to More, an opponent of Wolsey's, in *The Life and Death*.

As gentleman-usher to Wolsey, Cavendish served as the cardinal's personal attendant, planning and organizing progresses, banquets, entertainments, and receptions. He also acted as a courier and supervised the cardinal's household. When Wolsey fell from power in 1529, Cavendish, unlike many others, continued to serve the cardinal until his death in November 1530. Cavendish's faithfulness earned Wolsey's gratitude and drew the servant deeper into his master's confidence; much of what Cavendish later wrote about Wolsey's early life and career came from conversations between the two in the last year of Wolsey's life.

After the cardinal's death, Cavendish returned to Suffolk, where he maintained a limited involvement in local affairs. A devout Catholic, Cavendish began writing his biography of Wolsey in the mid-1550s, during the Catholic restoration

of **Mary I**. He completed the work in June 1558. For the last years of Wolsey's career, and especially for the year after the cardinal's dismissal from office—a period that comprises almost half the book—*The Life and Death* is based on Cavendish's own experience and knowledge; the usher is himself a frequent part of the narrative. For the earlier part of Wolsey's life, Cavendish drew largely on information imparted to him by the cardinal. Although the biography contains some factual errors and some jumbling of events, most of this can be ascribed to a memory made faulty by the passage of a quarter century. Cavendish's writing style is lively, detailed, and engaging, casting light on events and conversations that would otherwise be unknown. Because Cavendish's portrait of Wolsey is sympathetic, but balanced, it has become an indispensable source for modern study of the cardinal's character and career. Upon the accession of **Elizabeth I** in November 1558, Cavendish added a postscript to his work predicting disaster for the realm in the reign of the new Protestant queen. Cavendish died within two or three years of Elizabeth's accession.

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Cavendish, Thomas (1560–1592)

Thomas Cavendish, the second Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, was a famous Elizabethan seaman, adventurer, and pirate. Born in Suffolk, Cavendish inherited a substantial fortune but squandered it by riotous living and courtly extravagance. He took to a career of piracy and in 1585 attached his ship to the colonizing expedition sent to North America by Walter **Raleigh**. Upon returning from this voyage, Cavendish began planning for an expedition to duplicate Sir Francis **Drake**'s famous circumnavigation of 1577–1580.

Leaving Plymouth in July 1586 with his flagship *Desire* and two other vessels, Cavendish sailed down the African coast and then crossed the Atlantic to Brazil. The fleet took 49 days to negotiate the Straits of Magellan, entering the Pacific on 24 February 1587. Cavendish attacked Spanish shipping and ports on the South American coast, capturing some rich prizes but also suffering many casualties and losing one ship. He lost another vessel when the crew mutinied over the division of plunder and sailed off on their own, never to be seen again. Cavendish continued across the Pacific in the *Desire*, reaching the Philippines in January 1588 and rounding the Cape of Good Hope by June. He sailed into Plymouth on 9 September 1588, barely a month after the defeat of the Spanish **Armada**. Only 28 years of age, Cavendish was the object of wide popular acclaim, celebrated in numerous

songs and ballads. He was also warmly received at **court** by **Elizabeth I** and was significantly enriched by the proceeds of his adventure.

Eager to undertake another voyage, Cavendish used the prospect of finding a **Northwest Passage** from the Pacific side to persuade the explorer John **Davis** to join him on an expedition to Asia. A five-ship fleet left England in August 1591 but was scattered by severe storms in the Straits of Magellan in January 1592. Davis failed to run the Straits and returned to England. Cavendish also sailed back into the Atlantic, where he encountered contrary winds and an attack by the Portuguese. He never returned home, dying at sea in May 1592.

See also Drake, Sir Francis; Roanoke Colony (1585)

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Caxton, William (c. 1422–c. 1492)

William Caxton, merchant, diplomat, translator, and publisher, brought the **printing** press to England in 1476. He was the first Englishman to print books and the first person to print books in English.

Caxton was from the weald of Kent, but his exact place of birth and family background are not known, although more than one location claims to be his birthplace. He was apprenticed to a leading London mercer probably at about age 14, when any schooling he was engaged in likely ended. The mercers, who were dealers in haberdashery, cloth, and luxury goods, provided the “backbone” of the **Merchant Adventurers** company and its trade with the Low Countries. As an apprentice, Caxton would have been expected to learn the practicalities of handling money, conducting negotiations, and mixing successfully with all sorts of people, including foreigners. His master was also involved in local government, and Caxton probably had a close view of contemporary politics.

In the mid-1440s, perhaps near the end of his apprenticeship, Caxton began to be involved in overseas trade. He eventually settled in Bruges, where he would have learned French and Dutch. He became a leading figure in the English community at Bruges and in about 1462 was appointed its governor, a post he held for about nine years. Governors of merchant communities handled discipline among members, negotiations with local authorities, and acted as representative of their home government if called upon to do so. Caxton was knowledgeable, respected,

and wealthy, and he played a leading role in various negotiations over the next decade.

Caxton went to Cologne in 1471 and most likely remained there through 1473. While there is no evidence he went there specifically to learn the art of printing, that is what he ended up doing, and evidence suggests that Caxton worked with and learned the art from Johann Veldener. After Veldener moved to Louvain and set up a press in 1473, he was probably helpful to Caxton in setting up his press in Bruges in 1474.

The first book for the English market in English was printed in 1474–1475 by Caxton in Bruges and was his translation of *Recueil des histories de Troie*. Many of the clues we have to Caxton's life come from the prologue he wrote for this work. His second book, printed immediately after the *Recueil*, was *The Game of Chess*, also one of his translations. He published three more books while still in the **Netherlands**. Then sometime in 1476 he returned to England, where in September he rented a shop in the area near Westminster Abbey that he would use until his death. He brought with him type and workmen, including Wynkyn de Worde, who would be his eventual successor. It is not known whether he brought a press with him or had one built in England, but by mid-December of that same year he had “produced the first piece of printing on English soil” (Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 10).

That first item, an indulgence issued by Pope Sixtus IV, was long known only by the fact of its sale until an actual copy was discovered in the Public Record Office in 1928. Between 1476 and his death in late 1491 or early 1492, Caxton produced more than 100 books and other printed items for which copies are extant; it is believed that he printed more titles that are now lost. His books included literary and religious titles, among them were *Canterbury Tales*; *Morte d'Arthur*; a translation of Christine de Pisan's *Moral Proverbs*; Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*; volumes on manners, popular science, and personal devotions; a French and English phrasebook; and government statutes.

Although Caxton is acknowledged as the father of English printing, he was primarily a publisher—a businessman building on his prior experience as a merchant and a diplomat. He used his court connections, catering to the literary tastes and interests of the court circle in which he was accepted. In this he was unique from others in the budding book printing business and his immediate successors, most of whom published more pedestrian works and were themselves less cosmopolitan in their interests and activities.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley (1526–1589)

The wife of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, who was principal secretary and lord treasurer under **Elizabeth I**, Mildred Cecil was the eldest daughter of Sir Anthony **Cooke**, the tutor to **Edward VI**. The Cooke sisters were known as the most learned women in England, thanks to the excellent education given to them by their father.

As a young woman, Mildred undertook a number of scholarly works, including a translation from the Greek of the writings of Saint Basil the Great. When her father was appointed tutor to Prince Edward in 1546, Mildred accompanied him to **court**, where she met William Cecil, who was then a widower with a young son. Sharing a love of learning and a growing **Protestantism**, Cecil and Mildred Cooke were married on 25 December 1546. The connection with the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, an increasingly important figure at court after 1547, perhaps helped to start Cecil's political career by winning him an introduction to Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, then lord protector for the 10-year-old Edward VI. After losing several children in infancy, the Cecils had two daughters, Anne (who became the wife of Edward de **Vere**, Earl of Oxford) and Elizabeth, and one son, Robert **Cecil**, who succeeded his father as Elizabeth's secretary of state in the 1590s.

Mildred, who helped to educate her own children, as well as many sons of noblemen whom her husband brought into the household, became Lady Burghley upon her husband's elevation to the peerage in 1572. A patron of St. John's College, Cambridge, Lady Burghley also gave generous anonymous gifts for the upkeep of poor prisoners in **London**. On her death in 1589, her husband published a written tribute to her scholarship. She was buried in Westminster Abbey.

See also Bacon, Anne; Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell; Universities

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Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)

Robert Cecil, the son of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, succeeded his father as **Elizabeth I**'s foremost adviser and minister of state in the last decade of her reign. Cecil attended St. John's College, Cambridge, and traveled for a time in **France**, studying briefly at the Sorbonne. From 1584, he served in **Parliament** and on

various diplomatic missions, including an unsuccessful 1588 mission to the **Netherlands** to negotiate peace with **Spain**. He was knighted and promoted to the Privy **Council** in 1591, and he became secretary of state in 1596, although he had been performing the duties of the office for several years before his appointment. Cecil was a hard-working administrator like his father, who had groomed him for high office, but, being a small man and round-shouldered, he was generally less respected than his father and less trusted by Elizabeth. He was a particular opponent of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, who vied with Cecil for paramount influence with the queen both at **court** and in council. Although the queen was more attracted to the brilliant courtier Essex, Cecil won the contest by maneuvering Essex into taking the difficult lord deputyship of **Ireland**, where Essex's ill-considered actions cost him the favor of the queen and led to his eventual downfall.

After Essex's execution in February 1601, Cecil was indisputably the chief minister of the Crown. As such, he wrestled with the intractable problems of Ireland and royal finance, the Crown being unable to subdue the one because of deficiencies in the other. On the issue of finance, Cecil brought Elizabeth into serious conflict with Parliament by his vigorous exploitation of **monopolies** to increase royal **revenue**. Never his father's equal in managing Parliament, Cecil and the queen had to bow to parliamentary pressure and promised to reform monopolies. Cecil was instrumental in securing the peaceful accession of **James I** in 1603, having conducted a secret correspondence with James for some time before the queen's death. The new king retained Cecil as chief minister and created him Earl of Salisbury in 1605. Cecil died in 1612.

See also Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley; Essex's Rebellion; Universities

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Cecil, William, Lord Burghley (1520–1598)

William Cecil, the son of a Northamptonshire **gentry** family, was **Elizabeth I**'s closest and most trusted adviser. As a young man, Cecil served in **Henry VIII**'s household; he was educated at Cambridge and at Gray's Inn. In 1544, Cecil married a daughter of Sir Anthony **Cooke**; Cooke may have introduced Cecil to Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, **Edward VI**'s uncle and lord protector. Cecil entered Somerset's service in 1547, becoming secretary to the duke in 1549. Cecil was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** after the duke's fall, but was pardoned

and named secretary of state and privy councillor in 1550 by John **Dudley**, future Duke of Northumberland and supplanter of Somerset, as head of Edward's government. Although also knighted by Northumberland, Cecil did not support plans to put Jane **Grey** on the throne and was among the first councillors to join Princess Mary in July 1553.

Mary did not reemploy Cecil as secretary, distrusting his **Protestantism**, but he continued to sit in **Parliament** and to serve the Marian government in various minor ways. Elizabeth named Cecil her principal secretary within days of her accession in November 1558. Holding a unique position of trust with Elizabeth, Cecil acted during her reign as a moderate counterbalance in matters of religion and foreign affairs to the more extreme Protestant and warlike policies of the royal **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester.

Cecil served the queen faithfully and well in many capacities—he coordinated the deliberations of the Privy **Council**, supervised the **Exchequer**, managed Parliament, and advised on foreign policy. He believed the queen should marry as soon as possible to produce a clear Protestant heir and favored sterner measures against Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots; but he had to endure the queen's procrastination on these and many other issues. In 1572, Elizabeth raised Cecil to the peerage as Lord Burghley and named him lord high treasurer. He continued to serve the queen until his death in 1598 and was succeeded as the queen's chief minister, if not fully in the queen's trust, by his son Robert **Cecil**.

See also Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley; Inns of Court; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup; Universities

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William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth I's most trusted advisor, was a moderating influence in both religion and foreign affairs. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

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Cecily, Duchess of York (1415–1495)

Cecily Neville was the 18th child of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort. Cecily became Duchess of York when, in 1429, she married Richard, Duke of York, who was her father's ward. She had been betrothed to him five years earlier, and hers was one of several child marriages at the time that were designed to forge a complex set of social and political alliances.

Considered the Yorkist matriarch, Cecily gave birth to 12 children, 6 of whom lived past infancy, including **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy; George, the future Duke of Clarence; and future kings **Edward IV** and **Richard III**. She, her husband, and her children were closely involved in the important events of the closing years of the **Wars of the Roses**, and she worked in many ways to protect and promote her family and the Yorkist cause. Despite wildly fluctuating political fortunes, Cecily was able to remain financially secure both because of a settlement of lands from her husband in 1441 and her own efforts when necessary.

In 1441, she went with her husband, the Duke of York, to live in Rouen when he was appointed governor of France, and the future Edward IV was born there. After their return to England, York was embroiled in political events as he pushed his claim to the throne. In August 1454 when **Henry VI**, York's cousin, suffered a mental collapse, York became protector. In the power struggles following Henry's recovery, York eventually had to flee the country and was attainted, but Cecily and her younger children remained in England, probably in the custody of her sister Anne, Duchess of Buckingham. In November 1459, Cicely appeared before **Parliament** to plead her husband's cause and was able to obtain enough money from York's confiscated lands to support her family.

After Lancastrian victories led to the death of her husband and son Edmund in 1460, Cicely sent her youngest sons, Richard and George, to the relative safety of the ducal court at Burgundy. But the subsequent Lancastrian defeats at Mortimer's Cross and Towton brought Cicely's 19-year-old son Edward to the throne as Edward IV and Cicely to an important role as the king's mother, a role she would hold for most of the next 24 years. She presided with him at state functions, and when Edward left to visit **Wales**, she was left in charge of the court. A few years later, when Edward secretly married Elizabeth **Woodville**, it shocked many inside and outside of Britain and did not please Cicely, but she still retained a role at court. And she continued to do so when her son Richard came to the throne in 1483 as Edward's successor. Even after Richard's death, **Henry VII** made provisions for Cecily because she was his wife's grandmother.

At the time of Edward's rise to the throne, there were rumors that he was illegitimate, based on claims that Cecily had indulged in an affair with an archer in Rouen while York was away. Cecily protested the unfairness and damage done by the rumors, but such rumors were not uncommon at the time and were often designed to sow seeds of doubt in times of political unrest. The rumors were heard again at Richard's accession, but neither then nor since has any conclusive evidence been put forth to support the claim.

Based on the evidence of her will and a household ordinance book, Cicely has long been held up as an especially pious aristocratic woman. However, it has been suggested more recently that her behavior and piety are more accurately viewed as consistent with expectations for someone in her position. Both the ordinance book from 1485 and her will, made shortly before she died in 1495, reflect the reading program and devotional behavior of a pious woman, but when viewed against her life overall, it is no more than would be expected from an elderly woman at the end of a long and eventful life.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Attainder

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Censorship

In the sixteenth century, civil authorities and churches often engaged in censorship of printed material—acting to prevent the dissemination of specific materials for a variety of reasons. Censorship, which had been employed by authorities as far back as the pre-Christian era, can be either proactive or a reactive. In the former case authorities accomplish censorship by preventing an item from being printed through establishment of an advance system under which proposed materials are reviewed by the authority's agent, and permission to publish is given or denied. Reactive censorship is accomplished by prohibiting and, usually, punishing the distribution, purchase, or reading of something that has already been published. The Roman church's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* fell into the latter category because it regulated materials that had already been printed.

The Roman church had from the beginning taken seriously its role in the censorship of written materials it believed to be heretical, superstitious, or otherwise

dangerous. Even in the early centuries, there was a system by which questionable materials could be sent to Rome for review and a ruling made as to their acceptability. By the central Middle Ages the Church attempted to control such materials everywhere.

Before the printing press there were so few books and so few who could read them that there was little need for “prepublication” censorship, although there were times when it was important. At the University of Paris in the 1300s and at all other universities by the 1400s, statutes required professors to have prior approval before they gave their lectures to the booksellers for distribution to students. In an example of both pre- and postpublication censorship, the archbishop of Canterbury in 1408 forbade the translating, distributing, or reading of English Bibles unless one had received prior permission, and that permission was never granted. But censorship is generally thought of as a post-printing press phenomenon and is most often used in conjunction with printed materials like books, magazines, newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets. The printing press made censorship a much larger and more complex challenge.

The *Index* is a good example of censorship by the Church, and it was done ostensibly to protect the laity from ideas that might threaten their moral life and ultimate salvation by exposing them to heretical or superstitious ideas. Kings and other civil authorities used censorship to control access by their subjects to material that might undermine the power, prestige, and authority of the government. This was certainly also a collateral benefit of censorship by the Church—if the laity didn’t know about other ideas, they would have less reason to question the teachings of the Church.

Postpublication censorship was usually accomplished by burning the offending material. The possessor might also be fined or excommunicated in the case of Church censorship. Censorship was also attempted by prohibiting the translation or importation and sale of certain books printed in other countries.

Prepublication censorship required a process by which printers could submit a work to a regulatory agent to be examined and official permission to print granted or denied. Notice of official approval was usually noted on the final product. In England, this was accomplished through cooperation between the Crown and the Stationers’ Company, which managed the **Stationers’ Register**. The Crown granted a printing privilege for a work or category of works, but the Stationers’ Company oversaw the logistics. In 1586, the Privy **Council**, in a move to control unlicensed printing of Catholic and **Puritan** materials, empowered the Stationers’ Company to also inspect all **printing** sites and confiscate illegal equipment and publications.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Cess

"Cess" was the term used for the traditional exactions of food and other supplies laid upon the landowners of the Irish **Pale** and surrounding districts by the English government in **Dublin**. The supplies gathered through the assessment and collection of cess were used to maintain the household of the lord deputy (i.e., the Crown's representative at the head of the Irish government) and to feed the enlarged military garrison required by the English government to suppress rebellion and to extend its authority throughout **Ireland**.

General cesses of grain, meat, and other commodities were conducted every autumn by cessors sent out from Dublin to collect these supplies from landowners in quantities determined by the amount of land held. The commodities gathered were to be paid for at fixed rates set well below the market rate, and government payment was often slow, incomplete, or not forthcoming. Besides reducing food supplies and distorting market prices, the cess system was also susceptible to bribery, extortion, and intimidation. When combined with government demands for transport and for the billeting of troops, cess collection could cause great economic disorder and political unrest among the Pale population. Particularly large cesses were undertaken in 1559–1560 and 1575, but the yearly exactions generated constant complaints and petitions to both the Dublin and **London** governments.

Powerful **Anglo-Irish** landowners often sought and sometimes won freedom from cess exactions. In 1569, when the English adventurer Sir Peter **Carew** regained control of large tracts of Irish land that had once belonged to his family, he vigorously sought but was continually denied exemption from cess. He then suggested a plan whereby he would be allowed to make his own collection of all supplies assessed on his property, a request the government was willing to consider.

In the 1560s and 1570s, the Dublin government experimented unsuccessfully with importing food from England by using private contractors. In the 1580s, the government attempted to commute cess exactions into a permanent monetary tax, but Irish landowners also balked at this plan. Cess was finally ended in 1585 when the property holders of the Pale agreed to payment of a lower fixed sum than originally stipulated by the government.

See also Coign and Livery; Purveyance

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Challenge Sermon

John **Jewel**'s "Challenge Sermon" allowed the newly established **Anglican Church** to answer its Catholic critics, and it began a debate that helped the church define its positions on various doctrines and practices. On 29 November 1559, only months after **Elizabeth I**'s first Parliament passed the Acts of **Supremacy** and **Uniformity** creating the new Protestant Church, John Jewel, soon to be appointed bishop of Salisbury, preached a sermon at **Paul's Cross** in **London** that attacked various Catholic practices—such as distributing only the Communion bread and not the wine—as improper deviations from the form of worship laid down in scripture.

Jewel's oration soon became known as the "Challenge Sermon" because it challenged Catholics to provide evidence that these questionable practices had existed in the early Christian Church. If, said Jewel, Catholics could show him—out of the **Bible**, the writings of early Church fathers, or the decrees of Church councils—that these practices went back to the founding of Christianity, he "would give over and subscribe" to Catholicism. Jewel repeated the sermon at **court** in March 1560 and again at Paul's Cross, extending the challenge to cover 27 separate Catholic positions concerning the **Mass**. He hoped to put Catholics on the defensive and to counter the often successful Catholic argument that the Protestants were innovators and thus were obliged to defend their positions.

Because Catholics could not ignore Jewel's challenge, the sermon sparked a lively pamphlet debate. The Catholic dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Henry Cole, sought to publish an immediate reply but was imprisoned before he could do so. The challenge was then taken up by Catholic exiles in Europe, including Thomas Harding and John **Rastell**. Their pamphlets replied to Jewel's 1562 publication, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (The Apology of the Church of England), which was the first detailed explanation of Anglican positions on controversial topics. The *Apologia* eventually elicited more than 40 published responses from English Catholics, most of them in exile in the **Netherlands**. Only the **Netherlands Revolt** in the 1570s put a stop to the debate. Through his sermon and the *Apologia*, Jewel laid a solid foundation for future efforts at shaping, refining, and defending the practices and doctrines of the Anglican Church.

See also Hooker, Richard; *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*

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Chamberlain

See Officers of State

Chamberlain's Men

The Chamberlain's Men was a **London** acting company whose membership after 1594 included William **Shakespeare**. In the early 1590s, Shakespeare was a member of Lord Strange's Men, a troupe under the **patronage** of Ferdinando **Stanley**, Lord Strange. Lord Strange's Men performed at Philip **Henslowe's Rose Theatre** where, on 3 March 1592, they put on a successful performance of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part 2. However, later that year, a virulent outbreak of the **plague** caused the city authorities to close all theaters and disband all acting companies. Lord Strange died in 1594, and when the theaters reopened later that year, his acting company came under the patronage of Henry **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlain of England.

The new Chamberlain's Men severed their connection with Henslowe and the Rose and began performing at James **Burbage's** playhouse in London, known as The Theatre. Unlike the previous arrangement with Henslowe, whereby he paid and thus controlled the actors, the Chamberlain's Men was a partnership with the company's six main actors, including Richard **Burbage**, William **Kempe**, and William Shakespeare, receiving profits from the performances according to the amount of their investment in the company.

In 1599, the company moved to the **Globe Theatre** in Southwark, in which the company's principals were also shareholders. The shareholders' investment bought and maintained costumes and props, while their profits came from a division of half the receipts from the gallery seats at the Globe. The other half of the gallery income went toward the costs and upkeep of the theater, which included the hiring of actors for minor roles and the paying of watchmen, wardrobe keepers, copyists, and musicians.

Shakespeare remained a member of the company for the rest of his career, acting and writing an average of two plays per year until about 1608. The company performed frequently at court for **Elizabeth I**, and in 1603 came under the patronage of the new king, **James I**, at which time it became known as the King's Men. By 1604, the number of shareholders in the company had increased to 12, and by

Shakespeare's death in 1616, the King's Men had 26 permanent actors—a large number for the time and an indication of the company's success.

See also Officers of State; Shakespeare, Works of

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Chancellor

See Officers of State

Chancellor, Richard (d. 1556)

An explorer and experienced navigator who sought a Northeast Passage to Asia, Richard Chancellor was a founder of the Anglo-Russian trade. Chancellor's background is obscure, though it appears he spent time as a boy in the household of Sir Henry **Sidney**, who later acted as his patron. In 1550, Chancellor sailed to the eastern Mediterranean as an apprentice pilot on the *Aucher* under Roger Bodenhams. Organized by the explorer Sebastian **Cabot**, the *Aucher* expedition provided much-needed long-voyage experience for English pilots and seamen. Many members of the *Aucher* crew later became ships' masters.

In 1553, Chancellor became captain of the *Edward Bonaventure*, the largest vessel in a three-ship trading expedition under Sir Hugh **Willoughby**. The Willoughby voyage was organized to find a Northeast Passage to the Far East by the **Muscovy** (or Russia) **Company**, a **joint-stock company** funded by a syndicate of courtiers and merchants who hoped to open new markets for English cloth. Separated from the other ships by storms along the Norwegian coast, Chancellor sailed to Vardø, where he had agreed to meet Willoughby. After waiting a week, Chancellor pressed on alone to the Russian port of Saint Nicholas on the White Sea. Rather than continue to sail east, Chancellor established friendly relations with the local authorities and then traveled south, reaching Moscow some time during the winter of 1553–1554. Having written ahead to announce his coming, Chancellor was welcomed at the court of Ivan IV ("the Terrible"), where he negotiated the initiation of direct trade between the two countries. In a letter addressed to **Edward VI**, but later delivered

by Chancellor to his successor **Mary I**, Ivan agreed to “grant unto your subjects, to go and come, and in our dominions, and among our subjects, to frequent free marts, with all sorts of merchandises” (Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 2:271–272).

Upon his return in 1554, Chancellor gave the scholar Clement Adams his detailed notes on the prince, **court**, customs, cities, geography, and politics of the Russian state. These notes, which were closely guarded by the Muscovy Company until published by Richard **Hakluyt** in 1589, provided English traders with a virtual manual for conducting business in Russia. In May 1555, Chancellor commanded a new two-ship expedition to Russia, which carried English traders and letters of privilege drafted by the Muscovy Company for Ivan’s approval. Chancellor sent his ships back home but remained himself in Moscow during the winter of 1555–1556. In the spring of 1556, Chancellor’s ships, accompanied by the *Searchthrift* commanded by Stephen **Borough**, who was to continue the eastward search for a passage to Asia, arrived in the White Sea. Picking up the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Bona Confidentia*, the other two vessels from the 1553 expedition, which were found intact in the Arctic with the bodies of Willoughby and his crews aboard, Chancellor departed from Saint Nicholas with a rich cargo and a Russian embassy in July 1556. Of the four vessels, only the *Philip and Mary* returned safely. Willoughby’s two ships were lost off the Norwegian coast and Chancellor’s ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, wrecked on the Scottish coast on 10 November 1556. Most of the crew was lost, and Chancellor himself was drowned in a successful attempt to carry the Russian ambassador safely ashore.

John A. Wagner

See also Patronage

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Chancellor of the Exchequer

See Officers of State

Chancery/Chancery, Court of

In the Tudor period, Chancery, the department of state directed by the lord chancellor, gradually developed from a royal administrative agency headed by a politician/administrator to a court of **equity** conducted by the Crown’s chief legal officer.

In medieval England, Chancery was the king's secretariat, and the chancellor was the officer of state who supervised the royal clerks and oversaw use of the Great Seal to authenticate official documents. As a writing office, Chancery was the administrative heart of royal government, receiving petitions submitted to the monarch and issuing writs that initiated action in the courts of **common law**. As a political officer, the chancellor presided over the royal **council** and the House of Lords, managed government business in **Parliament**, and was often instrumental in the formulation and implementation of royal policy. The chancellor was thus usually someone high in the king's confidence and, until the appointment of Sir Thomas **More** in 1529, always a high-ranking cleric.

Chancery's judicial role developed in the fifteenth century out of the chancellor's issuance of writs to begin actions in royal courts. Where common law courts could not reach a verdict or were unable to act for lack of an initiating writ, the parties could petition that the matter be brought before the chancellor, who acted as the king's deputy in dispensing justice to subjects who lacked any other remedy. Chancery therefore supplied deficiencies in the common law and provided an additional court with flexible procedures to handle the increasing volume of Tudor litigation. The judicial work of Chancery was minor under **Henry VII** but was greatly expanded during Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**'s chancellorship, from 1515 to 1529. Because of his unprecedented authority and position, Wolsey attracted all manner of cases to Chancery, where he provided litigants with fair and timely redress. Under Wolsey, the Court of Chancery became a primary venue for civil matters involving trusts, charities, copyholds (a form of land tenure), and other types of disputes for which the common law provided no remedies.

Because Wolsey's oversight of the court was highly personal, Chancery's judicial procedures developed haphazardly; on the cardinal's fall, the court's scope of authority and mode of operation were vague and ill-defined. In the 1530s, under the political and administrative ascendancy of Thomas **Cromwell**, who was principal secretary, not chancellor, the Court of Chancery acquired more formal structures and procedures and began to keep records of the business it conducted. The office of chancellor, which, after 1529, was generally held by such secular lawyers as Thomas **Audley** and Richard **Rich**, gradually lost its political and administrative preeminence.

By the Elizabethan period, the lord chancellor was viewed solely as the government's chief legal officer, and the Court of Chancery had well-defined procedures, down to the quality of paper and ink required for court documents. The Court of Chancery was not an attempt to circumvent the common law or to place the monarch above the law; like other equity courts, it was a royal response to the growing volume of litigation in the sixteenth century and the need for additional courts with more flexible procedures.

See also Requests, Court of; Star Chamber, Court of

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Chantries

Chantries were ecclesiastical endowments providing for the saying of Masses in perpetuity for the souls of the endower and any others designated by him or her. Because Protestant reformers denounced belief in purgatory and prayers for the dead as unscriptural superstition, and because chantries, like the monasteries, were a potential source of royal revenue, the last **Parliament of Henry VIII** and the first of **Edward VI** passed statutes dissolving chantries and transferring their assets to the Crown.

Chantries were usually founded by wealthy individuals, such as nobles, bishops, or prosperous merchants, who could afford to set aside a portion of their landed estate as an endowment to support the construction and maintenance of a chantry chapel and the salary of a chantry priest. Most chapels were established in cathedrals, monasteries, or parish churches but could occasionally be freestanding structures. Less wealthy individuals left money in their wills for the saying of a certain number of Masses over a specified time, or joined a guild, a fraternal organization in which living members funded Masses for the souls of deceased members. Guilds and other religiously based associations also came within the purview of the dissolution statutes.

The 1545 Henrician legislation was framed as an act for the abolition of mismanaged foundations. Royal commissioners were to investigate all chantries, guilds, and similar institutions and dissolve those that proved to be badly run. However, little action was taken under the statute, which lapsed on the death of Henry VIII in January 1547. In the first Parliament of Edward VI in 1547, the decidedly Protestant regime of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, proceeded against chantries on the basis of their perpetuation of beliefs and practices that were deemed superstitious. Introduced into the House of Lords on 6 December, the new bill was opposed by the bishops but passed by a majority of lay lords. The bill ran into trouble in the Commons, where some members objected to the measure's sweeping abolition of religious endowments, which also threatened destruction of worthwhile social functions associated with the endowments. Chantry priests often ran grammar schools and assisted the parish priest in his pastoral duties, and some guild and chantry foundations provided relief to the local poor or operated hospitals for the physically or mentally ill.

Revised to cover only those portions of an endowment designated for inappropriate religious practices, the bill was passed on 24 December 1547. Commissioners of inquiry were appointed in February 1548 and completed their investigations by the following summer. Although the government's chantry commissions have been criticized for seriously disrupting the provision of local educational and social services, recent research has shown that the social disruption caused by the act was less severe than formerly thought. Although the government reneged on promises to reendow local institutions, and much chantry revenue passed into the hands of royal councillors, many towns and various private interests bought back chantry properties and refounded schools and hospitals. However, the basic chantry foundation associated with Masses for the dead disappeared.

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Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal was a company of male singers and musicians maintained by the Crown to provide religious music for the monarch's various royal chapels. The Chapel Royal employed the finest musicians and singers in the country, and (with the occasional exception of boy trebles who were pressed into service) Chapel positions were highly coveted. Such leading Tudor musicians and composers as William **Byrd** and Thomas **Tallis**, both of whom served as organists, were gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.

For a young boy, a position in the Chapel choir could lead to social advancement or economic security. Many Tudor bishops began as choirboys in the Chapel Royal, and many secular musicians, and even some courtiers, started there. When a boy's voice changed, he would be guaranteed royal **patronage** in finding new musical employment if his voice was still pleasing; if not, he would be sent to one of the **universities** at royal expense or otherwise employed or rewarded.

The Crown also maintained a secular musical company that paralleled the Chapel Royal. Comprising both vocal and instrumental music, this secular company employed former Chapel Royal singers as well as some foreign musicians, including **Jews**. Company members provided music for **masques**, dances, and other

entertainment and ceremonies at **court**; built and maintained the royal collection of musical instruments; and provided instruction in music to courtiers and their children. On grand occasions, such as coronations, royal weddings, and state funerals, the Chapel Royal and the secular music company performed together.

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Chapuys, Eustace (c. 1489–c. 1556)

Eustace Chapuys was **Charles V**'s resident ambassador to England from 1529 to 1536 and from 1542 to 1545. Because Chapuys became deeply attached to the cause of his master's aunt, **Catherine of Aragon**, his frequent and voluminous dispatches to Charles have become important and much-used sources for the key events and personalities at the English **court** in the 1530s.

A native of Savoy, where his family were minor nobility, Chapuys trained in the law at the University of Turin before entering the service of the prince-bishop of Geneva. After the death of his next master, the French renegade Charles, Duke of Bourbon, Chapuys found employment with Charles V, who needed a prudent man with a legal background to undertake the difficult English embassy. The emperor instructed Chapuys to defend Catherine's rights without unduly offending her husband; Chapuys was to work for reconciliation between Catherine and **Henry VIII** and for improved relations between England and the empire. Neither a stiff churchman nor a touchy nobleman, and a Savoyard rather than one of the queen's Spanish countrymen, the educated and experienced Chapuys seemed a good choice for the post.

Arriving in England in September 1529, after adjournment of the Blackfriars court but before the fall of Thomas **Wolsey**, Chapuys soon discovered that reconciliation was impossible, and within a year became one of Catherine's most ardent partisans. Extremely critical of Anne **Boleyn** and convinced that public opinion favored Catherine, Chapuys, by 1534, was involved in numerous shadowy plots to overthrow the king. None of these intrigues ever came to fruition, largely because Catherine, despite the ambassador's urgings, refused to lead any opposition movement.

After Catherine's death in January 1536 and the execution of Anne Boleyn in the following May, Chapuys's dispatches, heretofore focused on Catherine's cause, became more varied in topic and businesslike in tone, as well as less critical of the king. In his later service, Chapuys remained a friend and close adviser of Catherine's daughter, Princess Mary, and even earned the respect of Henry, who valued his diplomatic knowledge and experience. On his retirement from Imperial

service, Chapuys gave himself up to study at the University of Louvain, where he founded a college. He died in about 1556.

Although heavily relied on as sources for the events and opinions prevalent at the English court during the break with Rome, and influential components in later popular views of the king, Catherine, Anne Boleyn, and other key figures, the diplomatic dispatches of Eustace Chapuys are highly problematic. They contain much valuable and unique information, especially regarding Chapuys's own firsthand interviews with Henry and his ministers, but they are also full of unfounded rumor, unsubstantiated personal speculation, and outright misinformation purposely fed to the ambassador by Thomas **Cromwell** and other royal servants. Particular care must be exercised concerning the ambassador's depictions of Henry's first two wives. For Chapuys, Anne Boleyn was a witch and a whore, while Catherine, even 20 years later, was "the most virtuous woman I have ever known, and the highest hearted" (Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 433).

See also Mary I

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Charles V (1500–1558)

As king of **Spain** and Holy Roman emperor, Charles V, of the House of **Habsburg**, ruled much of western Europe and **America** during the early Tudor period. As nephew of **Catherine of Aragon** and cousin of her daughter Princess Mary, Charles exercised enormous influence on the course of the former's **divorce** from **Henry VIII** and on the latter's rule as queen of England.

The eldest son of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Juana, daughter of **Ferdinand and Isabella** of Spain, Charles succeeded his maternal grandfather Ferdinand as king of Spain in 1516 and his paternal grandfather **Maximilian I** as Holy Roman emperor in 1519. Charles therefore ruled Spain (as Charles I) and its American and Italian possessions, Germany (the Holy Roman Empire), and the **Netherlands** (Burgundy). This combination of Habsburg territory nearly encircled **France** and led after 1520 to intense rivalry and warfare, particularly for control of **Italy**,

between the emperor and **Francis I**. In 1525, Charles defeated and captured Francis at Pavia, but the settlement of Franco-Imperial disputes worked out during the French king's yearlong captivity at Madrid collapsed when Francis, having won his freedom by leaving his sons in Spain as hostages, repudiated the treaty.

Charles's reign also saw the rise of a great Spanish empire in the New World and the spread of **Protestantism** in western Europe. In 1521, Hernán Cortés overthrew the Aztec Empire in Mexico, thereby bringing Charles vast territories and wealth. In the same year, Charles, a devout Catholic, rejected the reforming doctrines of his German subject, Martin Luther. Charles thereafter fought to contain the spread of **Lutheranism** throughout his German possessions. Although he defeated the

Protestant German princes at Mühlberg in 1547, Charles could not reverse the **Reformation**. While maintaining the war against France in the west, Charles also fought against the advancing Turkish empire in the east. He halted the Turks before Vienna in 1532 and captured their stronghold at Tunis in 1535.

As ruler of the Netherlands, the great trading partner of England, Charles's economic policies significantly affected the English economy. As ruler of Italy, Charles's success in imposing his political and military dominance on Pope **Clement VII** severely complicated Henry VIII's efforts to annul his marriage to Queen Catherine, Charles's aunt. In England, Charles's ambassador, Eustace **Chapuys**, became Catherine's loyal adviser and advocate; while in Italy, the emperor's pressure on his aunt's behalf forced the pope to deny Henry's request to annul the marriage and led the king to ultimately break with Rome and marry Anne **Boleyn** without papal sanction.

Although he fought in military alliance with Henry against France in the 1540s, the emperor remained Princess Mary's trusted adviser throughout her life. During the reign of **Edward VI**, Charles warned the English **Council** not to interfere with Mary's right to hear Catholic **Mass** and in 1550 even endorsed an abortive effort, arranged by his ambassador, to spirit Mary out of England. After the princess's 1553 accession to the throne as **Mary I**, Charles exercised great influence over



Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was one of Henry VIII's principal political opponents and nephew of Henry's first wife, Catherine of Aragon. (Library of Congress)

the new regime, and, through his ambassador, Simon **Renard**, successfully promoted a marriage between Mary and his son Prince **Philip**, to whom he abdicated the Spanish Crown and control of the Netherlands in 1556. After transferring his Austrian lands to his brother Ferdinand, Charles died in a Spanish monastery on 21 September 1558.

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Charles VIII (1470–1498)

In 1485, the regency government of Charles VIII of **France** supplied men and money for the invasion that placed **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor** on the English throne. In 1492, Charles, now personally directing the French government, threatened the Tudor dynasty by supporting the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**.

Because Charles was only 13 when his father, Louis XI, died in 1483, power was exercised by the new king's elder sister, Anne of Beaujeau. When a coalition of French nobles led by the future **Louis XII** sought to overthrow the regent by forging alliances with foreign princes, including **Richard III** of England, the government responded by encouraging internal opposition in those states. To distract the English king, the French offered financial assistance to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the remaining Lancastrian claimant to the English Crown. On 1 August 1485, Richmond sailed from France with a fleet of seven vessels paid for by the French Crown and led by a French vice admiral. Almost half of the 1,500-man force that embarked with the earl consisted of French and Scottish veterans provided by the regency government. Because these troops formed the core of the army that won Richmond the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** on 22 August, the French later claimed that Henry VII had become king of England "by the grace of Charles VIII" (Davies, "The Wars of the Roses," 177).

Anglo-French relations deteriorated in 1491, when Charles married Anne of **Brittany**, a match that threatened French absorption of England's cross-Channel neighbor. Unwilling to see the ports, fleet, and trade of Brittany fall under French control, Henry crossed the Channel with an army in October 1492. To counter Henry's opposition to his Breton designs, Charles invited Perkin Warbeck to travel from **Ireland** to Paris, where the king promised to fund Warbeck's attempt to overthrow Henry VII. Warbeck claimed to be **Edward IV**'s younger son, who had disappeared into the **Tower of London** in 1483. Recognizing Warbeck as

“Richard IV,” rightful king of England, Charles granted him a generous pension and allowed him to live in comfort at the French **court**. However, in early November 1492, Henry and Charles concluded the Treaty of **Etaples**. In return for Henry’s acquiescence in the French takeover of Brittany, Charles, who was anxious to invade **Italy**, covered Henry’s campaign expenses and paid the arrears of the pension promised to Edward IV in 1475. Charles also agreed to give no shelter to Henry’s rebels, a clause that forced Warbeck to leave France.

Having divorced himself from Warbeck, Charles was freed to pursue his claim to the kingdom of Naples. In 1494, he invaded Italy and captured Naples with little trouble. However, the rapid formation of a coalition of Italian and foreign states forced the French to fight their way back to France. Charles was planning another Italian enterprise when he was killed by an accidental blow to the head in April 1498.

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Charles IX

See France

Chaseabout Raid

Beginning in August 1565, the royal army of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and the rebel forces of James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, Mary’s Protestant half brother and former chief councillor, “chased” each other for some weeks around southern **Scotland** in a farcically conducted dispute over who controlled the Scottish government. Moray, an illegitimate son of **James V**, had led the queen’s government since Mary’s return from France in 1561. With Mary’s acquiescence, Moray supported the Protestant Church of Scotland, yet tolerated the practice of Catholicism, both in the country and in the queen’s household. Nowhere else in Europe did a monarch treat religion as a purely private matter and refuse to impose religious uniformity on the country’s subjects.

This tolerant policy collapsed in July 1565 when the queen wed her cousin Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, and began to hint that she would make Catholicism once again ascendant in Scotland. Moray, fearing that he would be displaced in

the queen's counsels by Darnley and by the foreign and Catholic courtiers in Mary's household, rose in rebellion in August. Few of the Protestant nobles of Scotland joined Moray. Although they disliked the influence that Catholics like David **Rizzio**, Mary's Italian secretary, had with the queen, they had no reason at that time to distrust Darnley. In early October 1565, Moray fled Scotland for England without ever coming in contact with the royal army. The "chaseabout raid" destroyed the relative political stability that Scotland had enjoyed in the previous four years and initiated a period of intense upheaval that would, within two years, lead to the murders of Rizzio and Darnley and the abdication and exile of Mary.

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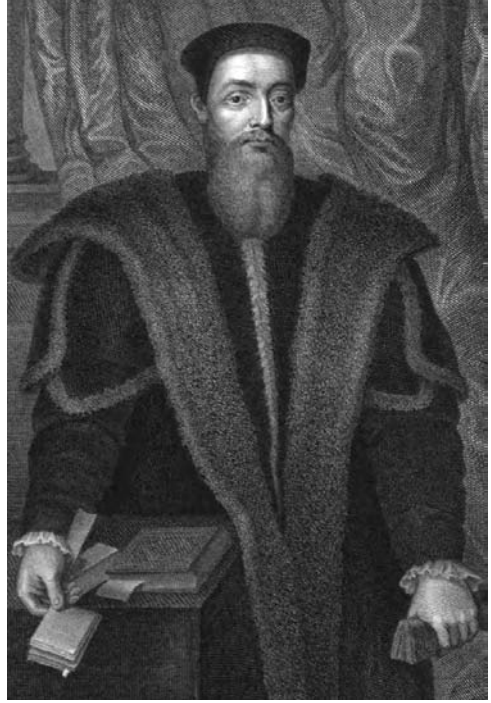
Cheke, Sir John (1514–1557)

A highly regarded humanist scholar, Sir John Cheke served **Edward VI** as tutor and secretary of state. Born and raised in Cambridge, the son of a university official, Cheke was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his MA in 1533. Known for his mastery of classical languages, Cheke became Cambridge's first Regius professor of Greek in 1540. In 1542, Cheke debated Stephen **Gardiner**, then chancellor of the university, over the proper pronunciation of Greek. Although eventually compelled to adopt Gardiner's position, Cheke's view has, until recently, been more commonly upheld at modern universities. In the 1530s, Cheke was a leading member of an influential circle of humanist friends whose shared tastes and experiences included a Cambridge education and an interest in Protestant reform. Many of the members of this group, such as the Elizabethan statesman William **Cecil** and the royal tutor Roger **Ascham**, later achieved prominent positions in church and state. In 1544, Cheke became tutor to Prince Edward, for whom the scholar directed a rigorous program of classical studies that lasted until 1552. Cheke also occasionally acted as tutor to Princess Elizabeth.

After Edward's accession in 1547, Cheke, who won the young king's affection and trust, received numerous lands and offices. He was also knighted in 1551, sat for the borough of Bletchingly in the Edwardian **Parliaments** of 1547 and 1553, and became provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1548. He wrote his most famous work, *The Hurt of Sedition*, in 1549 as a denunciation of the political, social, and economic harm inflicted on the state by the fomenters of **Kett's Rebellion** and the **Western Rebellion**. Having quietly supported **Protestantism** under **Henry VIII**—he discreetly advocated reform in the preface of a Latin translation

dedicated to the king—Cheke actively participated in various Edwardian reform initiatives, including revision of the second **Book of Common Prayer** in 1552. He also corresponded with Martin **Bucer** and European reformers who settled in England during Edward's reign.

Appointed secretary of state in June 1553, Cheke supported **Northumberland's Coup**, the unsuccessful effort to avoid a Catholic succession by enthroning Jane **Grey**. When **Mary I** secured the Crown, Cheke fled to Italy, becoming the leading propagandist among the **Marian exiles**. While in the **Netherlands** in 1556, Cheke was captured and carried to England by agents of Prince **Philip**, Mary's consort. Compelled by fear of burning for heresy, Cheke publicly recanted his Protestantism, an ignominious act that caused him great guilt and may have hastened his death, which occurred on 13 September 1557. Cheke was the author of numerous works, including *De Pronuntiatione Graecae Linguae*, which set forth his position on Greek pronunciation, and an English translation of the Gospel of Matthew, which, in accord with his desire to encourage use of English as a scholarly language, avoids excessive borrowing from foreign tongues.



The noted humanist scholar Sir John Cheke was tutor to Edward V and later Edward's secretary of state. (John Strype et al. *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke*. . . . Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1821)

See also Elizabeth I; Humanism

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Childbirth

A newly married woman could expect to become pregnant very soon, if she wasn't already. Yet, knowing for certain that she was pregnant was not so easy. Missing a monthly menses and other common physical signs were known to be caused by a variety of conditions, so a woman only knew for sure when she felt the baby move inside her—at quickening, usually around the fourth month. Until the nineteenth century, in England quickening was believed to be the point at which the baby acquired a soul. An abortion before this time would not be punished, and a miscarriage, while still an unhappy event, was not thought of in the same way as one that took place after quickening.

Research has shown that in England a woman had about a 1 percent chance of dying in each childbirth and a 5 to 7 percent chance of dying in childbirth overall during her lifetime. Clearly childbirth in the sixteenth century was not as dangerous as modern writers have tended to portray it, but it was certainly not taken lightly. Most **women** would have known someone who died in childbirth, and the evidence suggests that pregnant women were often worried about the dangers. Miscarriage was a common occurrence: about half of all conceptions were miscarried, and this was a stressful and upsetting occurrence.

Husbands, friends, and family would have been full of concern and advice for a pregnant woman, and she would have done everything she knew to improve her chances of a successful birth, including moderating physical activity, proper eating, abstaining from sex at specified times, and herbal remedies when needed. People often speculated on the sex of the child and might also have consulted the astrological signs. Mental health was also very important, as people believed that a woman's personal experiences during pregnancy could affect the unborn child; witnessing or being involved in traumatic events was believed to cause everything from birthmarks to birth defects.

Childbirth itself was perhaps the one thing that was the same for women across the social classes and something men virtually never participated in. As her time drew near, a woman would choose the other women she wanted to be with her in the birthing room. In a town she might be able to choose a midwife with training, while in rural areas it might just be the woman with most experience. Male midwives and physicians were not involved in childbirth until the seventeenth century. The first manuals for midwives appeared in the mid-sixteenth century and were translations of a German and a French manual. While these manuals were popular and were reprinted constantly, they tended to be conservative in their understanding of the female body and in the advice given.

Preparations might be simple or elaborate depending on a woman's economic resources and local practices. Usually clean bed linens were prepared as well as clean clothes for the mother and baby. In most places fresh air was thought to be



Childbirth was perhaps the one experience in Tudor England that was essentially the same for women across all social classes. (Paul Lacroix. *Moeurs, Usage et Costumes au Moyen Age et à l'Epoque de la Renaissance*, 1878)

harmful, so doors and windows in the lying-in room were kept closed to create a warm and comfortable environment. If a midwife was present, she would be in charge: managing the physical space, observing and supporting the mother, and taking action only when it was necessary. Most had a store of herbal remedies at their command, and beverages like broth or mulled wine (caudle) were available for the mother. The mother's position for giving birth varied with local practices and the midwife. Some used birthing stools, while others might have the mother kneel, stand, or lie propped up in a bed. A baby who presented itself in the birth canal with an arm or face (rather than feet or knees) would need to be turned, and midwives understood how to reach in and turn a baby.

As soon as the baby was born, some of the women in attendance would be responsible for bathing and wrapping the baby, while others took care of the mother. Midwives would be responsible for baptizing the newborn if it was in imminent danger of death. Manuals and local statutes provided specific instructions for midwives on how to handle a **baptism**. Following birth the mother usually had a "lying-in" time when she did not go out in society or perform many activities. Catholic tradition required a woman at the end of this time to be purified

before rejoining general society. Although Protestants did not accept the need for purification, Anglicans observed an alternative practice known as “churching,” where a woman attended a service of thanksgiving at the end of her lying-in, and that practice survived for a long time.

Much of what we know about women and childbirth in the sixteenth century is inferred from a small number of sources and information we have for slightly later times. In part this was because the birth experience was open to women only, and few of them could or did write down their experiences. Some women did record their experiences with birth or as midwives, while other information comes secondhand from the diaries and notes of worried husbands and fathers-to-be, from midwifery manuals and other medical writing, and from the occasional court case. Especially notable has been the change in historians’ perceptions of midwives, who were once portrayed as mainly ignorant and dangerous but are now believed to have been important and generally competent players in the childbirth experience.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Christian Brethren

The term “Christian Brethren” (or “Brethren in Christ”) refers to an obscure society of **London** merchants and clergymen that in the 1520s and 1530s organized and funded the clandestine acquisition and distribution of proscribed religious works. The term was also sometimes applied to the “known men,” adherents of **Lollardy** with connections to the society’s activities, who, according to the Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe**, derived their name from their claim to truly “know” the **Bible**.

Little can be said with certainty about the society and its work, for the term “brethren” was soon applied to religious reformers of all types. In London, only five members of the fraternity can be named: Thomas Keyle, a prominent citizen and warden of the Mercers’ Company; John Shreve, a barber surgeon; and three priests named George Marshall, George Parker, and Thomas Patmore. Other likely members included the evangelical writer and translator John Gough and the wealthy cloth merchant Humphrey Monmouth, who sheltered William **Tyndale** and funded his work of translation both in London and abroad. Subsidizing the

work of reformist writers and scholars like Tyndale was an important component of the group's activity. The priest Parker declared that the society's role was to put books into the commons' hands, and once the ideas contained therein were in the commons' heads, the members "should have no further care" (Brigden, *London*, 126). The society likely financed publication of John **Frith's** *Burial of the Mass*, an attack on the doctrine of **transubstantiation**, and may even have funded the 1527 publication of William Roye's *Brief Dialogue Between a Christian Father and His Stubborn Son*, the first Zwinglian work (i.e., derived from the ideas of Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli) to appear in English.

With ties to Lollard cells in England, commercial links overseas, and expertise in **printing** and publishing (Keyle, like many mercers, was involved in the printing trade), the Brethren imported and circulated all manner of prohibited books. The society's initial efforts probably focused on the dissemination of Lutheran works, but, like the Lollards and Zwingli, the group soon embraced denial of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, a position known as sacramentarianism. Because many adherents of **Anabaptism** were sacramentarians, most early-sixteenth-century reformers rejected the concept, and it was not accepted by the English Church until the reign of **Edward VI**. However, the spreading of writings like Roye's and Tyndale's, which first gave the principle wide publicity in England, seems to have been in large part the work of the Christian Brethren.

Although the society was known to the government—Sir Thomas **More** denounced it and Thomas **Cromwell** may have protected it—the organization was never uncovered or broken up. Keyle and Gough came before Bishop Cuthbert **Tunstall** in 1526 for their printing activities, but their role in the Brethren was unsuspected and they were dismissed. The Brethren may have remained active into the early 1540s, by which time many of their views had been quietly embraced by numerous reformers and churchmen, even though official Church doctrine was for the moment defined by the highly conservative Act of **Six Articles**. Although little is known about the organization and working of the Christian Brethren, the group's existence clearly illustrates the presence and operation of an English reform movement prior to **Henry VIII's** break with Rome.

See also Lutheranism

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Christmas

Christmas, the day celebrated as the birth of Christ, was one of the most important **holidays** of the Tudor year. In England, the Christmas season extended from Christmas Eve to Epiphany (the celebration of the visit of the Wise Men to the infant Jesus) on 6 January. Epiphany was also called Twelfth Day, for it was the 12th day after Christmas, and thus the last day of the 12-day Christmas season. In the Middle Ages, Twelfth Night, the eve of Epiphany, had been the most important midwinter celebration, but by Tudor times, 25 December, Christmas Day itself, was becoming an increasingly important day of feasting and merriment.

Like the modern holiday, a Tudor Christmas was celebrated with Christmas songs and music, as well as with dancing, plays, and games (especially card games). Homes were decorated with holly, ivy, and mistletoe, and meals included traditional Christmas foods, such as nuts, oranges, and special pies and cakes. Other holiday rituals included the burning of the Yule log, the lighting of Christmas candles, and the drinking of wassail, a spiced ale. New Year's Day, 1 January, did not mark the start of a new year in England as it did in Europe, but it was instead a day for exchanging gifts, for visiting friends, and for general merriment and feasting.

Twelfth Night and Twelfth Day, 5 and 6 January, saw some of the most riotous celebrations of the Christmas season. Spiced fruitcake was a traditional food, and celebrations often included the selection of a lord and lady of misrule to preside over the dancing and other festivities. Wassail was also commonly drunk on New Year's Day and on Twelfth Night. Because the holiday retained so many traditions and rituals from the Catholic past, **Puritan** disapproval of Christmas increased throughout **Elizabeth I's** reign. For a time in the 1650s, when the monarchy was gone and England was a Puritan commonwealth, Christmas was declared a public fast day. However, most of the ancient Christmas traditions returned with the monarchy after 1660.

See also Calendar; Easter

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Church Courts

Since the eleventh century, the English Church operated a system of courts that existed entirely separate from the secular courts of **common law**. The **Reformation**

severed these courts from the papal court in Rome—previously the highest ecclesiastical court of appeal—and placed them under the Crown and **Parliament**.

Church courts monitored clerical conduct, ensured lay church attendance, enforced payment of **tithes** and fees, and dealt with the validity of marriages, the probate of wills, and charges of fornication, adultery, and heresy. Ecclesiastical courts could suspend attendance at services, excommunicate, and, in some cases, imprison, but they could not impose fines or capital punishment. Under **Henry VIII** and **Mary I**, when the **heresy laws** were in effect, the courts handed convicted heretics over to the secular authorities for execution. Unlike the common law courts, church courts did not use juries; defendants cleared themselves through compurgation, the practice of swearing to their innocence and then bringing into court a certain number (according to the crime) of compurgators to swear to the truth of their oath. After 1534, the church courts administered a combination of old **canon law** (the law of the medieval church) and new parliamentary enactments. Under the direction of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, a committee of bishops drafted a reformed code of canon law known as the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, but the revision was never authorized by Parliament and the courts continued to apply the medieval canons as modified by statute.

The lowest ecclesiastical courts were conducted by episcopal officers known as archdeacons. With one to six operating in each county, the archidiaconal courts heard cases involving clerical misconduct, sexual impropriety, and defamation. Twice each year the archdeacons took their courts into each parish in their jurisdiction. Known as visitations, these local sessions reviewed the credentials of clerics and schoolmasters, assessed the state of parish buildings and property, and inquired into the moral and ethical conduct of parishioners. Because the archidiaconal courts could neither arrest nor imprison, the effectiveness of their judgments depended on the support of the local parish community. Despite the frequent changes in doctrine imposed on the church as a whole between 1530 and 1560, the archidiaconal courts continued to function in a largely traditional manner throughout the period.

Appeals from the archidiaconal courts went to the bishops' consistory courts, which operated on the diocesan level. The consistory courts undertook diocesan visitations, enforced ecclesiastical policy, and handled the great volume of routine work such as probating wills and issuing licenses. In consistory, bishops were empowered to suspend church officials and to excommunicate. Appeals from diocesan consistory courts went to the two provincial consistory courts—the Court of Chancery (not to be confused with the secular court of **equity** operated by the chancellor) sat for the northern province at York, and the Court of Arches sat for the southern province at **London**.

An overemphasis on the critical writings of Henrician reformers and Elizabethan **Puritans** led historians to characterize Tudor church courts as corrupt and

inefficient. New research focusing on the records of the courts themselves has revealed their essential popularity and usefulness. Reformed by the Crown to improve their efficiency and clarify their jurisdiction, church courts continued to elicit lay support and cooperation and to provide much-needed remedies for many matters at law.

See also Marian Martyrs

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Church of England

See Anglican Church

Churchyard, Thomas (c. 1523–1604)

Little is certain about the life of the Elizabethan soldier, writer, and adventurer Thomas Churchyard, whose life is today known largely from the contradictory and self-serving information that he himself provided in a series of autobiographical poems. Born in Shrewsbury, Churchyard became a page in the service of Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, in 1537. His military service began in 1543 at the siege of Landrecy, where he likely served again under Surrey. In 1552, Churchyard's writing career, which eventually produced over 40 published works in various genres, began with the issuance of *Davy Dycar's Dream*, a social satire describing a good Christian life. For most of the rest of his life, Churchyard simultaneously pursued both his military and literary careers, with occasional forays into such activities as diplomacy, the organization of royal **progresses**, and the delivery of dispatches for Sir Francis **Walsingham** and other government officials.

As a soldier, Churchyard fought in the 1547 Scottish campaign of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and was present at the Battle of **Pinkie**. Captured by the Scots in 1548, he was freed six months later and joined the garrison of Lauder Castle, which stood siege until the conclusion of the Treaty of **Boulogne** in 1550. Churchyard then served under Lord Deputy Anthony St. Leger in **Ireland** in 1551 before traveling to Germany to join the army of **Charles V** as a mercenary. After

another period of captivity as a prisoner of war, he escaped and returned to England in 1555. He was present at the fall of **Calais** in 1558 and again imprisoned, but escaped shortly after conclusion of the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** in 1559. In the 1560s, he served again in **Scotland** and Ireland and under **William, Prince of Orange**, in the **Netherlands**. His service with Orange, as described in his “A Story Translated Out of French,” is a thrilling tale of espionage, capture, near execution, and escape.

In the 1570s, Churchyard served again in Ireland under Sir Henry **Sidney**. In 1581, he fled to Scotland to escape a charge of murder pressed by the widow of his victim. By this time, he enjoyed the **patronage** of Sir Christopher **Hatton**, for whom he may have acted as a spy while in Scotland. After a brief confinement in the Marshalsea Prison outside **London**, he returned to the Netherlands in the service of Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, and then may have served in the English forces sent to the Netherlands in 1585 under Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. In the later 1580s, he served as muster-master of Kent, in which capacity he assisted in the military preparations that preceded the invasion of **Philip II’s armada** in 1588.

Churchyard was a great self-promoter, as the titles of many of his works indicate: *The Contention Between Churchyard and Camel* (1560, 1565), *The First Part of Churchyard’s Chippes* (1575), *A General Rehearsal of Wars, Called Churchyard’s Choice* (1579), *Churchyard’s Chance* (1580), and *Churchyard’s Challenge* (1595). He used his writings to promote his military exploits, and he used those exploits to enliven and sell his writings. His most famous work was “Shore’s Wife,” a poetic lament describing the unfortunate life of Jane Shore, the wife of a London goldsmith who became mistress to **Edward IV**. “Shore’s Wife” appeared in William **Baldwin’s** 1563 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates* and, along with Thomas **Sackville’s** “Induction” to the Duke of Buckingham’s lament, is considered the most noteworthy *Mirror* contribution and one of the best examples of Elizabethan “complaint literature.” Churchyard also contributed various poems to *Tottel’s Miscellany*, an influential anthology of English poetry produced by the printer Richard Tottel. In the 1550s, Churchyard was involved in a prolonged pamphlet controversy with Thomas Camel; the various pamphlets and broadsides comprising the exchange were collected and printed in 1560 in *The Contention Between Churchyard and Camel*. Churchyard also wrote descriptions of various contemporary events, including accounts of the voyages of Martin **Frobisher** (1578), a description of the death of the Irish rebel James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald** (1579), and a poem titled “A Doleful Discourse of Two Strangers, a Lady and a Knight” (1575), which was a thinly veiled description of the secret marriage of Katherine **Grey** to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Churchyard died in Westminster on 1 April 1604.

John A. Wagner

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Civil Law

Civil law, which was derived from Roman law, was initially practiced in **church courts**. However, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, civil law expanded into the **equity** Court of Chancery, where ecclesiastical chancellors used it to supplement the **common law** practiced in royal courts. The use of civil law then spread to the various counciliar and **prerogative** courts that were expanded or established during the Tudor period, such as **Requests**, **Star Chamber**, **Augmentations**, and **Wards and Liveries**. Civil law was also taught in the **universities**, where, unlike **canon law**, **Henry VIII** promoted its teaching and practice.

Civil law did not use juries and elicited evidence through a well-developed procedure of written pleadings that were prepared in English, not in the law French of the common law courts. A plaintiff initiated a suit with a bill of complaint that was answered in writing by the defendant. The plaintiff then responded with a replication, which was, in turn, answered by the defendant's rejoinder. These pleadings allowed the court clerks to develop interrogatories that were put to witnesses under oath, thereby generating the evidence that enabled the court to decide the case.

See also Chancery/Chancery, Court of

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Classical Movement

The classis was one of a hierarchy of courts that developed within the illegal presbyterian church structure that English **Puritans** tried to establish inside the **Anglican Church** in the 1570s and 1580s. A classis consisted of the ministers and representative elders of the churches within a given area. The primary goal of the classical movement was to define and impose a system of godly discipline on all ministers and congregations. In this way, the local classis maintained

adherence to Puritan notions of worship and morality among the participating congregations.

The classical movement, like the **prophesyings** of the previous decade, ignored the authority of the bishops and had no royal or statutory sanction. The government uncovered and rooted out the movement in the 1590s when authorities began investigations to discover the authorship of the scurrilous **Marprelate Tracts**, which attacked and discredited the bishops and other church officials who opposed Puritan reforms. Many classis leaders were friends of the Marprelate authors, and this connection was enough to convince many people that the bishops were right when they claimed that an underground Puritan movement was attempting to subvert the established order. The bishops under Archbishop John **Whitgift** suppressed the classical movement by arresting and prosecuting classis leaders, as well as all advocates, such as Thomas **Cartwright**, of a presbyterian system of church government.

See also Presbyterian Movement

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Clement, Margaret Giggs (1508–1570)

Margaret Giggs Clement was the adopted daughter of Sir Thomas **More**, the lifelong friend of More's daughter Margaret More **Roper**, and the only family member to witness More's execution in 1535. Margaret Giggs was the daughter of Thomas Giggs, a mercer's servant and **London** neighbor of the More family. Thomas Giggs' wife was wet nurse for a year or more for Margaret More, who was slightly older than Mrs. Giggs's own daughter. When Mrs. Giggs died shortly thereafter, More adopted Margaret Giggs as a companion for his daughter, a decision that was likely a relief to Thomas Giggs, who was often sent abroad by his master and thus in no position to raise a child on his own.

More tutored Margaret Giggs along with his own children, and she proved an apt student, for her command of Greek was later praised by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis **Vives**. For a time, Margaret was also tutored by More's page, John Clement, who later entered the service of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, becoming a lecturer at Oxford before traveling to **Italy** to train as a physician. In about 1526, Margaret Giggs married Clement, who was then establishing a flourishing medical practice in London. Her first child was born in 1527, and 10 other pregnancies followed in rapid succession between then and the birth of her last child in 1540.

She remained, however, part of the More family circle and is pictured in Hans **Holbein**'s 1527 group portrait of More and his household, standing to the left of More and leaning slightly to point out something in a book she holds to John More, Sir Thomas' father.

During More's tenure as lord chancellor (1529–1532), Margaret served as his almoner and, being noted for her own piety, was entrusted with More's own objects of personal piety, including his famous hair shirt. Upon More's imprisonment in the **Tower of London** in 1534, Margaret More Roper often stayed at the Clement home when in London to visit her father. Margaret Clement also sent gifts to the imprisoned More via her foster-sister, including an "algorism stone" used for multiplying and dividing arabic numbers. When More was offered a favor if he kept his scaffold remarks brief, he asked that his body be given to Margaret Clement for burial in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower. Clement was thus one of the few witnesses of More's execution. Since news of the 9:00 a.m. execution on 6 July 1535 was not released until dawn of that day, it is likely that Margaret Clement was the only family member present because she was the only one who lived near enough to the Tower to arrive in time.

In 1537, Margaret Clement was investigated by Thomas **Cromwell** for secretly feeding and bathing the Carthusians incarcerated in Newgate Prison for opposing the **royal supremacy**. Suspicious of the fact that the prisoners continued to live despite the abominable treatment accorded them, Cromwell discovered that Clement had been visiting them disguised as a milkmaid "with a great pail upon her head" (Guy, *A Daughter's Love*, 267). Although the government did not proceed against her, the investigation also brought to light her involvement with her foster-sister in a plan to publish Sir Thomas More's works. When Margaret More Roper died in 1544, she bequeathed copies of her father's Tower writings and his hair shirt to Margaret Clement, who continued to work with other members of the More circle to complete publication of More's writings.

After the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Clement fled with her family and other members of the More circle to the **Netherlands**. They returned to England after the accession of **Mary I** in 1553. Margaret's eldest daughter married More's nephew William **Rastell**, who in 1557 published *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght*. Two other of Clement's daughters became nuns. The Clements again went into exile on the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, and Margaret died in Mechelen in the Netherlands on 6 July 1570, the 35th anniversary of Sir Thomas More's death.

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See also Carthusian Martyrs

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Clement VII (1479–1534)

By his indecisive response to **Henry VIII**'s appeal for an annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, Pope Clement VII drove the king to repudiate papal authority and sever the English Church from Rome.

Giulio de Medici was born in Florence on 26 May 1479, the bastard son of the late Giuliano de Medici. Raised by his uncle Lorenzo the Magnificent, Medici was appointed cardinal-archbishop of Florence in 1513 by his cousin Leo X, who dispensed with the canonical prohibition against ordaining someone of illegitimate birth. Named vice-chancellor of the Holy See in 1517, Medici was largely responsible for the formulation of papal policy, including the measures taken against the German reformer Martin Luther. Medici directed the government of Florence after 1519 and negotiated a papal alliance with Emperor **Charles V** in 1521. Backed by Charles, Medici was elected pope as Clement VII in November 1523.

Because the pope was also an Italian prince, Clement was immediately caught in the struggle between Charles V and **Francis I** for control of **Italy**. Although a capable subordinate, Clement proved to be a weak and irresolute pope. He shifted his support several times from one side to the other, finally opting to join **France** in the League of Cognac in 1526. When the armies of Charles sacked Rome in May 1527, Clement was besieged in the Castel Sant' Angelo. Forced to surrender, he remained in imperial custody for six months, purchasing his freedom in



Throughout his eleven years as pope, Clement VII struggled, often unsuccessfully, with competing political and religious allegiances. (Library of Congress)

December 1527 by agreeing to the occupation of key cities in the papal states, by promising neutrality, and by paying a large indemnity. The hostility between pope and emperor allowed **Lutheranism** to spread in Germany and Scandinavia and the Turks to advance in eastern Europe. Although Clement and Charles reconciled in 1529—Clement crowned Charles and Charles approved restoration of Medici rule in Florence—the pope continued to seek the friendship of France, even traveling to Marseilles in 1533 to personally wed his niece, **Catherine de Medici**, to Francis's second son, the future **Henri II**.

Clement's vacillation and procrastination, combined with his subservience to Charles, caused him to mishandle Henry VIII's divorce petition. Clement's initial willingness to accommodate Henry gave way to the need to placate Charles, who, as Catherine's nephew, was honor-bound to oppose her repudiation. Clement was also reluctant to acknowledge the limits on papal dispensing power demanded by Henry. The king claimed his marriage was invalid under scripture and the 1503 bull of Pope Julius II allowing it was also invalid, because the pope could not dispense divine law. Although he permitted Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** to travel to England in 1528 to decide the case with Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, Clement later revoked the case to Rome under pressure from Charles. In July 1533, he pronounced a deferred sentence of excommunication on Henry to compel him to stay with Catherine. By then, Henry was married to a pregnant Anne **Boleyn**, and **Parliament** had separated the English Church from Rome. Clement died on 25 September 1534.

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Clifford, George, Earl of Cumberland (1558–1605)

George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, was one of the most active Elizabethan privateers. Through his mother, Eleanor Brandon, a younger daughter of Mary **Tudor**, the sister of **Henry VIII**, Clifford was a distant cousin of **Elizabeth I**. In 1571, a year after inheriting his title at the age of 12, the young earl entered Trinity College at Cambridge, where his tutor was the future archbishop of Canterbury, John **Whitgift**. Having a great interest in seamanship and navigation, Cumberland focused his studies at Cambridge on mathematics. He earned a master's degree in 1576 and then went to Oxford to study geography. Cumberland acquired a great reputation as a jousting champion and was frequently the queen's champion

at the **Accession Day** tilts, where he challenged all comers and was well known for his gallant speeches.

Cumberland also became a noted English seaman. In 1588, he commanded Sir Francis **Drake**'s old ship, the *Elizabeth*, during the running Channel fights against the **armada**. Between 1586 and 1598, Cumberland equipped and led 12 **privateering** expeditions designed to attack Spanish shipping and raid the ports of **Spanish America**. On his final voyage in 1598, Cumberland sailed to Puerto Rico, where he captured the forts at San Juan that had withstood Drake's attack in 1595. Cumberland hoped to establish a permanent English settlement on the island, but lack of supplies and his own ill health prevented him from doing so. The heavy cost of his various expeditions, which he met out of his own resources, and his weakness for gambling put the earl in severe financial difficulties in the last years of his life. Cumberland died heavily in debt in 1605.

See also Navy; Universities

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Clinton, Edward Fiennes de, Lord Clinton and Earl of Lincoln (1512–1585)

Edward Fiennes de Clinton, ninth Lord Clinton, was **Elizabeth I**'s first lord admiral. On the death of his father in 1517, Clinton, then age five, became a ward of the Crown. In 1534, Clinton married **Henry VIII**'s former mistress, Elizabeth **Blount**, the mother of the king's natural son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, and a woman several decades Clinton's senior. In the 1540s, Clinton served under Lord Admiral John **Dudley**, the future Duke of Northumberland, in naval campaigns against **Scotland** and **France**. After the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Clinton commanded the fleet in the campaign against Scotland conducted by Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and served as governor of Boulogne until the town was restored to France in 1550.

In May 1550, Edward appointed Clinton lord admiral. Perhaps in an effort to win Clinton's support for the plan to have Jane **Grey** succeed the ailing king, Northumberland, Edward's chief minister, showered Clinton with such honors and offices as a Garter knighthood and the governorship of the **Tower of London**. Clinton nominally supported **Northumberland's Coup** in 1553 but quickly submitted to **Mary I** after Northumberland's execution. He helped suppress **Wyatt's Rebellion** in 1554, and in 1558 was reappointed lord admiral, an office he had lost at Mary's accession. Elizabeth retained him in the post when she came to the

throne 10 months later. Although he did not personally go to sea, Clinton directed the naval campaigns off Scotland in 1560 and off Le Havre in 1563.

In 1569, Clinton helped crush the **Northern Rebellion**, and in 1570, after Pope **Pius V** excommunicated Elizabeth, Clinton took personal command of the fleet guarding the North Sea against possible French attempts to land troops in Scotland. For these services, the queen created Clinton Earl of Lincoln in May 1572. Although serving as lord admiral, Lincoln had little direct involvement in the reorganization of the **navy** that began in the 1570s. A diplomatic mission to Paris in August 1572, only days before the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre**, was Lincoln's last public service, although he continued to serve at **court** and on the Privy **Council** until his death in January 1585.

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See also Le Havre Expedition; *Regnans in Excelsis*

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Clipping

See Coinage

Cloth Industry

Cloth was the most important manufactured item for export and domestic consumption in Tudor England. In the late Middle Ages, there had been an urban woolen cloth industry of considerable size. These cloths, however, proved inferior to those manufactured by the carefully regulated industry of Flanders. Flemish drapers depended on the superlative wools of England, especially the fine, short staple wool produced in the Welsh Marches and Lincolnshire. By 1500, however, virtually all English wools were being draped (made into cloth) in England; by

1550, the industry had come to employ more persons than any other occupation in the realm except farming.

All the processes leading to the production of woolen cloth could be performed in a household; thus England escaped the regulation that characterized the urban cloth industry of the Continent. A statute of 1552 described some three dozen kinds of English woolen cloth, but this varied production fell into three broad categories: woolens, traditional worsteds, and the “new draperies,” which consisted of new, lighter fabrics of mixed wool and worsteds. The woolens included the traditional broadcloths, as well as kerseys, friezes, dozens, and the “cottons” of Lancashire and Wales; the woolens and worsteds came to be known as the “old draperies.” The highest-quality broadcloths were woven in the West Country—Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Somerset; East Anglia tended to specialize in worsteds and the new draperies; the northern counties manufactured the cheaper, coarser cloths that were worked on a narrow loom by a single weaver. The kersey was first woven in the village of Kersey in Suffolk, but the technique of manufacturing these cloths came to be disseminated to Yorkshire, Berkshire, and Hampshire. Similarly, the tiny hamlets of Castle Combe in Wiltshire and Coggeshall in Essex manufactured cloths well known in Antwerp and Frankfurt. Regardless of geography, the processes involved in production remained dependent on what kind of cloth was made.

Woolens generally used wool of medium length, though the much prized broadcloths employed the best short-staple wool available; worsteds usually used long-staple wool. Woolen cloth was felted together to achieve strength, while the warp (long threads) and weft (the cross threads that run across the warp) gave strength to worsteds. Wool for the old draperies had to be carded, spun, and fulling; after fulling it was dried on hooks, then dressed or shorn. The last process was the dyeing, though the clothiers who carried cloth to **London** for export preferred cloths to go undyed and undressed, so that they might be finished by the Flemish cloth makers. The worsteds underwent a similar process, though the wool was combed, not carded, and the new draperies employed a mixture of carded and combed wool.

Clothiers from London and other towns purchased wool and sent it to households for production. Exported cloth was largely handled by the **Merchant Adventurers**, who bought cloth from the clothiers and sold it in the **Netherlands** and Germany. Although deteriorating relations with **Philip II** of **Spain** interrupted the cloth trade, the efforts to find new markets in Russia and other lands allowed the Elizabethan industry to expand.

Douglas R. Bisson

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Clothing and Costume

Clothing was an important indicator of social class throughout the sixteenth century. Distinctions of clothing and dress delineated differences in rank, gender, occupation, age, and social and political status.

In the early Tudor period, continental fashions inspired the main trends in English clothing. For the upper classes, Italian fashions modified by French influence predominated during the last decade of **Henry VII** and the first of **Henry VIII**. Men wore short tunics and close-fitting hose over frilled white shirts of silk with embroidered necks and wrists. Women's gowns had square low-cut necklines and skirts that were slit in front to create a triangular opening that revealed an elaborate undergown. From the 1520s to the 1540s, German influence called for puffed and padded sleeves that were slashed in an elaborate manner to reveal rich and strikingly colored cloth beneath. Men's tunics and doublets (short fitted jackets of wool, leather, or some finer cloth) added knee-length skirts that opened in front to display codpieces of fantastic size and design. Codpieces were padded coverings for the crotch that acted like a trouser-fly, unbuttoning or untying to open. Beginning in the late 1540s and extending into the reign of **Elizabeth I**, Spanish influences dictated that women wear farthingales—conical underskirts consisting of fabric stretched over hoops of wood, wire, or whalebone—and both sexes wear ruffs—large round collars of pleated muslin or linen. By the 1580s, ruffs became exceptionally large and could be composed of several tiers of different material.

The Elizabethan period saw many long-used items and styles of men's clothing fall out of fashion and be replaced with styles that were often more elaborate and eye-catching. Elizabethans, especially of the upper classes, were highly fashion conscious; being able to afford the latest, most fashionable attire was important for nobles and gentlemen seeking to make their fortunes and enhance their political careers at the **court** of a queen who loved rich and striking gowns. Clothes, as the **sumptuary laws** show, were also an important indicator of class. Most of the fashions today associated with Elizabethans were worn by the upper classes and seem to modern eyes to be heavy and constricting. However, England has a cool, damp climate, and Elizabethans, lacking modern heating systems, relied more on their clothes for warmth than is the case today. Also, the clothing of the lower classes, the great majority of the population, was less elaborate and more functional, allowing greater freedom of movement.

Although gentlemen and commoners wore the same basic types and styles of clothing, fabrics, decorations, and colors varied greatly according to class. Common



Sixteenth-century clothing reflected the social position of the wearer and was often controlled by sumptuary laws. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

male garments included woolen hose or stockings over which were worn codpieces, trunkhose, or breeches. Trunkhose, a garment reaching from the waist to the thighs, gradually displaced the codpiece. Trunkhose could be simple or striking, with vertical slashes and contrasting colors. Late in Elizabeth's reign, men began to wear breeches—knee-length trousers with a fly opening that tied or buttoned.

During the Elizabethan period, the waistline of men's doublets went from being cut straight to dipping downward in a V shape. Doublets closed with hooks, buttons, or laces and sometimes had detachable sleeves. Over the doublet, a man might wear a jerkin or a coat. A jerkin was similar to a doublet but might be sleeveless, and a coat could be of many styles and fabrics depending on the social class of the wearer.

Shoes were generally square-toed, flat, and made of leather. Men also usually wore wool or linen caps or hats, doffing them as a mark of respect to superiors. **Puritans** tended to dress more somberly, both in style and color. Boys generally wore the same types and styles of clothing worn by adult men of their social class.

Elizabethan women generally wore one of three basic clothing styles. The simplest garment was the kirtle, a long fitted dress that closely resembled medieval clothing. Upper-class women seldom wore a kirtle by itself, preferring to wear it under other garments. The most common Elizabethan style among all classes of women was the combination of the bodice for the upper body with a series of skirts (known as petticoats) for the lower body. The bodice was a stiff woolen garment that functioned like both a bra and a girdle. The style for the bodice neckline rose and fell several times during the reign of Elizabeth—bodices were low-cut in the

early and later years, and high in the middle years. A bodice could be sleeved or sleeveless, though the latter style was worn only as an undergarment by upper-class women. Bodice stiffening was supplied by whalebone, wood, or even metal, with the degree of stiffening determined by how fashionable or practical the garment needed to be. Lower-class working women wore looser bodices that gave them greater ease of movement. Common women laced their bodices in the front, but court ladies fastened theirs with buttons or hooks and eyes.

The major change in petticoat styles during the Elizabethan period was the replacement of the flowing skirt of earlier decades with full skirts formed into cylindrical or bell shapes by various types of stiffened underskirts. The farthingale originated in **Spain** and came to England in the 1540s, but became fashionable at the English court in the later decades of Elizabeth's reign. The wheel farthingale, which was often worn with a padded roll tied around the waist, pushed the skirt out from the hips and caused it to fall straight down to the feet. Lower-class women who wished to copy court styles favored the wheel farthingale because it pushed the skirt away from the legs and increased freedom of movement.

The richest form of women's garment was the gown, essentially a skirt and bodice sewn together and worn over a kirtle or underskirt. Court gowns could be highly decorated, with false sleeves and slashed skirts revealing contrasting underskirts. As portraits show, Elizabeth wore striking and colorful gowns, her taste tending in her later years to increasingly elaborate styles.

See also Gentry; Social Structure

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Cockfighting

See Animal Sports

Coign and Livery

Coign (or coyne) and livery referred to a system of billeting and exactions imposed by Irish and **Anglo-Irish** lords on the tenants or subordinates within their clans or

territories in **Ireland**. “Coign,” derived from an Irish word for guest, and “livery” was an English term for the payment or allowance given by a lord to a servant or retainer. Under the coign and livery system, the lord sent out his **gallowglasses** and **kerns**, his horses and their keepers, and even his hounds and huntsmen to be lodged in the homes of his tenants and subjects. The hosts were required to provide these “guests” not only with living quarters, but also with food and even wages. The necessity of providing feed and stabling for horses endowed the term livery with another meaning, as in “livery stable.”

The operation of coign and livery varied from district to district. Sometimes a lord’s military commander organized billeting on his own, using a letter of authorization from the lord to obtain cooperation. Sometimes a district was simply required to lodge and feed a certain number of men and horses. In other cases, especially by the Elizabethan period, the coign and livery requirement was transformed into a set money payment. Because of the lack of coinage in Ireland’s subsistence economy, direct billeting of troops and exaction of supplies was the best way for a lord to maintain his troops and servants.

The system was open to numerous abuses, such as bribery, violence, and excessive demands, and was, therefore, highly unpopular. Exactions demanded of **Pale** residents in time of war by Anglo-Irish nobles were particularly resented, and coign and livery was repeatedly attacked in the House of Commons of the Irish **Parliament** where, by the sixteenth century, numerous limitations on the practice had been enacted. However, such enactments had little force in the native Irish lordships outside the Pale and the authority of the **Dublin** government.

See also Cess

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Coinage

Money in Tudor England consisted of a series of silver and gold coins, the value of which was closely tied to the amount and current value of the gold and silver they contained. The governments of **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI** debased the English coinage several times between 1542 and 1551 to pay for war. The government of **Elizabeth I** undertook a thorough reform of the coinage after 1559, calling in debased coins and issuing new coins of full weight and value.

Tudor Coinage

	Denominations (Abbreviation)	Relative Value
Silver Coins	halfpenny (ob.)	½d.
	penny (d.)	
	twopenny (half-groat)	2d.
	shilling (s.)	12d.
Gold Coins	half-crown	2s.6d.
	quarter angel	2s.6d.
	angelet	5s.
	crown	5s.
	sovereign	20s. (1 pound)
Moneys of Account	farthing (q.)	¼d.
	threepenny	3d.
	groat	4d.
	mark	13s.4d. (⅔ pound)
	pound (li.)*	20s.

* The pound symbol (£) is modern usage; Tudor writers used li. following the number (e.g., 20li).

The main royal mint was in the **Tower of London**. Most coins were hand-struck, although in 1560, Elizabeth tried to have coins milled by machine; this experiment failed because of resistance from the mint operators, who had contracts with the Crown to produce coins. The main operator early in Elizabeth’s reign, the Frenchman Eloye Mestrelle, was hanged for forgery in 1578. Coin clipping, the illegal practice of shaving slivers of gold or silver from the edges of coins, was widespread. Clipping, which was easily done because Tudor coins, unlike modern ones, had unmilled edges, drove good unclipped coin out of circulation by encouraging hoarding.

The main English denominations were the penny, the shilling, the crown, and the sovereign, although many other denominations, as well as foreign coins, were in circulation. Tudor England had no paper money, although coinage could be deposited with a banker or merchant for a letter of credit. Large amounts of money were often calculated in “moneys of account”—denominations such as the mark or the pound that did not exist as actual currency but only as a method of reckoning.

See also Coinage, Debasement of

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Coinage, Debasement of

Between 1544 and 1551, the governments of **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI** repeatedly debased the English **coinage** in an effort to increase the amount of money available to fund foreign wars. In Tudor England, money consisted of gold and (mainly) silver coins, the value of which was closely tied to the amount of precious metal they contained. Debasement meant government manipulation of the coinage to reduce the weight and fineness (ratio of alloy to precious metal) of silver in the coin while maintaining its original face value. Although the government made an enormous short-term profit because it could issue more coinage with the same nominal purchasing power without increasing the available amount of bullion, the resulting lack of public confidence in the debased issues drove up prices, disordered markets and exchange rates, and caused people to hoard good coin and refuse bad.

In 1526, a year after the failure of the **Amicable Grant**, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, seeking means to fund the king's aggressive foreign policy, increased the amount of money in circulation by initiating the first major debasement of the English coinage since the eleventh century. Although the ill effects of Wolsey's action were limited because the debasement brought English coinage into better alignment with the currency of other nations, it set a dangerous precedent that was recalled in the 1540s when the king's interest in continental warfare revived. Finding himself desperately short of funds to conduct war in **Scotland** and **France**, Henry VIII in 1544 authorized the first of a series of debasements that by 1551 had reduced the silver content of English coins to one-sixth of what it had been prior to 1544. The recoinage of the silver extracted from existing coins made the government a technical profit of over £500,000; but because people were accustomed to treating money as if it possessed the real value of the precious metal it contained, sellers of goods soon refused to accept the debased coins as equal to the old issues, causing prices to rise quickly and sharply. Thus, the substantial gains realized by the recoinage proved fleeting.

By 1551, the government of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, realized that only withdrawal of the debased coins and issuance of new coins with an appropriate silver content could stabilize prices and restore confidence in the currency. However, the regime's need for cash was so great, the duke felt compelled to undertake one more round of debasement before initiating the reform process. The situation was therefore made considerably worse just as the government announced that it planned in a few months to take steps that would eliminate most of the profits to be made in the recent recoinage. Prices therefore rose disastrously in the summer of 1551. Although Northumberland thereafter began the coinage reform he had promised, the process remained incomplete until concluded by the government of **Elizabeth I** in 1560, when English coins finally regained both a proper silver content and the confidence of the people.

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Colet, John (1467–1519)

John Colet was dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, founder of St. Paul's School, and one of the most influential and innovative humanist scholars of early Tudor England. The son of Sir Henry Colet, a warden of the Mercers' Company and twice lord mayor of **London**, Colet took an MA, probably at Cambridge, in about 1490. He then traveled to **Italy**, where he encountered the writings, and possibly the persons, of the philosophers Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. Returning to England in 1496, Colet was ordained two years later and completed his doctorate of divinity at Oxford in 1504.

In 1499, Colet began his lifelong friendship with Desiderius **Erasmus**, whom he met in Oxford during the latter's first visit to England. Also at Oxford, Colet

delivered a popular series of free public lectures on the Pauline epistles. Abandoning the traditional practice of examining the scriptures line by line, Colet discussed each of Saint Paul's writings as a whole, illustrating his points with references to the apostle's life and to the times in which he worked. This new way of expounding the meaning of scripture soon earned Colet a great reputation for scholarship.

Appointed dean of St. Paul's in 1505, Colet preached frequent sermons against clerical abuse and earned some unpopularity among his colleagues for attempting to reform the cathedral chapter (i.e., clerical staff). He also undertook a series of lectures on the New Testament, which were often delivered in English. His sermons attacking ecclesiastical abuses, especially among the London clergy, angered Richard **Fitzjames**, Bishop of



John Colet, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and an important humanist scholar, drew criticism for his sermons against ecclesiastical abuses. (Joseph Hirst Lupton. *A Life of John Colet, D. D., dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's school*. London: Chiswick Press, 1887)

London, who in 1510 charged Colet with heresy for denouncing the worship of images and the size of episcopal incomes. Although Archbishop William **Warham**, who was also unhappy with some of Colet's preaching, dismissed the charges, the dean continued to suffer from episcopal hostility. In 1513, Colet's sermons against the waging of war drew the attention of **Henry VIII**, who was concerned that the troops he was preparing for **France** would be adversely affected by the dean's pacifist sentiments. After a friendly private audience with the king, Colet altered his preaching to emphasize more clearly the differences between just and unjust wars, while Henry declared to his **court** that "this is the doctor for me," sufficient endorsement to mute further criticism of Colet (Routh, *Who's Who in Tudor England*, 81). In 1515, Colet was even chosen to preach at Thomas **Wolsey**'s installation as cardinal.

In 1510, Colet used a sizable inheritance from his father to refound St. Paul's School, the management of which Colet gave to the Mercers' Company, not, as was usual, to the clergy. According to Colet's statutes, the school was to provide free education in the classics to some 150 boys. Although Colet never fully mastered Greek himself, he was anxious that the students of St. Paul's acquire a firm grasp of both classical languages. St. Paul's, which became one of the most famous English public schools and which in Tudor times graduated such noted figures as Anthony **Denny** and Thomas **Starkey**, has today become Colet's best-known achievement. After surviving several attacks of the sweating sickness in 1518, Colet died on 16 September 1519.

See also Humanism

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Collectanea Satis Copiosa

The *Collectanea satis copiosa* is a comprehensive collection of ancient texts and sources supporting **Henry VIII**'s claim to royal immunity from outside interference in English affairs. By confirming Henry's belief that the king of England had no superior on earth and therefore by right exercised authority over the English Church, the arguments and evidences comprising the *Collectanea* became the

intellectual basis for **Parliament's** abolition of papal jurisdiction and the church's acknowledgment of **royal supremacy**.

The *Collectanea* exists today in a single original manuscript in the British Library. Discovered and analyzed in the 1970s by historian Graham Nicholson, the document derives its name from its heading, which means literally "Complete Enough Collections," a title that may refer to the compilers' belief that the work was sufficient in quantity and quality to be shown to the king. Certainly the king thoroughly reviewed the manuscript; it bears 46 separate margin notes in Henry's own hand, including queries such as "*Ubi hic?*" ("Where does this come from?") and emphatic agreements such as "*Hic est vera*" ("Here is truth"). However, the *Collectanea* was probably not initiated by the king. Rather, the ideas it promoted were presented to Henry by scholars sympathetic to his viewpoint, men like Edward **Foxe** and Thomas **Cranmer**, who then obtained royal support for research to develop and expand a catalog of evidence. Work on the project probably began in mid-1530 and may have extended into the following year. Foxe, who was later rewarded with the bishopric of Hereford, was likely the lead compiler, but many others participated, including Cranmer and John **Stokesley**, Bishop of **London**.

The *Collectanea* contains a wide variety of materials: citations from the Old and New Testaments; texts of church fathers; Anglo-Saxon laws; excerpts from the chronicles of Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Matthew Paris, and others; decrees of early church councils; and quotations from numerous medieval authorities. Although some of these sources are highly dubious—for example, the Donation of Constantine was exposed as a forgery in the fifteenth century—all in some way support the notion that the king of England had an imperial sovereignty, giving him both temporal (*regnum*) and spiritual (*sacerdotium*) jurisdiction throughout his realm. Therefore, the *Collectanea* not only justified settling the **divorce** in England without reference to Rome, but it also supplied the king with a pretext for claiming full authority over the English Church. According to the *Collectanea*, such supremacy in spiritual matters was an ancient royal right that over the centuries had been usurped by the **papacy** and the clergy.

Because the *Collectanea* was the repository for all evidence gathered in support of the king's position, it became the source for every tract, pamphlet, or argument published as part of the royal propaganda campaign initiated by Thomas **Cromwell** in 1532. The campaign's first effort, a piece titled *The Glass of Truth*, was drawn almost entirely from the *Collectanea* by a group of collaborators that included the king. In 1534, Foxe and Cranmer published *De Vera Differentia Potestatis et Ecclesiasticae*, another influential work that rehearsed *Collectanea* arguments. The collection also provided the underpinning for later **Reformation** statutes. The preamble to the 1533 Act in **Restraint of Appeals**, the law that abolished the right of appeal to Rome and confined all ecclesiastical cases to English **church courts**, announced that "divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles . . . manifestly

declared and expressed that . . . England is an empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king” (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 344).

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College of Arms

The College of Arms, or Heralds’ College, is a corporate institution established in 1484 and charged with the granting of coats of arms to families qualified to hold **gentry** status. The college, which still functions today, supervises the work of the royal heralds, or officers of arms, who first appeared in the twelfth century as royal officials who understood the pictorial devices worn by armored knights, and so could identify each knight for the king.

In Tudor times, the chief function of the heralds was to determine who was and was not qualified to hold the rank of a gentleman. The heralds periodically toured the countryside to make such determinations. The “heralds’ visitations,” the records of these tours, were collections of genealogical tables confirming a family’s gentry status. Heralds could admit new members to the gentry ranks by granting coats of arms to any lawyer, merchant, university instructor, or civil or military officer who possessed the required wealth and lifestyle.

The chief heralds are Garter King of Arms, established in 1417 and attached to the Order of the Garter, a prestigious fourteenth-century chivalric order of knighthood; Clarenceaux King of Arms, established about 1362 and responsible for determining gentry status in England south of the river Trent; and Norry King of Arms, established in the thirteenth century and responsible for England north of the river Trent. Norry King of Arms also assumed responsibility for **Ireland** during **Edward VI**’s reign. The college also directs the work of the six ordinary heralds—Richmond, Somerset, York, Lancaster, Chester, and Windsor, all instituted between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries—and the work of the four lower-ranking pursuivants: Portcullis (the name derives from a Tudor badge), Bluemantle (from the blue background of the French royal arms), Rouge Croix (from the red cross of Saint George), and Rouge Dragon (from the Welsh red dragon emblem of the Tudors). Today, the College of Arms in **London** is the

official repository of genealogical records for English, Welsh, Northern Irish, and Commonwealth families.

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Common Law

The common law is the body of English legal principles evolved by judges from custom and precedent and administered, in Tudor times, in the main royal courts sitting at Westminster Hall in **London**. Common law developed in the twelfth century as local and feudal courts administering various local and private systems of law declined and were replaced by a system of law administered by the king's justices on principles common to the entire kingdom. The king being the fount of all justice, the chief common law courts developed out of the judicial function, exercised on the king's behalf, by his circle of nobles and advisers. As the volume of judicial business increased, royal law courts evolved firm structures, set procedures, and defined jurisdictions; they also ceased following the king about the realm and became permanently headquartered in Westminster.

The chief Tudor courts of common law were the Court of **Common Pleas**, which dealt with civil disputes between subjects over a variety of causes; the Court of **King's (Queen's) Bench**, which dealt with matters affecting the Crown and with criminal matters; and the **Exchequer**, which handled cases involving royal finance. During the Tudor period, the volume of litigation brought before the courts of common law increased dramatically. By the end of **Elizabeth I's** reign in 1603, some 50,000 new cases were being commenced each year before Common Pleas and Queen's (King's) Bench, a tenfold increase over the volume of litigation in 1500.

Under the Tudors, more litigation came into the common law courts in relation to the overall population of the kingdom than has been entertained by the courts at any time before or since. The work of the Tudor courts also touched a larger percentage of the population, reaching into almost all social classes. About a third of all Tudor litigants were members of the landed **gentry**, but a growing two-thirds came from lower classes—yeoman farmers and husbandmen from the countryside, and merchants and artisans from the towns. The reign of Elizabeth also saw the volume of cases originating outside London and the southern counties grow considerably. The general increase in court activity was also in part the

result of widespread social and economic changes, such as a more active land market, a greater and more sophisticated use of credit, and the growth in wealth and numbers of the gentry class, and in part the result of the political stability and emphasis on the rule of law given to the country by the House of **Tudor**.

Common law procedure was complex; it was based on the issuance of writs by the court of proper jurisdiction. A litigant in the shires wishing to initiate a legal action traveled to London to purchase the writ needed to begin the case. The writ summoned defendants to appear before the court and answer the pleas put in against them by plaintiffs. Many cases were settled at this point, but if the suit progressed, writs were issued returning the case to its original shire for trial by jury before the next court of assize in the shire. The assizes were judicial tribunals consisting of royal judges and serjeants-at-law (senior attorneys who specialized in pleading cases before the common law courts) who twice each year traveled a circuit through a group of shires (there were six such circuits) to hear civil and criminal cases. The assize sat for several days in the main town of the shire, hearing all cases awaiting trial. After hearing all civil suits returned by writ from Westminster, the assize judges heard all major criminal matters, such as murder and **treason**, and tried all prisoners in the local jail and all suspects bound over by the local **justices of the peace** (JPs) to appear before the assize. The assize judges tried all criminal cases (felonies) that involved the death penalty, while the local JPs handled less serious offenses (misdemeanors) at their quarterly sessions.

Common law was not the only type of law administered in Tudor England; other types included statute law (enacted by Parliament), **civil** (Roman) and **canon** (church) law (used in **church courts**), and **equity** (the legal principles followed in the Court of **Chancery** and other new equity courts).

See also Boroughs

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Common Pleas, Court of

The Court of Common Pleas was the oldest, busiest, and slowest of the Tudor courts of **common law**. Like the other principal law courts of the realm, the Court of **King’s (Queen’s) Bench** and the **Exchequer**, Common Pleas was a medieval common law court staffed by royal justices and permanently situated since the thirteenth century in Westminster Hall near **London**. Common Pleas had jurisdiction over civil actions between subjects, usually hearing cases concerning matters of property, trespass, and debt, the last of which expanded rapidly during the Tudor period. The court’s competence also extended to cases of nonpayment of rent, defamation of character, and even medical malpractice. Because of the wide variety of cases that came before Common Pleas, the court was frequented by legal apprentices who acquired much of their training in the common law by observing the proceedings.

To initiate an action in Common Pleas, a litigant usually hired an attorney to travel to London and purchase the particular writs, which, upon issuance, required the defendant to answer the plea submitted against him. If the defendant denied the accusation, each party entered a pleading recounting the facts of the case. By the Tudor period, officers known as serjeants-at-law held a monopoly on the conduct of pleadings before common law courts. After the judges resolved any difficult questions of law, writs were issued calling for a jury to be summoned to decide the matter at issue, or the defendant could resort to a method of proof known as wager of law or compurgation. A medieval practice that had ceased to be used in criminal

Chief Justices of the Court of Common Pleas

Sir Thomas Bryan	1471–1500
Sir Thomas Wood	1500–1502
Sir Thomas Frowyk	1502–1506
Sir Robert Read	1506–1519
Sir John Ernle	1519–1521
Sir Robert Brudenell	1521–1531
Sir Robert Norwich	1531–1535
Sir John Baldwin	1535–1545
Sir Edward Montagu	1545–1553
Sir Richard Morgan	1553–1554
Sir Robert Brooke	1554–1558
Anthony Browne	1558–1559
Sir James Dyer	1559–1582
Sir Edmund Anderson	1582–1605

trials in the fourteenth century, compurgation survived in civil cases, especially those involving actions of debt, until the nineteenth century. Depending on the type of action, the defendant brought into court a certain number of compurgators (i.e., men of standing and reputation) who swore on oath that the defendant's denial was true. Although the procedure was open to abuse—Tudor litigants could hire professional compurgators outside Westminster—it was fast and inexpensive and so continued to be popular.

Common Pleas could hear appeals from lower courts, and appeals from Common Pleas went to the Court of King's (Queen's) Bench. Because Common Pleas conducted its proceedings in medieval French and used the slow, complicated, and often expensive procedures of common law, the court lost some business in the sixteenth century to the newer courts of **equity**, such as **Chancery**, **Star Chamber**, and **Requests**, which greatly expanded their activity under the Tudors. These courts tended to be more flexible in procedure and were conducted in English. Nonetheless, the overall volume of business coming before Common Pleas, as before all common law courts, greatly increased under the Tudors.

See also Inns of Court

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Commonwealth Men

"Commonwealth Men" is a term used by some modern historians to describe a group or party of Tudor preachers and politicians who believed that government and society should be ordered according to the best interests of the whole community, or commonwealth, and not solely according to the needs of the wealthy and highborn. The Commonwealth Men were thought to have been most active under **Edward VI**, especially during the administration of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, whose social and economic policies supposedly received the group's support. Although most historians acknowledge the existence of a general movement supporting, through writings and sermons, the commonwealth ideal of social relationships and government action, few now accept the existence of an organized party of Commonwealth Men.

Many of the notions of social reform embodied in the commonwealth ideal originated in the Middle Ages but were given sharper focus and coherence in the early Tudor period by a series of social and economic dislocations and by the legislative activity of Thomas **Cromwell**. Inflation, **coinage** debasement, **enclosures**, **population** growth, religious turmoil, the **dissolution of the monasteries**, and more aggressive attempts by landowners to generate revenue from their holdings all increased discontent among the commons and engendered the belief that the state was benefiting the rich at the expense of the poor. Efforts to combat such inequities were given impetus by the policies implemented and discussed during the ascendancy of Cromwell in the 1530s. Under Cromwell, his clients and associates undertook or considered a broad range of political, religious, social, and economic reform measures.

The early policies and legislation of Somerset's regime partially re-created the reformist atmosphere that had prevailed under Cromwell and led to much speaking and writing against social injustice. Hugh **Latimer**, who preached a series of fiery sermons at **court** in 1549–1550, is often considered a leader of the Commonwealth Men. Latimer denounced the wealthy for their greed and moral irresponsibility; by attempting, through enclosures and exorbitant rents, to enrich themselves without regard for the needs of others, great landowners destroyed lesser men's livelihoods and drove them to violence. Other preachers, such as Thomas **Becon** and John **Hooper**, also attacked the covetousness of the rich. John **Hales**, who served on a commission investigating enclosures and who wrote the Edwardian anti-enclosure legislation, is identified as another commonwealth leader. In a 1551 pamphlet, Robert **Crowley**, one of the many propagandists identified with the movement, characterized the poor as slaves of the rich, forced to "labour till our hearts burst" (Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 145).

Despite the strong rhetoric, none of the Commonwealth Men advocated violence to combat oppression and all condemned the two major 1549 uprisings, the religiously motivated **Western Rebellion** and the more economically motivated **Kett's Rebellion**. However, those magnates and **gentry** who opposed Hales's anti-enclosure efforts and resented the charges of Latimer and others used the rebellions to topple Somerset, whom they identified with destabilizing social policies that had promoted disorder. Recent research has shown that the Commonwealth Men were not formally connected to one another or to Somerset, and that the notion of an organized party actively engaged in a coherent program of social reform is incorrect. What's more, the belief that the commonwealth ideal faded with Somerset's fall in 1549 and the accession of **Mary I** in 1553 has also been dismissed. The social and economic thinking of the Edwardian reformers continued to appear in the writings and speeches of **Marian exiles** and Elizabethan **Puritans**.

See also Vagrancy

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Condell, Henry (c. 1562–1627)

Henry Condell, a London stage actor and colleague of William **Shakespeare**, was a coeditor of the first edition of Shakespeare’s plays, known as the **First Folio**. In 1598, Condell joined the **Chamberlain’s Men**, an acting company based at the **Globe Theatre**. The company included among its members William Shakespeare and Richard **Burbage**. When the company came under royal **patronage** in 1603 and was renamed the King’s Men, Condell remained part of the troupe, his name being listed in the royal patent creating the new patronage arrangement.

Condell performed in both comedies and tragedies, and he is known to have played roles written not only by Shakespeare but also by Ben **Jonson** and other Elizabethan dramatists. Condell’s name disappeared from the company’s cast lists about 1619, but he appears in the list of actors placed at the beginning of the First Folio in 1623 and in other official lists of the King’s Men down to 1625. Condell became a shareholder in the Blackfriars Theatre in 1603 and in the Globe Theatre by 1612. After the playwright’s death in 1616, Shakespeare’s will left Condell and fellow actors John **Heminges** and Richard Burbage a small sum of money “to buy them rings.”

With Heminges, Condell edited and oversaw the printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare’s plays in 1623. In their preface to the volume, which they titled “To the Great Variety of Readers,” Condell and Heminges stated their aim in undertaking the project to be “only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive.” They were probably also interested in preventing others from laying claim to Shakespeare’s works and in presenting a good printed text for each play. Besides the preface, the two editors provided a list of players, including themselves, who had performed the works of Shakespeare at both the Globe and Blackfriars theaters and a dedication to the earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, both noted patrons of the theater. Condell, who had apparently prospered in his profession, died at his country estate at Fulham in 1627.

See also Drama

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Conditional Restraint of Annates

See Annates

Congregationalists

Congregationalists were Protestant **Separatists** who believed that voluntarily formed local congregations constituted the proper structure for the Christian Church. Although basically Calvinist in doctrine, Elizabethan congregationalists rejected all forms of church hierarchy, including bishops and presbyterian councils, and all claims to church oversight beyond the congregation, whether made by the Crown or **Parliament**. Their ideas were based on the concept that all believing Christians were members of the priesthood and that like-minded Christians could band together into a congregation to conduct worship according to the dictates of the Bible, not the mandates of Parliament or councils. These ideas were developed during the reign of **Elizabeth I** by Robert **Browne** and Henry **Barrow**, whose followers formed the earliest Elizabethan Separatist groups known as Brownists and Barrowists. By refusing to use the **Book of Common Prayer** and separating or withdrawing themselves from the **Anglican Church**, these groups provoked official persecution.

In the 1580s and 1590s, several Separatist groups, including one led by Browne, moved to the **Netherlands**, where they sought to worship as they chose. One such group is known to American history as the Pilgrims; they left the Netherlands for the New World in 1620 when they began to fear that their children were losing their English identity and becoming Dutch. In the seventeenth century, many Separatists settled in the English colonies in North America, where Congregationalism became the accepted form of church organization among the Puritan churches of New England.

Seventeenth-century Congregationalists in England were known as independents and came to form the chief political opposition to the Presbyterians during the civil war of the 1640s. In the 1650s, English Congregationalists secured full freedom of worship during the rule of Oliver Cromwell, who was himself an independent. The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 also restored the **royal supremacy** and the hierarchy of bishops, but English Congregationalists and other

Protestant dissenters from the Anglican Church were granted freedom from persecution by the Toleration Act of 1689.

See also Bible, English; Calvinism, English; Presbyterian Movement; Protestantism; Puritans

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Consistory

See Church Courts

Consubstantiation

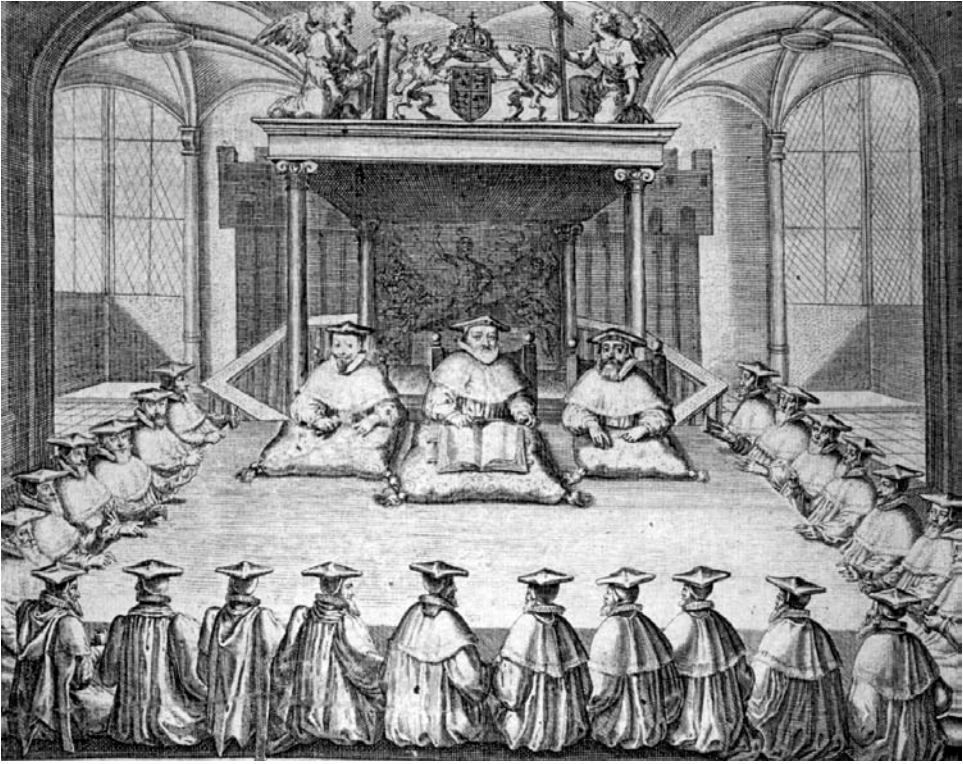
See Eucharist, Views of the

Convocation

The term “Convocation” refers to the legislative assemblies of the clergy that met in the two provinces of the English Church. In 1532, these two bodies, bowing to pressure from the king and **Parliament**, surrendered their legislative independence and accepted the direction and oversight of the monarch as supreme head of the English Church.

The Convocation of Canterbury, the larger and richer southern province of the church, usually met in **London** at St. Paul’s Cathedral at the same time as Parliament. The Convocation of York usually met later in York at St. Peter’s Cathedral to consider what the Canterbury assembly had initiated. For this reason, the term “Convocation” is often used in the singular to refer only to the southern assembly. By the Tudor period, Convocation comprised an upper house of bishops (who also sat in the House of Lords) and a lower house of lesser clergy. Convocation granted the Crown clerical taxation and debated and passed the laws or canons of the church.

In 1531, **Henry VIII** threatened Convocation with a charge of **praemunire** for exercising a foreign jurisdiction within the realm of England. Facing the possible confiscation of all ecclesiastical property, the two assemblies accepted the king as



Shown here is a meeting of the Upper House of Convocation, made up of bishops who also sat in the House of Lords. (Guildhall Library & Art Gallery/StockphotoPro)

head of the English Church, although they qualified their submission with the formula “as far as the law of Christ allows.” The clerics then halted the praemunire action by purchasing the king’s pardon for the sum of £118,000. In 1532, the **Reformation Parliament** submitted to the king a long list of lay complaints against clerical abuses. Henry referred this *Supplication against the Ordinaries* to Convocation, where a defiant *Answer of the Ordinaries* was crafted by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**. Dissatisfied with this response, which Henry thought left the English clerics “but half our subjects,” the king met with Speaker Thomas **Audley** and a deputation of members from the Lords and Commons, requiring them “to invent some order that we be not thus deluded of our spiritual subjects” (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 299).

Henry then used the threat of parliamentary action to extract a reluctant agreement from Convocation to the curtailing of its independence. Henceforth, Convocation would meet only when summoned by the king, debate only with royal license, and enact legislation only with royal consent. A partly lay commission was also appointed to review all existing canons. After 1536, Thomas **Cromwell**, acting as royal deputy, presided over meetings of Convocation. In 1534, Parliament confirmed this agreement in An Act for the **Submission of the Clergy**, which also

empowered the king to fine and imprison anyone who opposed the **royal supremacy** and made the king the highest court of appeal in religious matters.

Parliament abolished the royal supremacy under **Mary I** but restored it under **Elizabeth I**, who, like her father, authorized Convocation to convene and consider legislation and gave assent to any legislation passed. The Elizabethan Convocation was thus an excellent instrument of royal control, allowing the queen to frustrate any alterations in **Anglican Church** doctrine and practice of which she did not approve; conversely, Convocation was of little use to Elizabethan **Puritans** and other reformers who wanted to change what they considered to be wrong with the English Church. As a result, Puritans often sought to initiate change through Parliament or through independent, unauthorized action in local congregations.

See also Classical Movement; Congregationalists; Prophecyings

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Cooke, Sir Anthony (1504–1576)

A prominent scholar and educator who is thought to have tutored **Edward VI**, Sir Anthony Cooke is best known for the advanced humanist **education** he provided for his daughters. Born into an Essex **gentry** family, his great-grandfather having been lord mayor of **London** in the 1460s, Cooke showed great academic promise and was educated by private tutors. An excellent student, he became highly skilled in Latin and Greek and excelled in poetry, history, and mathematics. Cooke's surviving works include translations from the Latin of several scholarly and ecclesiastical writings and a number of original Latin verses. He fathered a large family of four sons and five daughters, who, under his instruction, acquired an excellent education. His daughters became the most learned women in Tudor England, and several married men who became powerful political figures under **Elizabeth I**, including Mildred **Cecil**, who wed William **Cecil**, the queen's principal secretary; Anne **Bacon**, who married Nicholas **Bacon**, an influential Elizabethan lord keeper; Elizabeth **Russell**, who married the son of Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford; and Katherine, who married Henry **Killigrew**, a prominent Elizabethan diplomat. Two prominent late Elizabethan politicians, Sir Robert **Cecil** and Sir Francis **Bacon**, were Cooke's grandsons.

Cooke's educational success with his own children and with the son of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who was for a time resident at Gidea Hall, the Cooke home in Essex, made Cooke a rising figure at the Edwardian **court** and probably led to his appointment as tutor to Edward VI. Although Cooke's involvement in Edward's education is uncertain, it seems likely that he replaced John **Cheke** in 1549, when Cheke briefly withdrew from court for tangential involvement in the **treason** of Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Seymour. After Cheke's return in May 1549, Cooke probably continued to informally tutor the king and may have replaced Richard **Cox** when that scholar retired in February 1550.

Cooke was knighted in 1547 and sat in the first Edwardian **Parliament** for Stamford in Lincolnshire, a seat likely obtained through the influence of Cooke's son-in-law William Cecil. A devout Protestant, Cooke served on several commissions of oversight for the implementation of ecclesiastical reform, including the 1547 visitation of the diocese of **London**, which led to the deprivation and arrest of conservative bishop Edmund **Bonner**. In July 1553, Cooke was briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London** by **Mary I** for suspected involvement in **Northumberland's Coup**. By May 1554, he was a **Marian exile** living in Strasbourg. Cooke returned to England after **Elizabeth I's** accession in 1558 and was once again named to a series of church commissions, including one in October 1559 that was charged with putting the oath of supremacy to English clergymen. In 1568, Cooke received Elizabeth at Gidea Hall, where she stopped on one of her **progresses**. Cooke died on 11 June 1576.

See also Humanism

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Cornish Rebellion

Erupting in the southwestern county of Cornwall in the spring of 1497, the Cornish Rebellion was an armed protest against **Henry VII's** demands for taxation to stem a Scottish invasion in support of the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**. Although unconnected with either Warbeck or the House of **York**, the Cornish insurrection, coming only months after the Scottish incursion, posed a serious challenge to royal authority.

In September 1496, **James IV** of **Scotland** invaded England on behalf of Warbeck. Although brief and unsuccessful, the raid provided Henry VII with a pretext

for raising significant amounts of revenue from English property owners. A Great Council summoned to **London** in October authorized a benevolence—money collected as a free “gift” without intention of repayment—that eventually raised almost £60,000. In January 1497, Henry asked **Parliament** to grant another £120,000 to keep two armies in the field and an additional £120,000 should the Scottish war be prolonged. **Convocation** also contributed £40,000 to the war effort. With this generous financial backing, Henry launched a brief raid into Scotland and then ceased hostilities in favor of peace talks with James IV.

In Cornwall, where the important tin mining industry had long been depressed, taxpayers complained about paying for a small far-off war that had little to do with them and that the government seemed to be exaggerating for financial gain. They were also angered by the tax exemptions enjoyed by the affected northern counties, whose special obligations for border defense freed them from most parliamentary assessments. When a Bodmin lawyer named Thomas Flamank persuaded the protestors to direct their resentment not at the king, but rather at royal ministers who gave him evil counsel, men like Cardinal John **Morton** and Sir Reginald **Bray**, the tax protest became an armed march on London. In early May, over 15,000 insurgents led by Flamank and a blacksmith named Michael Joseph left Bodmin to inform the king of his councillors’ misdeeds.

Although the rebels executed a tax collector at Taunton and had a brief skirmish with royal forces in Surrey, their march was generally orderly and without incident. Joined in Wells by James Touchet, Lord Audley, an impoverished and disaffected nobleman, the Cornishmen gained little additional strength and many began to lose heart when the king refused to talk with rebels under arms and the commons of Kent blocked any advance into their county. On 17 June, a royal force under Giles **Daubeney**, Lord Daubeney, attacked the rebel camp at Blackheath near London. The rebels withstood Daubeney’s assault but were quickly overwhelmed by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, whose flank attack swept the field. Over 1,000 rebels were slain, and hundreds were captured and fined. Audley, Flamank, and Joseph were tried and executed for **treason**, the latter two were hanged, drawn, and quartered.

In September, Warbeck, long since expelled from Scotland, landed in Cornwall in hopes of exploiting the recent unrest. Chastened by the disaster at Blackheath, Cornwall provided few recruits and Warbeck was quickly captured.

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Cotton, Sir Robert (1571–1631)

Robert Cotton was a leading Elizabethan antiquary. Born into a Huntingdonshire **gentry** family claiming descent from King Robert the Bruce of **Scotland**, Cotton was educated at Westminster School, where he studied under the antiquary William **Camden**, and at Cambridge. A member of the Society of Antiquaries, Cotton used the money derived from his marriage to a wealthy heiress to build the most extensive collection of books and manuscripts in Elizabethan England.

In the late 1590s, Cotton became a client of the lord chamberlain of England, George **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, who introduced Cotton at **court** and helped him find a seat in the **Parliament** of 1601. A close friend of Ben **Jonson**, John Donne, and many leading scholars and writers of his day, Cotton opened his impressive library to any scholar who required access for research. Cotton also gave many books to other collectors, including Thomas **Bodley** and Robert **Cecil**. In 1616, Cotton spent five months in the **Tower of London** for his involvement in certain political intrigues at the court of **James I**. This episode led Cotton to align himself with the growing political opposition to the Crown and the court.

In 1622, Cotton purchased a large house in Westminster situated between the two houses of Parliament. By virtue of its location, Cotton House became the unofficial library of Parliament, as opposition members of Parliament searched Cotton's collection for historical precedents to use in their speeches. In 1629, Cotton's involvement in the circulation of an antigovernment pamphlet caused Charles I to imprison him and close the library. Although released the following year, Cotton was not allowed to use his own library unless supervised by a government clerk. Deeply distressed by this humiliating restriction, Cotton died in May 1631. Presented to the nation by Cotton's grandson in 1700, the Cotton collection has since become part of the British Library.

See also Antiquarianism; Grammar School; Universities

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Council, Royal/Privy Council

The Tudor council comprised a select body of noblemen, gentlemen, and clerics who advised the monarch on the formulation of policy, conducted the daily business of government, and acted as judicial boards for various types of cases.

The origins of the English royal council can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon *witan*. By the fifteenth century, the council was a large body (we know of 105

councillors appointed by **Edward IV**). Because many noble and ecclesiastical councillors had other responsibilities attached to their offices and estates, the whole council met rarely and day-to-day business was handled by an informal group of 9 to 12 councillors who met several times per week. Under the Yorkists and **Henry VII**, the percentage of **gentry** councillors increased, perhaps in reaction to the inability of busy nobles to regularly participate. Councillors were sworn and salaried, but not required to attend meetings. Under Henry VII, business was conducted by an inner council of flexible membership, with certain councillors beginning to specialize in various types of business, such as financial policy or particular legal or judicial matters. Henry VII set council agendas and frequently attended meetings, while council clerks noted attendees and business transacted.

Henry VIII rarely attended council meetings, which after 1515 were directed by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, who gave the inner council a more regular membership and a more formal structure but otherwise reserved political issues for himself and restricted council activities to judicial and administrative matters. After Wolsey's fall in 1529, select councillors, such as Thomas **Cromwell**; Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk; and (during his daughter's ascendancy) Thomas **Boleyn**, Earl of Wiltshire, met secretly, if irregularly, at court to discuss important political affairs, such as the royal **divorce** and the break with Rome. During the 1530s, this inner council became the recognized instrument for the conduct of government. It is unclear whether this development occurred because of a deliberate policy of Cromwell or in reaction to major crises, such as the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, during which the rebels criticized Henry's choice of councillors. After Cromwell's fall in 1540, this inner council was reorganized, acquiring a formal council register and a salaried professional staff. Known thereafter to historians as the Privy Council, this body eventually oversaw the defense of the realm; regulated trade, industry, prices, and wages; managed royal and national finance; enforced religious policy; supervised royal officials, including judges and **justices of the peace**; managed **Parliament**; and occasionally inquired into matters of public morality.

Under **Edward VI**, the 16 regents named by Henry VIII's will relinquished their authority to govern during Edward's minority to one of their number, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who appointed a small Privy Council. However, the duke tended to ignore or intimidate his colleagues and was therefore overthrown by the council in 1549. Somerset's supplanter, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, governed as president of a council expanded to over 30 members by the addition of various noblemen charged with maintaining order in the counties as lords lieutenant. On her accession in 1553, **Mary I** appointed a large council consisting of both longtime personal servants who shared her Catholicism and experienced Henrician and Edwardian councillors of more flexible faith. Although the Marian council ballooned to over 50 members, recent research has largely dismissed the notion that it was unwieldy, ineffective, and factious. The queen came to rely on

the most able of her predecessors' councillors, such men as Stephen **Gardiner** and William **Paget**, who maintained administrative continuity within the government.

On her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** returned to the small Privy Council of the 1530s. The Elizabethan Privy Council was a select body of royal councillors that served as the chief instrument of government. Elizabeth's Privy Council was far smaller and more exclusive in membership than earlier royal councils. The Elizabethan council never numbered more than 19, and it stood at only 13 at the queen's death in 1603. Unlike Mary, Elizabeth appointed almost no clerical councillors, John **Whitgift**, archbishop of Canterbury, being her only ecclesiastical appointee. Most council meetings were attended by 6 to 12 members, the queen herself appearing rarely, and most day-to-day business was conducted by an inner group of 5 or 6 trusted councillors who also held some great office of state. For most of the reign, this inner working group consisted of such men as William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, who was also lord treasurer; Sir Francis **Walsingham**, who was secretary of state; Thomas **Radcliffe**, Earl of Sussex; Charles **Howard**, Earl of Nottingham; and the queen's **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester.

On matters of policy, council members met to discuss an issue, formulate a consensus, and then offer their best advice to the queen, who then set the policy for the council to implement. Elizabeth, however, was notorious for her indecision and procrastination, and councillors often had to manipulate her into making a decision, as when Walsingham maneuvered Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, into endorsing the **Babington Plot** as a way to force Elizabeth to consent to Mary's trial and execution.

See also Council Learned in the Law; Court, Royal; Empson-Dudley Affair; Requests, Court of; Star Chamber, Court of

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Council in the Marches of Wales

The Council in the Marches of Wales was a regional board of royal councillors and local **gentry** that exercised the Crown's administrative and judicial authority in **Wales** and neighboring English shires. Like such other regional bodies as the **Council of the North** and the **Council of the West**, the Council in the Marches maintained order, administered justice, implemented policy, and oversaw local defense.

Until 1536, Wales was divided into two distinct administrative entities: the principality of Wales, governed by the monarch or by the heir to the throne as Prince of Wales, and the border lordships of the marches, governed independently by various noblemen. Although many marcher lordships had fallen to the Crown during the **Wars of the Roses** in the fifteenth century, royal authority was limited in the remaining private lordships, where each lord could appoint officials, impose taxes, and administer justice. The first regional council for Wales was established by **Edward IV** in the 1470s; its jurisdiction extended to the principality, the Crown lordships, and the counties of Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire. Headquartered at Ludlow, where it ruled in the name of Edward's son as Prince of Wales, the council lapsed in 1483 after Edward's death. In 1489, **Henry VII** revived the council under the nominal lordship of his son, Arthur **Tudor**, who, as Prince of Wales, resided at Ludlow for five months prior to his death in 1502. Under the presidency of Bishop William Smith of Lincoln (1501–1512), the council, which acquired limited authority over private lordships in 1518, continued to function as a royal commission. In 1525, after Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** initiated a series of reforms that expanded the board's powers, **Henry VIII** sent Princess Mary to Ludlow to serve briefly as nominal head of the council. The presidency was given to John Veysey, bishop of Exeter, who served until 1534, when Thomas **Cromwell**, in an effort to curb lawlessness in the marches, gave the post to Rowland **Lee**, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. During his tenure, Lee vigorously suppressed disorder.

In 1536, Parliament abolished the marcher lordships and imposed English law and administration on Wales. Although it did not mention the Council in the Marches, the statute was dependent on that body for implementation of its provisions. A follow-up statute of 1543 gave the council, whose authority had heretofore rested on the royal **prerogative**, a statutory basis. Given jurisdiction over Wales and the marches, and gradually shorn of responsibility for adjacent English counties, the council advised on the appointment of **justices of the peace**, sheriffs, and lords lieutenant; oversaw local administration; organized coastal defenses; enforced royal **proclamations**, parliamentary statutes, and **council** orders; and sat as a court for both criminal and civil matters. Unlike other prerogative courts, the Council in the Marches could impose the death penalty in criminal cases. After

Tudor Presidents of the Council in the Marches of Wales

John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter	1525–1534
Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield	1534–1543
Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield	1543–1548
John Dudley, Earl of Warwick	1548–1550
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (in 1551)	1550–1553
Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester	1553–1555
William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	1555–1558
Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells	1558–1559
John Williams, Lord Williams of Thame	1559
Sir Henry Sidney	1560–1586
Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke	1586–1602

1542, the justice of Cheshire served as de facto vice president of the council, while the secretary of the council served as the board’s chief administrative officer. After 1547, when lay rather than clerical presidents predominated, the council’s judicial business, especially in civil matters, grew rapidly, while its role as a mediating body between local officials and the royal government became increasingly important. With the start of the civil war in the 1640s, the council ceased functioning until revived by Charles II in 1660. It was finally abolished in July 1689.

See also Mary I

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Council Learned in the Law

Established in about 1500 and lasting only until 1509, the Council Learned in the Law (*consilium domini regis in lege eruditum*) consisted of certain royal councilors with legal expertise sitting as a de facto court for the hearing of cases involving the Crown and the collection of debts owed to the Crown. Although often called a subcommittee of the king’s **council**, the Council Learned, like the council in **Star Chamber** under **Henry VII**, was not a formally designated body but rather certain

members of the royal council sitting as the royal council for the conduct of certain types of business, in this case, primarily legal matters in which the Crown had a financial interest.

The Council Learned is an obscure body about which little would be known if not for the discovery in the twentieth century of some of its records among the duchy of Lancaster archives. The records probably owe their fortuitous survival to the fact that Reginald **Bray**, a leading member of the Council Learned, was also chancellor of the duchy. Among the few other councillors who are known to have sat on the Council Learned are Roger Leybourne, bishop of Carlisle; Robert Sherborne, bishop of St. David's; Sir James Hobart, king's attorney; Thomas Lucas, king's solicitor; and William Mordaunt, clerk of the Court of **Common Pleas**. Also sitting with the Council Learned were three common lawyers—Robert Brudenall, Humphrey Coningsby, and Richard Hesketh—and two financial ministers—Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. Except for Bray and Sherborne, all the members had legal training.

The Council Learned functioned as a court, although it was never formally constituted as such, and as a debt-collection agency for the king. Although the Council Learned handled some private suits between subjects (mostly concerning land disputes), most of its cases were prosecutions initiated by the Crown for a wide variety of offenses, including illegal retaining, incitement to riot, corruption in office, failure to take up knighthood, infractions against trade regulations, and transgressions against the king's feudal and wardship rights. Most of the cases ended with the imposition of fines, the collection of which formed the Council Learned's other major sphere of activity.

Because it could place Crown debtors under bonds and recognizances for the payment of sums owed, the Council Learned could circumvent the slow processes of the common law courts and could efficiently and expeditiously extract payment from debtors by means that were unknown to and unregulated by the **common law**. The Council Learned could also bypass the **Exchequer**, the royal financial office, and funnel the sums collected to the treasurer of the privy chamber, where the money could more easily be applied to the king's purposes. Such collection procedures provided financial benefit to the Crown, but were prone to abuse and highly unpopular with the public, a fact that explains the rapid demise of the Council Learned upon the death of Henry VII in 1509. Like the arrest and execution of Empson and Dudley early in the reign of **Henry VIII**, discontinuance of the Council Learned was an attempt to buy popularity for the new regime.

See also Empson-Dudley Affair

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Council of the North

The Council of the North was a regional board of royal appointees charged with exercising the administrative and judicial authority of the Crown in the distant counties north of the river Trent, primarily Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, and Northumberland. Like other regional councils of the early Tudor period, such as the **Council of the West** and the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, the Council of the North oversaw local government, supervised local defense, and administered local justice.

The Council of the North originated in the 1470s, when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, appointed a council to assist him in governing northern England on behalf of his brother **Edward IV**. When Gloucester became king as **Richard III** in 1483, the council continued as a royal board responsible for administration of the northern shires. In 1489, when he appointed his young son Arthur **Tudor** nominal warden of the north, **Henry VII** revived the Yorkist council to govern the region in the prince's name. After Arthur's death in 1502, the northern council existed not as an official organ of government, but as a series of temporary expedients of varying forms. During the last years of Henry VII, northern administration was handled by a council based in the Midlands under the leadership of the king's mother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond. Under **Henry VIII** in the 1520s, the council of the king's illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, had some responsibility for the north. Although a somewhat more formally constituted body operated in the north after 1530, the Council of the North did not become a permanent part of Tudor government until 1537, when Thomas **Cromwell**, seeking to strengthen royal authority in the region after the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, issued detailed instructions for a new royal board based in York under the presidency of Cuthbert **Tunstall**, Bishop of Durham.

Charged with exercising the administrative and judicial functions of the royal **council** in the region north of Trent, the Council of the North held four sessions annually, one each in York, Newcastle, Hull, and Durham. Directed by a president and vice president, the council always included the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and the deans of the cathedrals in both towns. The council also included several nobles, important local **gentry**, and a number of experienced lawyers and administrators. Supporting the work of the council was a staff of secretaries, clerks, examiners of witnesses, and collectors of fines, as well as an attorney and a sheriff.

Tudor Presidents of the Council of the North

Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham	1530–1533
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland	1533–1536
Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk	1536–1537
Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham	1537–1538
Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff (Archbishop of York after 1544)	1538–1550
Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury	1550–1560
Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland	1561–1563
Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick	1564
Thomas Young, Archbishop of York	1564–1568
Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex	1568–1572
Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon	1572–1595
Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York	1596–1599
Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley	1599–1603

In its administrative function, the council was responsible for nominating and overseeing local **justices of the peace** and for ensuring that local officials implemented the orders, policies, proclamations, and statutes of **Parliament** and the royal government. The council also organized defenses, suppressed piracy, controlled **vagrancy**, implemented religious policy, enforced trade regulations, mediated municipal disputes, and ensured election of progovernment members of Parliament.

In its judicial function, the Council of the North had both criminal and civil jurisdiction. It was empowered to try cases of **treason**, murder, and felony and to handle suits involving land tenure, debt, and private disputes between subjects. In the aftermath of the Pilgrimage, the council focused on restoring order and rebuilding royal authority in the region. Under **Elizabeth I**, the authority of the Council of the North was extended following suppression of the **Northern Rebellion** in 1569–1570. The council thus gradually eroded the local influence of great northern families such as the Percys and the Nevilles, who had virtually controlled the region during the **Wars of the Roses**. The council continued to function until it was abolished by Parliament in 1641.

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Council of the West

Established in 1539 as a reaction to the power vacuum created by the execution of Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, and to the threat of invasion by Catholic powers, the Council of the West was a regional board of local **gentry** designed to maintain royal authority and improve coastal defenses in the distant West Country.

Based on his family's long-standing influence in the region, Exeter, until his 1538 execution for involvement in the **Exeter Conspiracy**, was the leading peer in the southwest, particularly the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Anxious to transfer dominance in the west to an experienced man of proven loyalty to the **Tudor** dynasty, **Henry VIII** granted John **Russell**, a native of neighboring Dorset, a considerable landed estate in Devon, carved mainly out of the county's former monastic properties. The king also raised Russell to the **peerage** and gave him two important West Country offices—the stewardship of the duchy of Cornwall and the wardenship of the stannaries, the latter being the official who oversaw the Cornish tin mining districts. Russell's general brief was to keep the region quiet and loyal and to strengthen and maintain coastal defenses against the growing possibility of invasion from either **France** or **Spain**, Catholic countries whose recent amity threatened invasion of schismatic England.

To solidify Russell's position and enhance his powers, Thomas **Cromwell** named him president of the Council of the West, a newly established body patterned after the **Council of the North**, which was created in the fifteenth century to exercise royal authority in the region north of the river Trent. Like its predecessor, the Council of the West was given both administrative and judicial powers, and comprised about 18 local gentlemen of proven loyalty and ability. Given generous allowances for expenses, Russell and his associates heard complaints, dispensed justice, and enforced statutes. They met regularly in the chief towns of the region, hearing both civil and criminal cases, and were empowered to hand down such punishments as the cutting off of ears. The council first met at Tavistock in Cornwall in September 1539 and remained active through the winter, especially regarding the inspection of coastal fortifications. However, by the spring of 1540, renewed conflict between **Francis I** and **Charles V** reduced the threat of foreign landings, and Russell's appointment as lord admiral limited his participation in the council's activities. With Cromwell's arrest and execution in the summer of 1540, the council ceased to sit and thereafter quietly faded from existence.

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Counter-Reformation

See Catholic Reformation

Court, Royal

The Tudor court was an ill-defined entity that comprised in its widest sense the royal household and its officers, all government ministers and officials, foreign envoys, the monarch's personal servants, and a constant throng of suitors and petitioners. The court was the center of power and influence, the source of favor and **patronage**, and the means of access to the monarch and his or her most important ministers and councillors. The court existed to serve the personal and political needs of the monarch, to display the wealth and power of the monarch to the kingdom and to foreign princes, and to provide an arena for ambitious subjects to pursue wealth and power through royal favor.

The court, which could number above 1,000 people depending on the time of year and the residence, moved with the monarch as he or she traveled among the Crown's many palaces. The household comprised some 20 departments responsible for acquiring supplies, preparing meals, and cleaning up afterward. Staffed by people of lower social rank, the household departments were headed by sergeants, who had worked their way up the ranks and who answered to a staff of clerks working under the direction of the lord steward and the controller, prominent positions held by important **gentry** or noble courtiers. The chamber, comprising those court servants who had access to the monarch, was directed by the chamberlain and vice chamberlain, also important court officials. The monarch's most intimate servants, the gentlemen or ladies of the chamber, depending on the sex of the ruler, served in the privy chamber under the monarch's personal supervision. These courtiers met the monarch's most personal needs and served as conduits of royal access for ambitious or disgraced courtiers who needed to maintain or regain royal favor. The master of revels, a privy chamber official, arranged court entertainments.

The Tudor court also included two guard units—the Yeoman of the Guard, established by **Henry VII**, and the Gentlemen Pensioners, established by **Henry VIII**. Although offices at court tended to multiply as courtiers sought additional posts of profit or honor, the number of pensioners was originally set at 50; members were expected to fight for the king during wartime and ornament the court during peacetime. The accession of a boy and two women after 1547 made the pensioners a largely ceremonial body, although they were called upon to fight during **Northumberland's Coup** in 1553 and **Wyatt's Rebellion** in 1554. Because males

were barred from the privy chambers of the Tudor queens, service in the Gentlemen Pensioners remained much sought after.

Because sixteenth-century monarchy was personal, access to the ruler was all important, and the court took its tone from the personality of the monarch. Henry VII created the privy chamber as a separate department within the court as a place of retreat where he could conduct the detailed oversight of government that characterized his reign. Henry VIII maintained this differentiation, but turned the chamber into a public department filled with the king's companions and concerned with organizing royal entertainments. The tone of Henry's court was also far more martial than the courts of his minor son and two daughters. **Edward VI's** court was dominated by the noblemen who ran his governments, and the court of **Mary I** was marked by the unpopular infusion of Spanish courtiers who accompanied the queen's husband, Prince **Philip**, to England.

Frequent attempts to reform the court, to make it less expensive and more amenable to government control, were doomed by the need of the court to express the magnificence of the Crown and the need of courtiers to obtain access to the monarch to further their careers and fortunes. Thomas **Wolsey** sought unsuccessfully to limit the political influence of the **minions** in 1519 and of privy chamber staff in general with the **Eltham Ordinances** of 1526. Thomas **Cromwell** tried in the late 1530s to cut costs and make administration of the court more efficient. He placed the court under the direction of a bureaucratic lord great master, whose authority eclipsed that of the courtier lord chamberlain. However, the chamberlain reasserted his dominance under Edward and the mastership was abolished by Mary. Under **Elizabeth I**, efforts to cut costs, such as limiting the number of people who had a right to eat at royal expense, continued to be hampered by the need to maintain a certain level of magnificence and to accommodate the demand of courtiers for honors and offices. Being an unmarried woman with no immediate family, Elizabeth presided over a less martial court than that of her father. However, the Elizabethan court offered writers, artists, and musicians an even wider stage than had the courts of previous Tudors.

See also Art; Drama; Music; Poetry

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Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire (c. 1526–1556)

As an Englishman with his own claim to the throne, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, was the popular choice for **Mary I**'s spouse, especially among those who believed the queen should not marry outside the realm. As the son of Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter and Earl of Devonshire, Courtenay was descended from a sister of **Edward IV** and thus had Yorkist blood. In 1538, **Henry VIII** executed the marquis for **treason** for his part in the **Exeter Conspiracy**, an apparent Yorkist plot against the House of **Tudor**. The king also imprisoned Exeter's 12-year-old son in the **Tower of London**, where the boy stayed until released in 1553 by Mary, a close friend of his mother, Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter.

Because of his Yorkist lineage and his ancient English name, Courtenay, who was restored to the earldom of Devonshire by Mary, quickly became the leading candidate of those councillors and members of **Parliament** who favored an English husband for the queen. Because of his long imprisonment, Devonshire was not well known and had no real enemies; he also had one strong supporter in Stephen **Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester, Mary's lord chancellor and a fellow prisoner with the earl in the Tower of London during much of **Edward VI**'s reign. Despite great popular pressure to marry Devonshire, Mary found the young man to be weak, foolish, and unstable, and she never seriously considered him for her husband.

After the queen decided to marry Prince **Philip of Spain**, the very choice many of Devonshire's supporters had sought to prevent, the earl allowed himself to be drawn into the planning for **Wyatt's Rebellion**. The plotters agreed that Devonshire was an equally suitable husband for Princess Elizabeth, with whom they hoped to replace Mary. In January 1554, as the government began to suspect **treason**, Devonshire abandoned his confederates and confessed all he knew to Gardiner. After the collapse of Wyatt's Rebellion in February, the queen returned the earl to the Tower. In the spring of 1555, the queen sent Devonshire into European



Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, was the popular choice as husband for Mary I, but she never seriously considered marrying him. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

exile. Coming eventually to Venice, Devonshire may have there involved himself in the **Dudley Conspiracy**, another shadowy plot that sought to elevate Elizabeth and Devonshire to the throne. Because agents of Prince Philip had tried to assassinate Devonshire to prevent any further attempts on the Crown, the earl's death at Padua in 1556 was rumored to have been poison, although a fever contracted while hawking seems the more likely cause.

See also Elizabeth I; York, House of

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Courtenay, Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter (d. 1558)

Gertrude Courtenay, Marchioness of Exeter, was a longtime friend and active adherent of **Catherine of Aragon** and her daughter Princess Mary. The daughter of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, chamberlain to Queen Catherine, Gertrude became the second wife of Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, in 1519. A close friend of Catherine's and a devout Catholic, Lady Exeter drew suspicion upon herself and her husband by continuing to correspond with Catherine after the queen's banishment from **court**. In 1532, Henry forbade the Exeters from visiting Mary, but in the following year allowed the marchioness to stand as godmother to Princess Elizabeth. About 1532, Lady Exeter met with Elizabeth **Barton**, the alleged prophetess who had denounced the king's marriage to Anne **Boleyn**. After Barton was arrested and had confessed herself a fraud, Lady Exeter was included in the bill of **attainder** that condemned Barton and the friends of Catherine who had encouraged her. The marchioness escaped punishment by writing a pleading letter to Henry. Confessing herself deceived and explaining that her meeting with Barton was arranged only to ask for prayers on behalf of her unborn child, the marchioness was pardoned.

Despite this scare, Lady Exeter continued to serve as the chief source of information for Imperial ambassador Eustace **Chapuis**. Indefatigable in Catherine's interest, the marchioness did not shrink even from **treason**, talking openly to Chapuis about raising rebellion on Catherine's behalf and promising the support of her family for any revolt the ambassador could organize. In November 1535, the marchioness visited Chapuis in disguise to warn him that Henry had threatened to execute Catherine and Mary. In early 1536, after Catherine's death and Queen Anne's miscarriage, Lady Exeter informed Chapuis that Henry was tired of his wife and anxious to be rid of her.

Although Anne's execution improved her standing at court—Lady Exeter bore Prince Edward to the baptismal font in 1537—the marchioness was implicated in the **Exeter Conspiracy** in 1538. Arrested with her husband and son, she was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** until about 1541. With her husband beheaded and her son a captive, the marchioness lived in retirement until 1553, when the accession of **Mary I** brought her back to court as one of the queen's ladies. Lady Exeter's friendship with Mary—she usually slept in the queen's chamber—made her much courted by those seeking royal favor. Although the marchioness was believed to have privately urged the queen to marry her son Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, Mary chose **Philip** of Spain and exiled Devon when he was implicated in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. However, the marchioness remained prominent at court until her death on 25 September 1558.

See also Court, Royal; Edward VI; Elizabeth I

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Courtenay, Henry, Marquis of Exeter (c. 1496–1538)

Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, was a central figure in the 1538 **Exeter Conspiracy**. Although beheaded for having treasonously expressed dissatisfaction with the king's policies, especially as concerned religion, Exeter's real offense was probably his descent from the House of **York**.

Courtenay was the son of William Courtenay and his wife, Katherine, the daughter of **Edward IV** and sister of **Elizabeth of York**. In 1503, after Queen Elizabeth's death, **Henry VII** committed William Courtenay to the **Tower of London** for conspiring with his Yorkist kinsman, Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk. Released on the accession of **Henry VIII** in 1509, William Courtenay died shortly after being restored to his father's earldom of Devon in 1511. As the new Earl of Devon, Henry Courtenay fought in the naval campaign against **France** in 1513. In 1520, Devon joined the **council** and privy chamber and accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold**. In 1521, the earl was elected knight of the Garter in place of the recently executed Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, whose western estates fell to Devon. With these and other western lands and offices granted by the king in the early 1520s, Devon, by the time of his elevation to the marquissate of Exeter in 1525, had recovered his family's traditional dominance in the West Country.

Exeter supported Henry's initial moves to secure a **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**, subscribing the articles against Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** in 1529, signing the demand letter to Pope **Clement VII** in 1531, and acting as commissioner at Catherine's formal deposition as queen in 1533. However, Exeter and his wife, Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter, aroused the king's suspicion by continuing to correspond with Catherine and her daughter Princess Mary after both had been banished from **court**. A devout Catholic, the marchioness was also in trouble in 1533 for her association with Elizabeth **Barton**, the prophetess who denounced Henry's marriage to Anne **Boleyn**. Nonetheless, Exeter remained in apparent favor, serving as a commissioner at the trial of Queen Anne in May 1536 and riding against the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels the following autumn.

In 1538, Henry's suspicions of his Yorkist relatives led to the gathering of evidence against Exeter and members of the Pole family, whose Yorkist blood was compounded by the activities of Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, an exiled critic of the **royal supremacy**. Sir Geoffrey **Pole**, the cardinal's youngest brother, broke down under interrogation and revealed all the privately expressed denunciations of Henry and his actions made by Exeter; Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, Sir Geoffrey's elder brother; and other members of their circle. Although no evidence of overt **treason** could be proved against Exeter and his colleagues, Sir Geoffrey's revelations were sufficient to condemn them for treasonous speech under the act of 1534. The marquis was executed at the Tower of London on 9 December 1538 and included in an act of **attainder** passed against all the conspirators in 1539. The marchioness was imprisoned until about 1541, but the marquis's son Edward **Courtenay** remained a Tower prisoner until freed by **Mary I** in 1553.

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Court of Augmentations

See Augmentations, Court of

Court of Chancery

See Chancery/Chancery, Court of

Court of Common Pleas

See Common Pleas, Court of

Court of King's Bench

See King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

Court of Requests

See Requests, Court of

Court of Star Chamber

See Star Chamber, Court of

Courts, Ecclesiastical

See Church Courts

Coverdale, Miles (1488–1568)

Miles Coverdale, the Edwardian Bishop of Exeter, oversaw the translation and publication of the first English **Bible**. Born in Yorkshire, Coverdale studied theology at Cambridge before being ordained and entering the Cambridge convent of Austin friars in 1514. While at the university, he fell under the influence of Robert **Barnes**, who introduced Coverdale into the theological discussions frequently held at the **White Horse Tavern**. In 1528, after Barnes had been examined for heresy, Coverdale left his order and began preaching. His unlicensed sermons were clearly heretical, denouncing images, auricular confession, and the Real Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist. Perhaps to avoid the consequences of such views, Coverdale left England. His whereabouts between 1528 and 1534 are uncertain, but it seems likely that he met William **Tyndale** in Hamburg and began working there on Tyndale's translation of the Old Testament.

In December 1534, when **Convocation** petitioned the king to allow publication of an English Bible, Coverdale was in Antwerp, working, possibly at the direction of Thomas **Cromwell**, on just such a project. Because he could not himself read

the biblical languages, Coverdale worked from various German and Latin editions to translate a complete Old Testament. In October 1535, Coverdale published a full English Bible, comprising both his own and Tyndale's work; Coverdale's rendering of the Psalms, subsequently published in the **Book of Common Prayer**, has today become the best-known part of his contribution. Although dedicated to **Henry VIII** and lacking the reformist commentary of Tyndale's translations, Coverdale's Bible was also reformist in tone and thus unauthorized by the government. However, by 1538, Coverdale was editor, at Cromwell's appointment, of a new Bible project, which in 1539 resulted in publication of the officially authorized Great Bible. Thanks to the royal **injunctions** of September 1538, the Great Bible, which was based largely on John **Rogers's** Matthew Bible (1537), soon appeared in most English churches.

Upon the execution of Cromwell in 1540, Coverdale moved to Germany, where he married and took a degree in divinity. Returning to England in 1548, he preached the sermon that year at the funeral of Katherine **Parr**. In 1551, Coverdale became bishop of Exeter, but in 1554, he was deprived of his see by **Mary I**, who allowed him to go into exile in Denmark. In 1559, after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, Coverdale returned to England, becoming rector of St. Magnus Parish in **London** in 1563. In growing sympathy with the **Puritan** movement, Coverdale resigned his **benefice** in 1566. Although unlicensed, he continued to preach, usually to large audiences. Coverdale died in London in February 1568.

See also Marian Exiles

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Cox, Richard (1500–1581)

Richard Cox, the Elizabethan Bishop of Ely, was an early Tudor reformer and a leader of the moderate party among the **Marian exiles** in Frankfurt in the 1550s. Born in Buckinghamshire, Cox was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1524. Upon the cardinal's invitation, Cox entered Christ Church, Thomas **Wolsey's** new foundation at Oxford, and proceeded to his master's degree in 1526. Suspected of **Lutheranism**, Cox left Oxford to become headmaster of Eton, but in the 1530s returned to Cambridge and

received his doctorate of divinity in 1537. Shortly thereafter Cox became chaplain to both **Henry VIII** and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. In 1540, Cox sat on the committee of divines that composed the *King's Book*, the third Henrician formulary of faith, and also on the clerical commission that invalidated the king's marriage to **Anne of Cleves**. By the end of Henry's reign in 1547, Cox had acquired various ecclesiastical offices, such as the archdeaconry of Ely, and had become tutor and almoner to Prince Edward.

Upon the prince's accession as **Edward VI**, Cox, being in high favor with both the king and Cranmer, received numerous additional preferments. He became chancellor of Oxford in 1547 and dean of Westminster in 1549. As chancellor, he brought many foreign reformers to the university, including Peter Martyr **Vermigli** and John ab Ulmis. He also acquired an evil reputation for his zealous campaigns to eliminate the last vestiges of Catholicism at Oxford, an effort that led to the destruction of books and manuscripts and to Cox being nicknamed "cancellor" of the university. In 1552, Cox sat upon the commission that devised the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, an ultimately abortive revision of **canon law**.

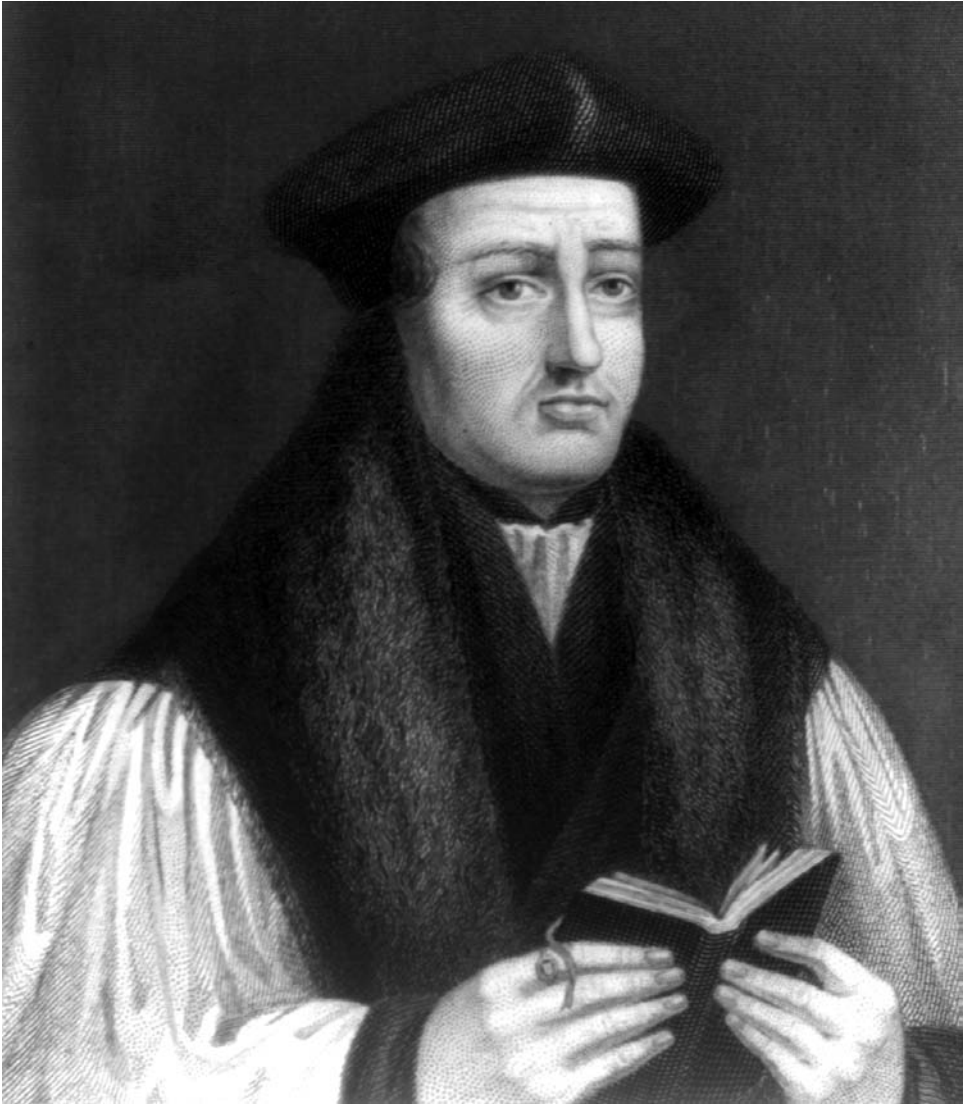
Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Cox was briefly imprisoned and deprived of his offices. In June 1554, he withdrew to Frankfurt, where he soon became embroiled in a bitter controversy among the exiles over revisions to the second Edwardian **Book of Common Prayer**. In opposition to the adherents of advanced **Calvinism**, who, under the leadership of John **Knox**, demanded extensive reforms, Cox supported the moderate party and advocated use of the prayer book exactly as ordained by **Parliament** under the late king. The dispute between the so-called Coxians and Knoxians became so violent that the city authorities intervened and Knox and his followers were eventually expelled from Frankfurt. In July 1559, shortly after his return to England, Cox was named bishop of Ely by **Elizabeth I**. Known for his severity to both Catholics and **Puritans**, Cox finally resigned his office in 1580, disgusted by constant demands from **court** that he surrender the property of his see to the Crown. Cox died on 22 July 1581.

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Cranmer, Thomas (1489–1556)

Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to 1556, Thomas Cranmer was a leading figure in the establishment of an English Protestant Church. Born into a Nottinghamshire **gentry** family, Cranmer entered Cambridge in 1503, taking his MA and



Thomas Cranmer, who was Archbishop of Canterbury and critical in the establishment of an English Protestant Church, was executed for heresy under Mary I. (Library of Congress)

becoming a fellow of Jesus College in 1515. He resigned his fellowship to marry, but upon his wife's death in childbirth he was re-elected a fellow and remained at Jesus College until 1529. Influenced by the spirit of **humanism** pervading Cambridge, Cranmer completed his doctorate in 1523, by which time he had also taken holy orders. At an encounter with Edward **Foxe** in 1529, Cranmer suggested that the king canvass European universities to obtain academic support for his **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**. **Henry VIII** ordered Cranmer to write on the subject

and arranged for him to become chaplain to Anne **Boleyn**'s father, Thomas **Boleyn**, Earl of Wiltshire. The king sent Cranmer on embassy to the pope in 1530 and then as ambassador to **Charles V** in 1532. Although a priest, Cranmer secretly married while in Germany. In late 1532, following the death of Archbishop William **Warham**, the king named Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, a nomination confirmed by **Clement VII** in February 1533.

Owing his elevation to Boleyn influence and to his own antipapal and royalist beliefs, Cranmer stated in writing that papal approval of his appointment in no way bound him to act contrary to the interests of his king or country. On 23 May 1533, he declared the Aragon marriage null and void and on 28 May confirmed the validity of the Boleyn marriage. He presided at the coronation of the new queen in June and stood godfather to her daughter in September. For the rest of the reign, Cranmer balanced loyalty to Henry with religious reform. He was instrumental in the crafting of the first Henrician formularies of faith, the Lutheran-influenced **Ten Articles** and ***Bishops' Book***, and he supported the 1538 directive for the placing of an English **Bible** in every church. Although retaining the support and friendship of the king, Cranmer bravely interceded for many whom Henry sent to the block, including Anne Boleyn, Sir Thomas **More**, and Thomas **Cromwell**. Although the king grew less tolerant of reform in the 1540s, Cranmer continued to work for it, defending the English Bible, writing a series of reformist homilies, and creating a royally approved English litany. After 1543, when royal intervention saved him from the conservative **Prebendaries Plot**, Cranmer was safe from further molestation, although he grew more cautious in his reform efforts.

Upon the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Cranmer increasingly embraced Protestant thought. He reformed worship with the 1549 and 1552 editions of the **Book of Common Prayer**; he devised a new statement of faith with the moderately Protestant **Forty-two Articles** of 1553; and he completed the reform of **canon law** in 1553 (although **Parliament** rejected the plan). At Edward's command, Cranmer reluctantly supported the 1553 plot to place Jane **Grey** on the throne. Upon the scheme's failure, Cranmer was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** by **Mary I**. Tried and condemned for **treason**, Cranmer was spared by the Catholic queen, who sent him to Oxford to be tried for heresy in 1555. Condemned by the pope on 11 December, Cranmer was officially deprived of office in February 1556. Although persuaded to sign several recantations, Cranmer was nonetheless burned for heresy on 21 March. At the stake, he renounced all his recantations and thrust the hand that had signed them into the fire. Many of his efforts during Edward's reign to devise a scriptural, Protestant church for England became the basis for the **Anglican Settlement** at the start of **Elizabeth I**'s reign in 1559.

See also *Book of Homilies*; *Injunctions, Royal*; *Northumberland's Coup*; *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*

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Croke, Richard (1489–1558)

Richard Croke was the leading Greek scholar of Tudor England. Nothing is known of Croke's family or early life save the existence of a brother, Robert Croke, who was an executor of Croke's will. Croke studied at Eton College and at King's College, Cambridge, before becoming a servant and student of the London humanist William **Grocyn** in about 1510. Probably through Grocyn, Croke made the acquaintance of a wide circle of contemporary humanists, including Sir Thomas **More** and Desiderius **Erasmus**, under whom he began studying in Paris in 1511. Croke entered the University of Cologne in 1515, where he made a name for himself throughout Germany as a Greek scholar. By 1521, Croke had published several works of Greek grammar and philology, a Latin oration in praise of Leipzig University, and Latin editions of works by the Roman rhetorician Ausonius and the fifteenth-century Greek scholar Theodore Gaza.

Croke returned to England in 1517 and received an MA from Cambridge, where, by 1520, he obtained a Greek lectureship through the influence of Bishop John **Fisher**. Ordained a priest in 1519, Croke, again with Fisher's help, secured a fellowship at St. John's College. In the early 1520s, as Croke helped establish and popularize Greek studies at Cambridge, he also advanced through a series of university offices, being named public orator in 1521, lecturer in theology in 1523, and university auditor in 1524. He also obtained his doctorate of theology from Cambridge in 1523.

In 1526, Croke, who seems to have been a difficult, quarrelsome man, left the university to enter royal service after a falling out with Fisher, whom he accused of misusing college funds. Croke served as tutor for **Henry VIII**'s illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, until about 1529, when he was sent to Rome to work with John **Stokesley**, Thomas **Cranmer**, and other royal agents to find documentary support for the king's contention that his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** was invalid. Besides finding many favorable materials in Italian libraries, he also helped convince Italian universities to support the king's cause, and much of what he obtained or uncovered was later published by the government in *The Determinations of the Most Famous and Most Excellent Universities of Italy and France* (1531). For this service, and for preaching against papal supremacy, especially in the wake of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** in 1536–1537, Croke received a series of ecclesiastical and scholarly offices, including a professorship of divinity at Oxford in 1532 and a royal chaplaincy in 1538.

After 1538, however, Croke achieved little advancement, and his career degenerated into a series of disputes with other scholars that tarnished his reputation both with contemporaries and posterity. Besides his quarrel with Fisher, who condemned him as an undeserving ingrate, Croke also argued with John **Leland**, who wrote a poem denouncing him; with many of his colleagues on the Roman mission; and even with Richmond's servants and fellow students. Croke's paranoid and self-justifying letters from **Italy** and the duke's household are full of complaints about perceived insults and mistreatment. In 1555, Croke did particular damage to his reputation by testifying at the **heresy** trial of his former colleague Archbishop Cranmer, who was subsequently executed. Croke died in London in about August 1558.

John A. Wagner

See also Humanism

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Crome, Edward (d. 1562)

Edward Crome was a prominent reformist preacher who several times saved himself from execution for heresy by skillful recantation. Crome was educated at Cambridge, taking his bachelor's degree in 1503 and his doctorate of divinity in 1526. By 1516, Crome was a licensed university preacher. He came to the attention of **Henry VIII** in about 1530, when Crome endorsed Thomas **Cranmer**'s book arguing the invalidity of the king's marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Crome also distinguished himself in support of the king's position during discussions by the Cambridge delegates appointed to render an official opinion on the **divorce** case. During Lent 1530, Crome preached three times at **court** and shortly thereafter received appointment to a **London** parish. Although Crome had attended some of the meetings at the **White Horse Tavern** in Cambridge, where the tenets of **Lutheranism** were freely discussed, in May 1530 he was named to a committee of divines charged with condemning various books and tracts suspected of advocating unorthodox opinions. However, Crome was himself soon called before John **Stokesley**, Bishop of London, to explain his beliefs concerning purgatory, the

invocation of saints, and other Catholic practices. His success in reconciling his sermons with official doctrine led his reformist colleagues at Cambridge to condemn him for denying his conscience, but also prompted **Convocation** to halt all proceedings against Crome in 1531, when he, Thomas **Bilney**, and Hugh **Latimer** were all formally charged with heresy.

Through the influence of Anne **Boleyn** and Archbishop Cranmer, Crome acquired a new London **benefice** in 1534. Crome was also supported in his preaching by Humphrey Monmouth, the London merchant who was a patron of William **Tyndale** and other reformers. After passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** in 1539, Crome was accused of denying the Catholic doctrine of justification by good works and of doubting the efficacy of prayers and Masses for the dead. Although the preacher again made an equivocal recantation, it was sufficient for the king, who ordered Crome to read his statement at **Paul's Cross**. Crome's license to preach was also suspended, but the ban was lifted by 1546, when he was again examined by the Royal Council for unorthodox opinions, and again obliged to recant at Paul's Cross. Crome continued preaching in a reformist vein under the Protestant regimes of **Edward VI**, but in January 1554 the Catholic government of **Mary I** committed the preacher to the Fleet Prison. Although many of his friends and fellow prisoners, such as John **Rogers**, John **Bradford**, John **Hooper**, and Robert **Ferrar**, were condemned and burned for heresy, Crome again made sufficient recantation to save his life, although he remained in confinement for much of the reign. Crome died in London on about 26 June 1562.

See also Christian Brethren; Council Royal/Privy Council; Marian Martyrs

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Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex (c. 1485–1540)

Between 1532 and 1540, Thomas Cromwell was chief minister of **Henry VIII** and the manager, if not the architect, of the program of legislative and administrative reform that abolished papal authority and erected the **royal supremacy**. With the support of the king, Cromwell controlled, either directly or through his personal agents, virtually all phases of government in the 1530s.

Cromwell was born in Putney near **London**, the son of a cloth worker and ale-house keeper. Little is known for certain about his early life. He is said to have left home at about 18 and to have gone soldiering in **Italy**, where he may have fought for the French at Garigliano in December 1503. He spent some years in the service

of the Frescobaldi, powerful Florentine bankers, but by 1512 was in the **Netherlands** trading cloth. Shortly thereafter, he entered the household of Cardinal Christopher **Bainbridge**, the English representative at Rome. As the cardinal's agent, Cromwell conducted much ecclesiastical business at the papal court. In August 1514, one month after Bainbridge's death, Cromwell returned to England. Valuing Cromwell's experience of Rome and his knowledge of trade, finance, and languages—he knew Latin, French, and Italian—Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** took Cromwell into his service in about 1515. As Wolsey's chief man of business for ecclesiastical affairs, Cromwell made several trips to Rome and in 1519 was admitted to the cardinal's domestic council. About this same time, Cromwell married Elizabeth Wykes, the widowed daughter of a cloth merchant, by whom he had two children.



Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s was chief minister to Henry VIII and played a crucial role in the establishment of the royal supremacy. (Library of Congress)

Cromwell sat for an unknown constituency in the **Parliament** of 1523. Among his extant papers is a speech criticizing the 1523 Anglo-French War, an oration, if delivered that year in the Commons, that likely raised the ire of the king, even if, as some historians have surmised, it was a ploy by Wolsey to have Parliament stymie a foreign policy that the cardinal himself opposed. In 1524, Cromwell was admitted to Gray's Inn, one of the **Inns of Court** of the **common law** in London; by 1529, he had completed the suppression of some 30 small monasteries, whose revenues were diverted to Wolsey's new educational foundations—a **grammar school** at Ipswich and Cardinal College, Oxford. By 1530, Cromwell had also made contacts with various London printers, thereby acquiring a knowledge of publishing that helped him manage the propaganda campaign for the royal supremacy in the 1530s.

On Wolsey's dismissal in October 1529, Cromwell, fearing that he would fall with his master, drew up his will. However, within a month, Cromwell had secured the seat for Taunton in the **Reformation Parliament** and, by late 1530, was sworn into the Royal Council. Cromwell quickly made himself the council's expert on parliamentary affairs, deftly maneuvering government legislation through the Commons. By early 1533, when he became the king's principal secretary, Cromwell was Henry's chief man of business. Over the next seven years, Cromwell

became the driving force in almost all departments of government. He managed Parliament, directing the legislative program that swept away the pope and made the king head of the English Church. He also oversaw the **dissolution of the monasteries**; initiated a series of financial and administrative reforms that expanded the reach of royal government; extended, through legislative action, the authority of the king in Parliament into **Wales** and various private franchises; and implemented, as royal vicegerent, the newly recognized ecclesiastical authority of the Crown. He played a central role in the downfall of Anne **Boleyn** in 1536 and, with Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, became a leader of the reformist party at **court**, having overseen the issuance of the **Ten Articles** in 1536 and the later royal **injunctions** that mandated the keeping of parish registers and the provision of an English **Bible** in every church. In 1539, he supervised the publication of the Great Bible.

Cromwell also advocated an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, and his fall in 1540 is often ascribed to the failure of Henry's marriage with **Anne of Cleves**, which union Cromwell had promoted to further his foreign policy. However, by 1539, Cromwell's support of reform and reformers had outstripped the king's conservative doctrinal views, and the resulting wavering of royal confidence allowed the minister's many enemies, led by Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, and Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** to convince Henry that Cromwell was secretly working against the royal will, especially in matters of religion. Evidence that Cromwell had protected and promoted heretics in **Calais** and England combined with the Cleves fiasco and the failed foreign policy it represented toppled Cromwell. Having been named Lord Privy Seal in 1536 and in July of the same year raised to the **peerage** as Lord Cromwell, the minister's career seemed to reach its height in April 1540, when the king created Cromwell Earl of Essex. The promotion, however, was only a prelude to disaster; on 10 June 1540, Cromwell was arrested as he sat at council. Condemned for **treason** and heresy by bill of **attainder**, Cromwell was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 28 July.

See also Council Royal/Privy Council; Printing

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Crowley, Robert (c. 1518–1588)

Robert Crowley was a printer, writer, and preacher whose many writings and publications satirized clerical corruption, expounded Protestant doctrine, and promoted social justice. Born in Gloucestershire, Crowley was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took a bachelor's degree in the early 1540s. In 1548, Crowley, inspired by the preaching of Hugh **Latimer** and the ideas associated with the **Commonwealth Men**, began to write and publish a series of controversial works advocating radical reform in both church and state. In *The Way to Wealth* (1551), Crowley attacked a social order that forced the poor to labor for the rich and then left the poor at risk of being charged with sedition if they complained. In *Dialogue Between Lent and Liberty* (1549), Crowley engaged in religious polemic, denouncing the Catholic season of Lent. In *The Fable of Philargyrie, the Great Gigant of Great Britain* (1551), Crowley shifted to political topics, criticizing the government of John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, for concluding the Anglo-French Treaty of **Boulogne**, which "sold for ready gold forts that were builded strong" (Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 165). But Crowley's most famous and popular undertaking was his publication of the first printed edition of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (1550), an allegorical poem written in the fourteenth century by William Langland. Because the poem called for purification of the church, Crowley viewed the essentially orthodox work as a Lollard tract, and his edition went quickly through three printings as other reformers embraced it as a justification for the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the overthrow of worldly clergy. Later Elizabethan authors, such as Edmund **Spenser** and Christopher **Marlowe**, became familiar with Langland's work through Crowley's edition.

Crowley also printed his own religious poetry, including *The Psalter of David, Newly Translated in English Meter* (1549), which was the first English versification of the Psalms, and *One and Thirty Epigrams* (1550), which attacked religious abuses. During **Edward VI**'s reign, Crowley, according to the diary of Henry **Machyn**, was a popular **London** preacher. In 1551, Bishop Nicholas **Ridley** ordained Crowley a deacon, but he became a **Marian exile** in 1554, fleeing the Catholic regime of **Mary I** for the English Protestant community at Frankfurt.

Crowley returned to England in 1559 after the accession of **Elizabeth I** and was named archdeacon of Hereford. He acquired a number of other ecclesiastical livings but resigned most in 1567 when he refused to wear the vestments required by the Church. He thereafter became increasingly **Puritan** in his preaching and writing, and in the 1580s was active in attempting to convert Catholic priests imprisoned in the **Tower of London**. Crowley died on 18 June 1588.

See also Lollardy; Printing; Vestiarian Controversy

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Culpepper, Thomas (d. 1541)

Thomas Culpepper (or Culpeper), a gentleman of the royal household, was executed for treasonous adultery with **Henry VIII's** fifth wife, Katherine **Howard**. The son of a prominent **gentry** family of Kent, Culpepper entered the king's household as a youth, having by the late 1530s risen from the rank of page to that of well-favored gentleman of the privy chamber. Because his position gave him frequent access to the king, Culpepper was known to have influence with Henry and was the recipient of gifts from those wishing him to use that influence on their behalf. Both Culpepper and his older brother, who was also named Thomas, were avid collectors of lands, sinecures, and any other rewards that could be gleaned from royal favor.

An attractive and elegant young man who participated in **court** revels and was popular with court ladies, Culpepper had a dark side to his audacious gallantry. About 1539, he was accused of raping a park-keeper's wife, the unfortunate woman being held fast by Culpepper's servants while he ravished her. When local villagers attempted to seize him, Culpepper murdered one of them. A royal pardon rescued Culpepper from the consequences of his violence.

In the spring of 1540, Culpepper was the most prominent member of a group of admirers that formed around Katherine Howard when she came to court. Rumors even spread that he intended to wed her. Katherine's marriage to Henry in July ended any such notions, but by the spring of 1541, Culpepper was again receiving her favors, including a velvet cap with jeweled brooch, which the queen, thinking

better upon what might be made of such a gift, begged him to keep secret. By the late summer, while the court was on progress through the north, Culpepper, with the connivance of Jane **Boleyn**, Lady Rochford, one of the queen's ladies, was having regular late-night meetings with Katherine in her chamber. Perhaps in love with Katherine, although he denied it later, Culpepper probably risked such dangerous assignations because of the present and future benefits a special relationship with the queen promised. Should the ill and aging Henry die soon, the queen, and thus Culpepper, might have an influential position in the regency government of young Prince Edward.

When an investigation of Katherine's relationship with Francis Dereham, whom she had known before her marriage, implicated Culpepper, he was arrested in mid-November 1541 and interrogated, perhaps under torture. He denied ever having sexual relations with Katherine, although he admitted the intention of doing so, and laid blame for the whole affair on the queen and Rochford. Tried at the Guildhall in **London** on 1 December, Culpepper was convicted of **treason** and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The king granted his request for simple beheading, and the sentence was carried out at Tyburn on 10 December.

See also Edward VI

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Cumberland, Earl of

See Clifford, George, Earl of Cumberland

Customs Revenue

One major source of Crown revenue during the Tudor period was customs duties, the taxes collected on the import and export of certain commodities. The authority to collect customs duties was conferred on the Crown by Parliament. Since the time of **Edward IV** in the late fifteenth century, this authority was usually granted to the monarch for life by the first **Parliament** of the reign. English foreign trade was highly regulated, responding to the political, financial, and military needs of the government, as well as to social conditions. For instance, grain exports were suspended during periods of famine and food shortage, as in the 1590s, and all trade with the Spanish **Netherlands** was halted in the early 1570s after the breakdown

of relations with **Spain** caused by the **Treasure Crisis** of 1568. The exportation of goods from England required a license from the Crown, and the exportation of certain items, such as livestock and hides, was forbidden, while other products, such as beer, copper, and herring, were restricted. Customs duties included such ancient taxes as tonnage, a charge levied at a fixed rate on a tun of wine imported from Europe, and poundage, a tax of 12 pence on each pound of assessed value levied on all commodities imported into England.

The major English exports subject to customs duties were wool, woolen cloth, and tin. Under **Mary I**, Lord Treasurer William **Paulet**, Marquis of Winchester, who retained his office under **Elizabeth I**, reformed the collection of customs and raised the customs rates, thereby substantially augmenting Crown customs revenue. At the start of Elizabeth's reign, income from the cloth customs alone amounted to £30,000 per year, and the total annual revenue from all customs was over £75,000, making the customs as important a component of royal revenue as the £50,000–£100,000 per year the Crown obtained from the revenues of the royal estates. Because customs duties were difficult to collect, the Crown often contracted with private collectors who promised the government a fixed sum and kept as profit anything they collected over that amount. Although an increasingly important component of the royal income, customs duties were sensitive to political and environmental conditions, rising and falling with war and peace, famine and surplus, and strong or strained foreign relations.

See also Fiscal Feudalism; Revenue and Taxation; Subsidy

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Dance

A popular pastime among all classes in Tudor England, dancing was a required skill for a courtier, who needed to keep abreast of the most fashionable new dances from **Italy** and **France**. **Henry VIII** was an avid and accomplished dancer, appearing for the first time in the historical record as a 10-year-old prince whose energetic dancing amused onlookers at the wedding of his brother Arthur **Tudor** in 1501. Dancing with his sister Princess Margaret **Tudor**, the young Henry “perceiving himself to be encumbered with his clothes, suddenly cast off his gown and danced in his jacket” (Erickson, *Great Harry*, 41). As a young king, Henry often literally danced till dawn, with amazed foreign ambassadors describing him as “dancing magnificently in the French style” and leaping “like a stag” (91). **Elizabeth I** was so fond of dancing that a man’s political career was said to depend on his ability to dance. Early in his career, the Elizabethan courtier Sir Christopher **Hatton**, the future chancellor of England, was accused by his rivals of owing his position at **court** to his skill as a dancer. Dancing schools became so common after 1560 that foreign ambassadors commented on “the dancing English.”

Tudor court dances tended to be slower and more stately than the country dances of the lower classes. However, the trend in the reign of Elizabeth, who encouraged it, was for livelier dances, such as the jig. The **masque**, a popular form of court entertainment, almost always included dancing, from relatively simple dances performed by the masque participants with members of the audience to complicated and elaborate performances given by the actors as part of the masque pageant. Court dances often involved couples and could require intricate footwork and graceful movement. Country dances often involved groups of couples in round, square, or rectangular formations and were generally simpler in footwork and more open and athletic in movement. Social divisions in dance were not rigid; Elizabeth I encouraged her courtiers to learn popular country dances, while common people occasionally danced the simpler court dances.

Besides the social dances of court and country, numerous more formalized dances were common in Tudor England. The most popular of these was the morris dance, which usually involved male dancers attired in bells, ribbons, and otherwise

colorful and outlandish attire. Larger troupes of morris dancers usually included certain stock figures, including a “Maid Marian,” usually a man dressed as a woman; a “hobby horse,” a man surrounded by a horse costume so as to appear as if he were riding; and a “fool,” a clownish figure dressed in jester’s attire. Music was usually provided by a pipe (i.e., a flute) and a tabor (i.e., a drum) or a fiddle. Morris dances were commonly performed at the summer holiday celebrations, such as those accompanying the Whitsunday festivities. Although **Puritans** generally frowned on dancing as frivolous and tending to sexual license—Philip Stubbes complained of the “filthy groping and unclean handling” (Forgeng, *Daily Life*, 153) that accompanied dancing—their disapproval failed to dampen the Tudor love of dance.

See also Holidays (Holy Days); Music

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Darcy, Thomas, Lord Darcy (1467–1537)

Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy, was the most prominent magnate leader of the **Pilgrimage of Grace**. Born into a northern **gentry** family of Norman descent, Darcy participated in **Henry VII**’s Breton campaign in 1492 and helped lift the Scottish siege of Norham Castle in 1493. Named captain of Berwick in 1498, Darcy was appointed warden of the east march (border) with **Scotland** in 1505, the same year he was elevated to the **peerage**. In 1502, Darcy was sent into Scotland as part of the embassy charged with witnessing **James IV**’s oath to uphold the Treaty of **Ayton**. Upon **Henry VIII**’s accession in 1509, Darcy joined the royal **council**, and in 1510, he was elected knight of the Garter. In 1511, he sailed to **Spain** as part of an ultimately abortive campaign directed against the Moors by King Ferdinand. He fought in Henry’s French campaign in 1513 and also against the Scots in 1523.

In 1530, Darcy signed the memorial from the English nobility warning **Clement VII** of the consequences of his failure to grant the king’s **divorce**. However, Darcy was personally unsympathetic to the king’s enterprise and lost royal favor

for expressing an opinion that matrimonial causes fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction and were not within the purview of the king's government. By late 1534, Darcy, apparently unhappy about the break with Rome and the whole direction of government action in the **Reformation Parliament**, entered into secret communication with Imperial ambassador Eustace **Chapuys**, to whom Darcy expressed a desire for **Charles V** to end Henry's tyranny, especially in matters of religion. Suspicious of Darcy, the government did not allow him to leave **London** for the north when **Parliament** went into recess. Pleading ill health, Darcy finally obtained permission to absent himself from Parliament and to avoid service on any government commission.

Upon the outbreak of the Pilgrimage of Grace in October 1536, Darcy was back in the north, where he surrendered Pontefract Castle, of which he was captain, to the insurgents. Although ostensibly compelled by the rebels to support their cause, Darcy was in sympathy with their aims, especially their opposition to the **dissolution of the monasteries**. As an important local magnate, Darcy quickly became chief lieutenant to the pilgrim leader, Robert **Aske**. Although Darcy, like Aske, was pardoned for his involvement in the initial uprising and assured of royal favor for his efforts to disperse a new rebellion that erupted in January 1537, he and other rebel leaders were arrested in May. Tried and condemned for **treason** at Westminster on 15 May, Darcy was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 30 June.

See also Ferdinand and Isabella

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Darnley, Lord

See Stuart, Henry, Lord Darnley

Darnley Murder

On 10 February 1567, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, was murdered at the house of Kirk o'Field outside **Edinburgh**. The murder represented a final solution to a difficult political problem. On 30 July



The murder of Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, gave him political power in death that he could never achieve in life. (National Archives, London, Great Britain/StockphotoPro)

1565, Mary proclaimed Darnley, her new husband, king of **Scotland**. Mary's proclamation drove her half brother James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, into rebellion with various other Protestant lords. Darnley, through his drinking, licentiousness, and irresponsibility, soon made himself obnoxious to the queen, who denied him any real power. To recover his position, Darnley, on the promise of being crowned king, joined the Protestant lords in the murder of Mary's hated Catholic adviser David **Rizzio**. Although disgusted by her husband's deed, Mary induced him to betray his Protestant confederates and help her retrieve her political position. When, after two betrayals, Darnley had still not achieved power, he began publicly insulting the queen, most notably by his refusal to attend the December 1566 baptism of his son James, thereby casting doubt on the infant prince's legitimacy.

By the start of 1567, Darnley had become a complete political liability, detested by both the Protestant lords and the Catholic queen. Darnley's removal became imperative, but, because the queen refused divorce, it could be achieved only by his death. In January, Darnley returned to Edinburgh and lodged at Kirk o'Field, where Mary visited him on the evening of 9 February. Changing her mind about spending the night, Mary left to attend the marriage celebrations of a court official.

At about 2:00 a.m. on 10 February, the house at Kirk o'Field exploded; Darnley escaped into the garden, but was smothered to death there by persons unknown. Suspicion immediately fell upon James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, to whom Mary had shown marked favor. The murder became a European cause célèbre, but it need not have led to Mary's downfall, for Darnley's death removed an acknowledged political embarrassment. Both **Elizabeth I** in England and Catherine de **Medici** in France advised Mary to maintain an appearance of innocence, to act within the law, and to allow the scandal to die down. In this way, Elizabeth had survived Amy **Dudley**'s death in 1560 and Catherine de Medici was to survive the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** in 1572. However, Mary refused to go into mourning and continued to show favor to Bothwell, whom she married in May. Thus, Mary's shocking behavior after the murder, rather than the murder itself, led to her overthrow in 1567 by her outraged subjects.

Once Mary had been removed from power and was imprisoned in England, both Elizabeth and the new Scottish regime headed by Moray used Mary's apparent complicity in Darnley's murder to keep her from returning to the throne. Although Moray and the Protestant lords were surely aware beforehand of the plan to kill Darnley, even if they were not directly involved, they used the damning evidence of the **Casket Letters** to lay the blame solely on Bothwell (who likely was involved) and on Mary (who may or may not have known of the plan). Thus, in death, Darnley became a more effective political force than he ever was in life.

See also Chaseabout Raid; James I

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Daubeney, Giles, Lord Daubeney (1451–1508)

One of the earliest supporters of the House of **Tudor**, Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney, was also one of **Henry VII**'s most influential ministers. His standing with the king was such that **Catherine of Aragon**, writing in 1507, advised her father that Daubeney was the royal adviser best able to influence Henry.

Born in Somerset into a **gentry** family of Norman descent, Daubeney was appointed esquire of the body to **Edward IV** in 1475, the same year he accompanied

Edward on his expedition to **France**. Daubeney sat for Somerset in the **Parliament** of 1478 and was knighted before 1483. Although present at the coronation of **Richard III** in July 1483, Daubeney was shortly thereafter recruited to the cause of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, by Reginald **Bray**. After participating in Buckingham's Rebellion, an unsuccessful attempt to enthrone Richmond, Daubeney fled to **Brittany** where he joined the earl in exile. He returned with Richmond in 1485 and fought at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, where the earl won the Crown as Henry VII.

Daubeney received immediate rewards, becoming master of the mint and a member of the royal **council**. The **attainder** passed against him under Richard was reversed in Henry's first Parliament, and all of Daubeney's estates were restored to him. He quickly acquired numerous other offices, including the important lieutenancy of **Calais**, which was granted to him in 1486, the same year he was raised to the **peerage**. He was thereafter sent on embassy to Emperor **Maximilian I** and served with Richard **Foxe** on the commission that negotiated the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of **Medina del Campo**. In 1489, he led an English expedition that helped Imperial forces defeat the French at Ostend. In 1490, he assisted in negotiation of the Anglo-Breton Treaty of **Redon** and later led to Brittany's defense the English forces promised by the agreement. Daubeney was also a member of the commission that concluded the Anglo-French Treaty of **Etaples** in 1492, and in 1495, he succeeded Sir William **Stanley** as lord chamberlain.

In 1497, Daubeney was leading troops to **Scotland** when he was recalled and ordered to crush the **Cornish Rebellion**. His attack on the rebels at Blackheath on 17 June led to his capture, although he was quickly released and the insurgents were soon after defeated. Daubeney also took part in the defeat and capture of the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck** in the following September. In 1501, he arranged Catherine of Aragon's public reception in **London** prior to her marriage to Prince Arthur **Tudor**, and in 1505, after the widowed Catherine had been betrothed to Arthur's brother Prince Henry, Daubeney witnessed the prince's protestation (at his father's direction) against the marriage. Daubeney died in London on 21 May 1508.

See also Henry VIII

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Davies, Richard (1501–1581)

Richard Davies, a leader of the **Reformation** in **Wales**, helped translate the New Testament into Welsh. The son of a Welsh parish priest, Davies was educated at Oxford, completing his degree in 1530. A strong Protestant, Davies was given two **benefices** in the diocese of Lincoln by **Edward VI**. On the accession of the Catholic monarch **Mary I** in 1553, Davies was deprived of his church livings because of his reformed beliefs. He and his wife fled the country and settled for a time among the English exile community at Frankfurt before moving to Geneva in Switzerland, where they lived in great poverty.

Upon the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, Davies returned to England and was appointed to the Welsh bishopric of St. Asaph in 1560. In the following year, Davies was promoted to the Welsh bishopric of St. David's, a position that allowed him to become the leading adviser to Archbishop Matthew **Parker** and to Secretary William **Cecil** on issues pertaining to the Welsh church. A sound scholar and capable linguist, Davies contributed to the preparation of the Bishops' Bible, which appeared in 1568.

In 1563, Davies and Welsh reformer William **Salesbury** promoted a private bill in **Parliament** authorizing the translation of the Bible and the **Book of Common Prayer** into Welsh. Both men believed that the success of **Protestantism** in Wales depended on the ability of Welsh children to read the Bible in their native tongue. Although the bill passed, it made no financial provision to support the work of translation. Davies and Salesbury therefore agreed to share the cost of producing both translations. Davies worked with Salesbury on the Book of Common Prayer, but Salesbury did most of the work on the Welsh New Testament, which was published in 1567. The two men also planned to produce a Welsh version of the Old Testament, but quarreled over the translation of certain words and the project was not successful. Translation of the complete Bible into Welsh was left to William **Morgan**, the bishop of St. Asaph, who published his work in 1588. Besides working to strengthen the **Anglican Church** in Wales, Davies was known as a leading patron of Welsh bards. He died in November 1581.

See also Bible, English; Marian Exiles; Poetry; Universities

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Davis, John (c. 1550–1605)

John Davis (or Davys) was an accomplished navigator and a tireless searcher for the **Northwest Passage**. Born in Devon, Davis was a neighbor of the Gilbert and

Raleigh families and grew up knowing the future Elizabethan explorers Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** and his half brother Sir Walter **Raleigh**. Davis went to sea at an early age, and in 1583 proposed an expedition to **Elizabeth I**'s secretary of state, Sir Francis **Walsingham**, to discover the Northwest Passage. With the assistance of Adrian Gilbert, Sir Humphrey's brother, and the financial backing of **London** and Devon merchants, Davis commanded a 1585 expedition that explored the east and west coasts of Greenland.

The next year, Davis led a three-vessel expedition that again explored Greenland and the east coast of Canada. He made friendly contact with Inuit (Eskimo) peoples and returned with a large haul of cod, but found no passage. On a third expedition in 1587, Davis explored the waterway west of Greenland, now called Davis Strait, and entered Baffin Bay. He sailed far to the north, but still found no passage. In 1588, Davis commanded the *Black Dog* in the English Channel battles against the **armada**, and in 1591 he sailed with Thomas **Cavendish**'s voyage to the Pacific via the southern tip of South America. Davis agreed to join the venture as commander of the *Desire* when Cavendish promised him a chance to search for the Pacific end of the Northwest Passage. However, when storms separated the two men and prevented Davis from running the Straits of Magellan, he turned around and sailed home alone, discovering the Falkland Islands along the way.

In 1594, Davis published a work of navigation titled *Seaman's Secrets*. In 1595, he published *The World's Hydrographical Description*, which attempted to prove the existence of a Northwest Passage. Davis sailed with Raleigh on the **Cadiz Raid** in 1596, on the **Islands Voyage** in 1597, and on a Dutch voyage to the East Indies in 1598. In 1601, he was a navigator on the first trading voyage sent to Asia by the **East India Company**. Davis joined the company's second expedition in 1604 and was killed in December 1605 when the expedition was attacked by Japanese pirates off Singapore.

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Davison, William (c. 1541–1608)

William Davison, an Elizabethan diplomat and councillor, became the scapegoat for **Elizabeth I**'s refusal to take responsibility for the execution of her cousin,

Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Davison's official career began in 1566 when he traveled to **Scotland** as secretary to the English ambassador, Sir Henry **Killigrew**. In 1576, the queen sent Davison to report on the **Netherlands Revolt**, and in 1577 he became the English representative in Antwerp. Davison spent 1583–1584 in Edinburgh attempting to dissuade James VI from a French alliance. He returned to the **Netherlands** in 1585, and by the end of 1586 his successful diplomatic work had won him appointment to the Privy **Council** and as assistant secretary of state under Sir Francis **Walsingham**.

The commission appointed to try Mary Stuart condemned her to death on 25 October 1586, and **Parliament** petitioned the queen for her execution on 12 November. Elizabeth ordered William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, to prepare the death warrant, and Burghley gave it to Davison to obtain the queen's signature. Because the French and Scottish ambassadors were petitioning for Mary's life, Elizabeth ordered Davison to hold the warrant until she requested it. Over the next few weeks, Elizabeth made several attempts to convince Sir Amias **Paulet**, Mary's jailer, to murder the Scottish queen quietly so as to relieve Elizabeth of responsibility for executing her cousin publicly. Horrified by these requests, Paulet refused.

On 1 February 1587, Elizabeth sent for Davison and signed the warrant, but bemoaned the necessity of executing Mary and hinted that Davison should arrange with Paulet to have Mary secretly killed. Davison showed the signed warrant to Burghley and Walsingham, who convened the Privy Council to issue letters ordering its implementation. Accordingly, Mary was beheaded on 8 February. Upon hearing the news, Elizabeth angrily declared that she had never ordered the execution and that it had been carried out against her wishes by the Privy Council acting under unauthorized instructions from Davison. Elizabeth arrested Davison and charged him with contempt and misprision (improper performance of an official duty); he was convicted in **Star Chamber**, heavily fined, and imprisoned in the **Tower of London** until 1589. Although Burghley and Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, defended Davison, the queen never readmitted him to her favor.

See also James I; Officers of State

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Davys, John

See Davis, John

Death

Death was omnipresent in Tudor England; its reminders were everywhere: funerals, graves, anatomy theaters, and public execution scaffolds. For Christians, death was not merely a part of biology but a consequence of sin. Death was often personified as a ruthless adversary, and contemporary woodcuts and engravings picture death as walking skeletons, sometimes equipped with a spade to dig the grave. It was a commonplace of Tudor preaching that people should be ready for death at all times. And they were conditioned to expect a happier existence beyond this life. Prior to the **Reformation** it was believed that eternal bliss came after the pains of **purgatory**. However, after the rise of **Protestantism**, purgatory and commemorative Masses for the dead were abolished, causing a radical shift in the perception of death.

The single greatest killer in both sixteenth-century England and Europe was the bubonic **plague**—the Black Death. First arriving in England in 1348, frequent outbreaks starting in 1563 caused the death of thousands (the 1603 **London** outbreak resulted in over 33,000 deaths), until the last major occurrence in 1665. The English confronted other epidemic diseases as well. Most prominent among them was syphilis, or “the pox,” a painful venereal disease that killed its victims slowly. Childbirth was the leading cause of death among women, and infant mortality rates fluctuated between 20 and 50 percent throughout the early modern period.

Under Roman Catholicism people generally believed that after death the soul went first to purgatory, where it lingered, suffering, in proportionate time to its accumulation of sins during its lifetime. The duration and intensity of these torments could be offset by the devotional acts and religious good works committed by the individual while on earth, but also by the intercessory prayers of the community of departed saints and living Christians after the individual died. Eventually, at the final Day of Judgment, the soul with its newly reconstituted body would be received into heaven or consigned to hell. Therefore, the fate of the soul could be affected by prayer and ritual action both during one’s life and after.

Protestants rejected the concept of purgatory, claiming that it lacked scriptural foundation. For Protestants, there were only two realms beyond earth—salvation or damnation, heaven and hell—and neither was accessible by intercessory effort. Salvation was only achieved by the exercise of faith, or in the case of Calvinists, by **predestination**.

Despite their different views of the immediate afterlife, both Catholics and Protestants believed that the ultimate end of humanity would occur with Christ’s return

to earth. This second coming would be a judgment day when the bodies of Christians were destined to rise again at the general resurrection and the reconstituted body would accommodate the redeemed soul.

For Protestants after the Reformation, the souls of the departed were beyond the influence of intercessory prayer; however, the bodies of the dead remained materially present in the churchyard. Although Protestantism did afford some rituals to mark death, there was much less of the commemorative pomp typical to the Catholic tradition. Elaborate funerals were condemned as gestures of vanity, and the material symbols of mourning, such as shrines, ornate tombs, candles, and feasts, were seen as vestiges of an ostentatious Catholic past. However, those with money and status continued to spend lavishly on funerals and monuments. Overall, English Protestants advocated simple, dignified displays of mourning that focused on the hereafter.

Various traditional customs existed for the preparation of the corpse after death, having both practical and symbolic functions. Once an individual died, preparations commenced immediately so the corpse could be transported promptly to the grave. The work—often performed by women of the family or by paid female attendants—included washing the body, wrapping it in a winding sheet, and watching the body before it was taken to the church. Usually no more than three days passed between death and burial. However, women who died of childbirth were often buried within 24 hours. Embalming or sheathing the body in lead was costly and available only to the wealthy. Aristocratic corpses were commonly treated using such practices to allow time for appropriate funeral preparations in accordance with their rank. The custom of “watching” a corpse was practiced by both the wealthy and the poor because it provided a final period of respect and attendance before the body was publicly buried. However, the practice also prevented tampering with the corpse and provided for a witness to be present in case the body revived.

Nicola M. Imbraccio

See also Calvinism, English

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Debasement of the Coinage

See Coinage, Debasement of

Dee, John (1527–1608)

Although known today primarily as an astrologer and alchemist, John Dee was also one of the finest geographers and mathematicians in Elizabethan England. Dee was born in **London**, although his family originally came from **Wales**. He earned his baccalaureate degree at Cambridge in 1544 and two years later was appointed a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, by **Henry VIII**. In the late 1540s, Dee left England to study in the **Netherlands** at Louvain, where he met and befriended many of the leading geographers of Europe. By 1550, he was in Paris delivering a series of popular public lectures on Euclid. On his return to London, Dee brought back the first astronomical instruments ever seen in England.

After spending part of the reign of **Mary I** in prison for allegedly plotting against the queen, Dee won favor with **Elizabeth I** by using his astrological knowledge to calculate a propitious day for her coronation. Over the course of the reign, Dee became an important figure in the promotion of English exploration and the expansion of English trade. He strongly supported efforts to find a Northeast Passage to Asia and to discover the continent of “Terra Australis Incognita,” which Dee was convinced existed in the Southern Hemisphere. A host of famous Elizabethan navigators and explorers, including Sir Martin **Frobisher**, Sir Francis **Drake**, Stephen and William **Borough**, and Sir Walter **Raleigh**, sought out Dee for his math-

ematical and technical expertise. His extensive library and his fine collection of navigational and astronomical instruments were open to any seaman or scientist who wished to use them. The queen consulted Dee frequently on matters both scientific and astrological, sometimes even coming to his home at Mortlake.

In the 1580s, Dee’s attempts to conjure spirits and to discover the “philosophers’ stone,” an object thought capable of converting base metals into gold, involved him with a disreputable spiritual medium named Edward Kelley. Kelley’s obvious impostures hurt both Dee’s reputation and his finances. In 1583, a mob, believing Dee to be a magician, attacked his house at Mortlake and destroyed many of his books and instruments. Dee spent the rest of



John Dee, English geographer and mathematician, brought the first astronomical instruments to England after studying in Europe. (Ann Ronan Pictures/StockphotoPro)

his life attempting to refute the charge of sorcery. He died in poverty at Mortlake in December 1608.

See also Forman, Simon; Universities; Witchcraft

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De Facto Act

De Facto Act is the popular name for a statute enacted by **Parliament** in October 1495 during the height of Perkin **Warbeck's** assault on the Tudor throne. The act was designed to reassure those fighting for **Henry VII** against his rival that they would suffer no loss of property as a result of their military service on his behalf.

Titled “An Act That No Person Going with the King to the Wars Shall Be Attainted of Treason,” the statute, which nowhere uses the words “de facto” or “de jure,” declared it unreasonable and illegal to deprive any subject of his property for serving the person who was “for the time being” king of England. Although service to **Richard III** had been treated as **treason** since the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485—Henry had even dated his reign from the day before Bosworth to more clearly extend the penalties of treason to those who had fought for Richard—the De Facto Act reassured former Yorkists that the **Wars of the Roses** were over and that they would henceforth suffer neither forfeiture nor **attainder** for treason for their past allegiance. The act prohibited loyal military servants of the king from losing life, lands, income, or possessions on account of such service.

Although the act sought to invalidate any future statutes that might punish subjects for military service to the king, it was generally understood that no Parliament could limit the actions of a future Parliament. Had Henry been overthrown, the act would likely have afforded his supporters little protection. Despite the tendency to exaggerate its importance, the De Facto Act was not a proclamation of constitutional principle, but merely a practical expedient designed to pacify any remaining hostility from the late civil wars and unite the country behind Henry VII and the House of **Tudor**.

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Defender of the Faith

Given in recognition of the king's vigorous refutation of the antipapal writings of Martin Luther, *Fidei Defensor* ("Defender of the Faith") is the honorary title that Pope Leo X conferred on **Henry VIII** in October 1521.

Since 1512, Henry had peppered the Holy See with requests for a royal title like those bestowed on the kings of **France** (*Christianissimus* ["Most Christian"]) and **Spain** (*Catholicus* ["Catholic"]). Julius II declined an English suggestion that he strip **Louis XII** of his title and then regrant it to Henry, and Leo X rejected suggestions from within his own administration that he declare Henry *Apostolicus* ("Apostolic") or *Orthodoxus* ("Orthodox"). When the English proposed "Protector" or "Defender" of the Holy See, these titles were found to already belong to the Holy Roman Emperor and the Swiss, and Leo totally ignored "Defender of the Faith," which was offered by Henry in 1516.

In May 1521, just as Henry finished writing the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (The Defense of the Seven Sacraments), his treatise defending papal authority against the attacks of Luther, Thomas **Wolsey** again requested a suitable title for his master. In June, with the *Assertio* providing a good reason for the pope to do Henry honor, Leo compiled a list of possible titles, submitted them to his cardinals for approval, and then sent them to Henry to make the final selection. The king chose his earlier suggestion, *Fidei Defensor*; which was officially bestowed upon him by papal bull on 11 October, only a week and a half after John Clerk, the English ambassador at the Vatican, formally presented the *Assertio* to the pope.

Although Leo granted the title only to Henry for his lifetime, the king viewed it as the heritable property of the House of **Tudor**, applying the title *Fidei Defensatrix* to his wife, **Catherine of Aragon**. Pope **Clement VII** confirmed his successor's grant in 1523 but left open the question of heritability. In 1543, **Parliament**, having recently contravened the *Assertio*'s main arguments by sanctioning Henry's break with Rome, passed an act permanently attaching the title to the English Crown. A Parliament of **Mary I** repealed the statute, but the queen retained the title, which was again given parliamentary sanction under **Elizabeth I**. Unlike such titles as king of **Ireland** and emperor of India, royal titles that have fallen away, *Fidei Defensor* is still part of the royal style in the twenty-first century.

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The Defense of the Seven Sacraments

See Assertio Septem Sacramentorum

De Heretico Comburendo

See Heresy Law

Denny, Sir Anthony (1501–1549)

Sir Anthony Denny was chief gentleman of the privy chamber during the last years of **Henry VIII**. In daily attendance upon the king, Denny became increasingly influential as the agent through whom the ill and aging monarch made his wishes known.

Born in Hertfordshire, Denny studied under William **Lily** at St. Paul's School in **London**. After leaving St. John's College, Cambridge, Denny entered royal service, becoming groom of the stool and a member of the Royal Council. As a royal friend and confidant, Denny acquired numerous grants of monastic property, especially in Hertfordshire. He accompanied Henry to **France** in 1544 and was knighted at Boulogne on 30 September. As groom of the stool, Denny controlled the king's privy purse; on Henry's oral command, Denny disbursed almost £250,000 during the last five years of the reign. Besides purchasing clothes, jewels, tapestries, and household items, Denny paid for building expenses and military equipage; he was empowered to draw funds from all revenue courts, especially the Court of **Augmentations**.

As co-keeper of the dry stamp, a position to which he was appointed with William Clerk and Sir John Gates in August 1546, Denny was empowered to affix a replica of the royal signature on documents. The extensive use of this facsimile during the last months of the king's life has left historians uncertain as to how active the increasingly ill king was in the making of certain decisions, and how far Denny was able to use the stamp to promote or protect the interests of the reformist party. Although Henry's watchfulness and Denny's loyalty made any significant abuse unlikely, Denny was at least mildly reformist in religion, and some historians have questioned whether the stamp, through Denny's collusion, was employed by Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, leader of the reform faction, to exclude Stephen **Gardiner**, bishop of Winchester, the leading conservative, from Prince Edward's regency council. According to several sources, including Denny himself, it seems likely that Gardiner's exclusion was Henry's decision.

On 28 January 1547, Denny boldly informed the dying monarch that his end was near and summoned Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** on Henry's request. After

the king’s death, Denny was called before the council, along with William **Paget**, Lord Paget, to testify as to the king’s last wishes for the distribution of lands and titles. Denny, whom Henry had appointed an executor of his will and a member of **Edward VI**’s regency council, received lands and gifts worth £300. An adherent of Hertford (now Duke of Somerset and lord protector), Denny retained his household offices. He sat for Hertfordshire in the Edwardian **Parliament** of 1547 and accompanied William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, into Norfolk in 1549 to crush **Kett’s Rebellion**. Denny died on 10 September 1549.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Derby, Countess of

See Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby

Derby, Earl of

See Stanley, Thomas, Earl of Derby

“The Description of England”

William **Harrison**’s “The Description of England” is one of the most valuable sources on Elizabethan life and customs available to modern historians. Part of the team of writers working with Raphael **Holinshed** on *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (popularly known as **Holinshed’s Chronicles**), Harrison wrote a long treatise describing the island of Britain and its people as they existed in the 1570s. Titled “An Historical Description of the Island of Britain,” Harrison’s treatise became the introduction to the first edition of Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, published in 1577. For the second edition of the *Chronicles* published in 1587 by an editorial team under John **Hooker**, Harrison reordered the sections of his work, retaining the original title for Book I and using the title “The Description of England” for Books II and III.

Book I included topographical and historical descriptions of the whole island of Britain, including **Scotland**. Some of the individual sections covered the languages of Britain; major rivers and waterfalls; the air, soil, and main commodities of the island; and important highways. The books comprising “The Description of England” (which also included **Wales**) described, among other things, the **Anglican Church** and its dioceses, the universities, the shires, the social hierarchy, **Parliament**, the **poor laws**, the punishment of criminals, architecture, towns, castles and palaces, the **navy**, the **coinage**, English pets and livestock, inns and fairs, the keeping of time, minerals, and antiquities.

Harrison’s work is important because of its interesting detail and its lively, readable style. For instance, in describing the lavish meals of the nobility, with their “great number of dishes and change of meat,” Harrison credits their preparation mainly to “musical headed Frenchmen.” Harrison’s descriptions of Elizabethan social classes are particularly useful—the **gentry** are “those whom their race and blood, or at the least, their virtues, do make noble and known,” while townsmen are “those that are free within the cities and are of some likely substance to bear office in the same.” Another service performed by Harrison is his preservation for modern readers of the natural vocabulary and language rhythms of Elizabethan **English**, for, as Harrison complained, the printer’s schedule denied him the scholarly notes and more formal style he thought proper, the work being “no sooner penned than printed.”

See also Antiquarianism; Boroughs; Local Government; Printing

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Desmond, Earl of

See Fitzgerald, Gerald, Earl of Desmond

Desmond Rebellion

The Desmond Rebellion was instrumental in opening the Munster region of southern **Ireland** to more intensive English colonization. Although named for the man

who ultimately became its leader, Gerald **Fitzgerald**, 14th Earl of Desmond, the Desmond Rebellion was begun by James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald** (often referred to simply as Fitzmaurice), leader of an earlier rising in southern Ireland. Seeking to bring the **Catholic Reformation** to Ireland, Fitzmaurice landed in southern Ireland in July 1579 with a force of several hundred Spanish and Italian troops provided by Pope **Gregory XIII**. The papal force built a fort at **Smerwick** and called upon all Irishmen to rise in defense of the Catholic religion. When Fitzmaurice was killed in August, leadership of the uprising passed to Desmond's younger brothers.

In November, Sir John Pelham, the English lord deputy, assuming that the actions of Desmond's brothers indicated the earl's support for the rebellion, proclaimed Desmond a traitor. This proclamation drove the earl into open revolt and angered **Elizabeth I**, who had hoped to limit the spread of rebellion by negotiating with Desmond. In 1580, the queen appointed a new lord deputy, the strongly Protestant Lord Grey de Wilton. Faced with a second uprising centered in the **Pale** just 25 miles from **Dublin**, Grey attacked the rebels in the steep valley of Glenmalure and suffered a severe defeat. The action at Glenmalure and the arrival at Smerwick in September 1580 of another 700 papal troops encouraged the Desmond rebels to continue their rising. However, in November, Grey joined forces with Thomas **Butler**, Earl of Ormond, a staunch royalist and an enemy of Desmond, to lay siege to the Smerwick fort. The papal troops surrendered after four days, only to be massacred by Grey's men.

Desmond's Irish supporters, realizing that they could expect no more help from Rome, gradually abandoned the earl and submitted to the Dublin government. Between 1580 and 1583, Ormond devastated Munster in a campaign vividly described by Edmund **Spenser** in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Both Spenser and Walter **Raleigh** participated in the suppression of the uprising. Captured in November 1583, Desmond died shortly thereafter when his supporters tried to rescue him. Because over 30,000 inhabitants of Munster were dispossessed or otherwise driven from their lands, Desmond's Rebellion opened Munster to a subsequent plantation of English colonists.

See also Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Plantations, Irish

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de Vere, Edward, Earl of Oxford

See Vere, Edward de, Earl of Oxford

Devereux, Penelope

See Rich, Penelope, Lady Rich

Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex (1567–1601)

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was the most prominent courtier and most famous military leader of **Elizabeth I**'s last years. The son of Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, and Lettice **Knollys**, Essex was already, by age 17, a favorite of the 50-year-old queen. Elizabeth's affection for the young earl stemmed in part from ties of blood (Essex was the queen's cousin through his mother) and in part from his mother's marriage to Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the great love of Elizabeth's life.

Essex came to **court** in 1584, was knighted in 1586, and in 1587 became master of horse, which had also been Leicester's first position at court. After Leicester's death in 1588, the queen quickly transferred much of her affection for him to Essex. By 1593, she had named him knight of the Garter and privy councillor. The relationship between aging monarch and young **favorite** was stormy. In 1589, Essex slipped away from court without permission to join the **Portugal expedition**. This escapade brought down the queen's wrath on Sir Francis **Drake** and the other leaders of the expedition, but Essex himself was forgiven when he returned to court. The earl was a coleader of the brilliantly successful **Cadiz Raid** of 1596, an action that won him great military fame in England and Europe. Essex's involvement in the unsuccessful **Islands Voyage** of 1597, however, hurt his reputation and his standing with the queen.

In 1599, he was named lord lieutenant of **Ireland** and sent to that island with a large army to put down the rebellion of Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone. Essex made little headway against O'Neill and, anxious to secure his political position at home, settled instead for a truce. He returned to England without permission in September 1599. For this action, he was charged with dereliction of duty and treating with the enemy, and he was stripped of all favors and offices, including his monopoly on sweet wines, upon which his financial position depended. He was imprisoned until August 1600 but arrested again in February 1601 for leading a brief uprising in **London** that aimed at taking the queen prisoner. For this plot, Essex was condemned for **treason** and executed on 25 February 1601.

See also Essex's Rebellion; Monopolies; Nine Years War

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Devereux, Walter, Earl of Essex (c. 1541–1576)

Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, led a major English colonization effort in Elizabethan **Ireland**. In 1561, Devereux married Lettice **Knollys**, daughter of Sir Francis **Knollys** and second cousin to **Elizabeth I**; in 1572, the queen made Devereux Earl of Essex and a knight of the Garter. In 1573, Essex proposed a scheme for subduing and colonizing Ulster, a province of northern Ireland in which England had little cultural influence and even less political control. The formal agreement between Essex and Elizabeth made the venture a private effort; the earl was to receive no government commission or salary. Elizabeth recognized the earl's right to colonize a portion of Ulster, and she granted him freedom from **cess** and certain rights over trade and the administration of justice. Essex and the queen agreed to jointly raise a force of 1,200 men and to share the costs of building fortifications. The earl mortgaged his lands in England in return for a royal loan of £10,000 to cover start-up costs; if the loan was not repaid in three years, the lands were forfeit to the Crown.

Essex and an enthusiastic group of volunteers, including such other proponents of Irish colonization as Sir Peter **Carew**, left for Ireland in July 1573. From the outset, the expedition suffered from lack of supplies, bad weather, disease, and the hostility of the Irish lord deputy, Sir William **Fitzwilliam**, who saw Essex's venture as a threat to his position. By 1574, Essex, facing financial ruin, asked to amend the agreement to convert the enterprise into a government project. Elizabeth was sufficiently agreeable to keep Essex campaigning in Ireland until 1575, when she withdrew her support.

Essex returned to England and negotiated with the government for assistance in meeting his extensive debts. An arrangement approved by the queen in May 1576 granted Essex lands in Ireland and appointed him earl marshal of Ireland, although the earl had to sell his English estates to satisfy his creditors. Essex then returned to Ireland where he died in September 1576. His sudden death at age 35 led to rumors that he had been poisoned



Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, was nearly brought to ruin by the challenge and expense of trying to colonize Ireland for Queen Elizabeth. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, who was suspected of having an affair with Essex's wife. Although Leicester married the widowed countess in 1578, murder was never proved and is unlikely. Essex's son and heir, Robert **Devereux**, became Elizabeth's **favorite** in the 1590s.

See also Ulster Enterprise (Essex)

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Devise (of the Crown)

The *Devise* was a document that embodied the plans of **Edward VI** and his chief minister John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, to exclude Edward's Catholic half sister, Princess Mary, from the succession to the throne.

As Edward VI's health deteriorated in the spring of 1553, he and Northumberland devised a plan whereby the succession as ordained by act of **Parliament** and the will of **Henry VIII** be altered to exclude the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, the king's next two heirs. Although there is some debate about who was the driving force behind the *Devise*—the king or the duke—Edward was at least a willing participant, if not the initiator, of the document. The plan, as eventually framed, passed the Crown directly to the male heirs of Frances Brandon **Grey**, Duchess of Suffolk, the wife of Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, and the daughter of Mary **Tudor**, Henry VIII's younger sister. These male heirs were nonexistent in 1553, for the duchess's only living children were daughters, the eldest of whom, Jane **Grey**, was only about 15 and unmarried. The main difficulty that confronted the king and the duke was a lack of male heirs; when the Scottish heirs of Edward's aunt Margaret **Tudor** were also excluded, Edward himself was the only remaining male descendant of **Henry VII**.

Like Princess Mary, the English heirs of the Scottish House of **Stuart** were barred from the succession because they were Catholic and because the chief heir, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, was already a reigning sovereign and unlikely to maintain Northumberland's dominance in the English government. The reasons

for Elizabeth's exclusion are more uncertain; she was Protestant, but probably also less amenable to Northumberland. The most attractive candidates for the succession were the Greys, young Protestant girls who could be controlled by the duke. To ensure the birth of male heirs and to tie his family to the House of **Tudor**, Northumberland, acting with the king's consent, married his son Guildford to Jane Grey in May 1553.

When it became clear that Edward would die before a male heir could be born, the *Devise* was altered to transfer the Crown to Jane herself. Both the prospective queen and the royal judges had to be bullied into accepting the arrangement, but popular opinion refused to do so. When Edward's death on 6 July 1553 was announced to the country (and to a stunned Jane Grey) three days later, spontaneous uprisings across the realm ended the reign of Queen Jane after only nine days. Jane, her husband, her father, and her father-in-law were all imprisoned in the **Tower of London**. Northumberland was beheaded in August 1553; the other three survived until February 1554 when they were executed in the aftermath of **Wyatt's Rebellion**.

See also Elizabeth I; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup; Succession, Acts of

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Devonshire, Earl of

See Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire

Diet

See Food and Diet

Dinham, John, Lord Dinham (d. 1501)

Although formerly a loyal adherent of the House of **York**, John Dinham (or Dynham), Lord Dinham, also became a trusted servant of the House of **Tudor**. Born into a Devonshire **gentry** family, Dinham rendered vital service to the Yorkist cause in October 1459, when, after guiding him from the Battle of Ludford Bridge, Dinham sheltered the future **Edward IV** while arranging for a vessel to carry him to safety at **Calais**. In January 1460, Dinham raided Sandwich, capturing a Lancastrian fleet

being readied there for an attack on Calais. In the following June, Dinham again descended on Sandwich, defeating another Lancastrian force and seizing the town as a Yorkist bridgehead. Named to the royal **council** in 1462 and raised to the **peerage** in 1467, Dinham became the chief Yorkist peer in the West Country by 1469. After the Yorkist restoration in 1471, Dinham became deputy at Calais and in 1475 commanded a fleet charged with holding the English Channel while Edward IV's army sailed to **France**.

In 1483, Dinham supported **Richard III**'s usurpation of the throne and was rewarded with the stewardship of the royal duchy of Cornwall. Dinham also received extensive land grants in the autumn of 1483 after remaining loyal to Richard during Buckingham's Rebellion. In December 1484, Dinham recaptured the Calais fortress of Hammes from its turncoat garrison, which had defected to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Perhaps because he allowed the Hammes garrison to march away, Dinham was superseded in the Calais command in 1485 by Richard's bastard son John of Gloucester. Because Dinham remained in Calais as one of Gloucester's deputies, he was not present at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485.

Despite his long Yorkist past, Dinham quickly won the trust of **Henry VII**, who retained Dinham on the council and named him to the prestigious office of treasurer in February 1486. However, it is possible that Dinham may have connived at the escape of Henry's supporter, John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, from imprisonment at Calais in 1484. If true, Dinham may have already been a secret adherent of the Tudor cause before Richard's death. In any event, Dinham soon became one of Henry VII's most active councillors, serving on many royal boards and commissions, including a 1488 commission charged with reforming the administration of Crown lands. Dinham also received numerous other offices and honors, including election to the prestigious Order of the Garter. Dinham died in January 1501.

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Diplomacy

See Foreign Relations and Diplomacy

Discovery

See Exploration and Discovery

Disease

See Medicine and Disease

Dispensations Act

Enacted by the **Reformation Parliament** in March 1534 and officially titled “An Act for the Exoneration of Exactions Paid to the See of Rome,” the Dispensations Act abolished all financial payments to the **papacy** and granted to the archbishop of Canterbury the power to issue all dispensations formerly obtained from Rome.

Only a week after abolishing clerical payment of **annates**, **Parliament** turned its attention to the remaining fees and taxes paid to Rome by laypersons. The papacy collected a wide range of financial exactions, from the cost of judicial proceedings in papal courts and the fees for providing documents of dispensation from **canon law** to the annual tax known as Peter’s Pence. The latter, which had begun in Anglo-Saxon times as a tribute of one penny from each householder owning lands of a certain value, had by Tudor times become a fixed assessment of £200 collected each midsummer. Besides abolishing all such payments to Rome, the Dispensations Act prohibited anyone from seeking any document from the pope, gave the archbishop power to dispense from canon law, set fees for dispensations, and required royal approval, confirmed under the Great Seal, for any instruments costing more than £4 at Rome. The act led to the establishment of the Court of Faculties, an ecclesiastical tribunal that issued licenses and dispensations under the archbishop’s new authority.

Cast in the form of a petition, the preamble is one of the first English enunciations of the doctrine of papal usurpation, declaring that England had no superior on earth but the king, whose authority was greatly usurped and diminished by the pope’s fraudulent use of the dispensing power. Such power properly rested only with the king in Parliament, where all laws applying to English subjects were enacted, amended, or rescinded. The preamble then describes how the king’s subjects are being impoverished by the payment of unjust fees and exactions levied by the pope on laypeople seeking to procure the benefits of his pretended authority.

The statute, which was initially drafted by Thomas **Cromwell**, also contains clauses giving the Crown oversight of monasteries exempted from archiepiscopal jurisdiction and forbidding English clergy from attending overseas assemblies and conferences. Another clause declares that the act should not be interpreted as in any way severing the English Church from orthodox Catholic doctrine. A final clause, which was added after the bill’s passage, empowered **Henry VIII** to abrogate all

or part of the act before 24 June 1534. Perhaps an effort to retain some measure of bargaining power with the pope, the clause was never invoked.

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Dissolution of the Monasteries

By the early Tudor period, England contained over 800 religious houses of various kinds, which, in total, commanded a yearly income of almost £200,000. In the late 1530s, **Parliament** dissolved these institutions and provided for the transfer of their property to the Crown. This dissolution was neither a direct nor an inevitable consequence of **Henry VIII**'s break with Rome; the monasteries were not destroyed for being propapal—few were—and the king could have undertaken some measure of dissolution even without the new statutory powers conferred on him as supreme head of the church. Beginning in 1535 with Thomas **Cromwell**'s appointment as the king's deputy in his ecclesiastical authority, the dissolution of certain religious houses was undertaken both to reform English monasticism and to increase royal revenue.

Almost 12,000 monks, nuns, regular canons, and friars resided in English religious houses in the 1530s. The abbeys also housed numerous lay servants and a small number of lay corrodians, men and women (usually elderly or infirm) who had arranged room and board for life. Many other nonresidents were dependent on the monasteries for their livelihoods, including agricultural laborers and lay officials such as receivers, stewards, and bailiffs. The monasteries derived their income from the rents and dues generated by their landed endowments. By the 1530s, most monasteries had leased their lands, except for a small home farm to supply the residents' needs, to local gentlemen. However, especially in the north, some monasteries enclosed their land for sheep and derived a substantial income from the sale of wool. Some houses also derived income from the impropriation of **tithes** belonging to local parishes for which the monastery held the **advowson**, or right of presentation to the parish living.

In the 1520s, Thomas **Wolsey** gained papal approval to dissolve 29 small houses with declining memberships. In 1535, Cromwell initiated a national survey of all monastic wealth, the results of which were recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. In 1536, Parliament dissolved all houses (about 300) with incomes under £200 per year and established the Court of **Augmentations** to administer the monastic properties

that came to the Crown as a result of the dissolution. The Court arranged for all those who wished to continue the religious life to be transferred to other houses and provided pensions to abbots, abbesses, and heads of all dissolved houses.

Monastic involvement in the **Pilgrimage of Grace** in 1536, as well as growing lay demand for monastic property, increased government pressure on the remaining houses to voluntarily surrender themselves to the Crown. When this policy produced only scattered results, the government dispatched groups of commissioners throughout the kingdom to accept the surrender of all houses. An act of 1539 formally dissolved these institutions, with the last functioning monastery, Waltham Abbey in Essex, surrendering in March 1540. Although a few recalcitrant abbots were executed and the members of the austere **Carthusian** order offered particular resistance to the **royal supremacy**, opposition to the dissolution was remarkably slight. Seeking to minimize resistance, the government granted pensions to all religious who willingly departed their houses and annuities to all lay officers and corrodians. Monks were also given licenses to obtain other church livings. Because some attempt was made to find places for lay servants, it seems unlikely that the dissolution seriously aggravated the early Tudor **vagrancy** problem.

By 1539, many of the smaller monasteries had been granted as gifts to laymen, mostly members of the **peerage** and **gentry** who enjoyed royal favor. By 1540, the Crown began selling monastic lands, the purchase price usually being 20 times the net annual value of the property. In a newly energized land market, many estates went to local gentlemen, Crown officers, lawyers, and merchants, with some going at secondhand to small gentry, yeoman farmers, and country traders. By Henry VIII's death in 1547, more than half the former monastic property had been alienated from the Crown; by the death of **Mary I** in 1558, more than three-quarters had passed into lay hands. Thus, Cromwell's original intention, the permanent endowment of the Crown with monastic income, foundered on the land hunger of the gentry and nobility, and on the need of the late Henrician government to meet the enormous expense of war.

See also Enclosures

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Divorce, Royal

Anxious about his lack of a legitimate male heir and infatuated with another woman, **Henry VIII** in 1527 secretly undertook to replace Queen **Catherine of Aragon** with a new and younger wife who could provide him with a son. To accomplish this, Henry was technically not seeking a divorce but an annulment, which involved a declaration by the pope that the Aragon marriage was in violation of **canon law** and thus held by the Church to be invalid and, indeed, never to have existed at all. However, contemporaries usually spoke of a “divorce” when they referred to Henry’s “Great Matter,” and so the effort to annul the king’s first marriage has traditionally become known as “the divorce.” Although an annulment was finally obtained in 1533, the process of doing so radically altered the political and religious landscape of England by replacing papal authority with that of the Crown. Through the agency of **Parliament**, the king acquired a sweeping and unprecedented authority in ecclesiastical matters.

For five months in 1501–1502, Catherine had been married to Henry’s elder brother Arthur **Tudor**. On Arthur’s death, **Henry VII**, in an effort to maintain his Anglo-Spanish alliance, arranged Catherine’s betrothal to Prince Henry. Because canon law (i.e., Church law) forbade a union between two people related by marriage, an impediment known as “affinity,” the marriage of Catherine and Henry, which finally occurred in 1509, required special dispensation from Pope Julius II. Past legal precedent empowered the pope to permit a marriage between persons otherwise barred by affinity if the union would serve some good purpose, such as, in Henry and Catherine’s case, preserving peace between two countries.

By the mid-1520s, Catherine, despite numerous pregnancies, had given birth to only one child who survived infancy, Princess Mary. Because governing was seen as an exclusively male occupation, the prospect of a female succession filled Henry, and most Englishmen, with foreboding. With the queen turning 40 in 1525, it seemed unlikely that Henry would ever have a son with her. Beyond that, Henry was tiring of a wife whose physical attraction was waning and whose piety was becoming excessive. Catherine had also become the symbol of a repudiated foreign policy, Henry being at odds with Catherine’s nephew, **Charles V**. In about 1526, Henry discovered several **Bible** passages that seemed to apply to his situation. Deuteronomy 25:5 commanded the brother of a man who died childless to marry his widowed sister-in-law and produce children for his brother, while Leviticus 18:16 and 20:21 declared a marriage to a brother’s widow to be an unclean act punishable by childlessness. Dismissing Deuteronomy as a Jewish law no longer in force, Henry seized upon Leviticus as the reason for his lack of male heirs, which, for him, was equivalent to childlessness. The pope, Henry concluded, had no power to dispense with divine law, only human law.

Henry's sincere belief that God was punishing him for his sinful union soon became entangled with his desire for Anne **Boleyn**, who, if he could legally free himself from Catherine, might become his wife and produce a legitimate son. The problem was that Henry's previous sexual relationship with Anne's sister, Mary **Boleyn**, had created a bar of affinity between him and Anne; legal opinion held that intercourse, even outside marriage, placed one within the prohibited degree of affinity with the siblings of one's sexual partner. Thus, although the question of whether or not Catherine had engaged in sexual relations with Arthur (she denied it) was much disputed, it made little difference to Henry's case. Henry maintained that Catherine's union with Arthur was created by the marriage contract, not by coitus, for to have argued that Catherine and Arthur's sexual relations validated their union was to also acknowledge that his own relations with Mary Boleyn had created an indispensable affinity to any marriage with Anne. To have Anne, Henry had to base his case against Catherine on an impediment known as "public honesty" or "affinity by contract," which bar Pope Julius had not dispensed. However, because public honesty was not a biblical impediment, it could be removed by the pope, even retroactively; the current pope, **Clement VII**, could validate Henry's marriage by issuing a bull that made good any deficiencies in Julius's earlier dispensation.

Although the king's case was weak in law, popes had in the past readily accommodated rulers in such matters. For instance, both of Henry's sisters had obtained annulments to contract new marriages; Mary **Tudor**'s marriage to Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, in 1515 had required the annulment of two previous unions, and Margaret **Tudor**'s marriage to Henry Stuart, later Lord Methven, in 1527 was only possible after the pope annulled her earlier marriage to Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus. However, in 1527, when Henry authorized Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and Archbishop William **Warham** to secretly convene a court to annul his marriage, Pope Clement was in no position to confirm the court's judgment. With Charles V in control of **Italy**, Clement risked his continued hold on the **papacy** if he angered the emperor by annulling his aunt's marriage. Also, the pope was unwilling to accept the limitations on papal dispensing power that acceptance of Henry's position implied. Henry dispatched numerous envoys to Rome, and, after much wrangling, a harried Clement empowered Wolsey and Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** to convene a legatine court in England to try the case. Secretly instructed by Clement to delay the trial and seek some compromise, Campeggio tried unsuccessfully to convince Catherine to enter a nunnery, but the queen flatly refused to consent to anything that invalidated her marriage or threatened the position of her daughter. On 31 July 1529, after six weeks of hearings, Campeggio recessed the court, and Clement shortly thereafter acceded to Catherine's request and revoked the case to Rome.

With the matter now scheduled to come before a papal court in June 1530, Henry sought to bolster his case by obtaining favorable judgments from universities in England and across Europe. Although many obliged, others refused or, like

Cambridge and Oxford, offered qualified endorsements of little use to Henry's cause. Then, by the end of 1530, Henry suddenly changed strategy, shifting from an attempt to pressure Clement into granting an annulment to a declaration that Parliament could empower the archbishop of Canterbury to hear the case without reference to Rome. This new campaign arose from Henry's reading of the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa*, a compilation of ancient manuscripts put together by Edward **Foxe** and other royal advisers to support the king's case at Rome. The documents in the *Collectanea* convinced Henry that he had final authority over all matters, temporal or spiritual, in England. The king had no superior on earth and need not plead with the pope for a divorce; he could have it direct from the national church that he controlled by right. Although the suggestion of parliamentary involvement was perhaps at first merely a threat to force papal compliance, Thomas **Cromwell**, who had supplanted Wolsey as chief royal minister by late 1531, soon began drafting legislation for replacing papal with royal authority.

By 1532, a propaganda campaign orchestrated by Cromwell tried to convince the English people of the righteousness of the king's cause. Officially commissioned pamphlets, such as *A Glass of the Truth* (1532), argued that the pope, ignoring divine law, forced the king to maintain a sinful marriage and thereby denied England a male heir. Although works supporting Catherine were suppressed, the queen commanded significant support both at **court** and in the country. In March 1532, passage of the Act Concerning Restraint of Payment of **Annates** threatened to end payments to Rome and signaled the king's willingness to consider parliamentary limitation of papal authority. In May, through skillful use of the *Supplication against the Ordinaries*, a House of Commons petition against clerical abuses, the king and Cromwell pressured **Convocation** into submitting to royal authority, thereby making possible an English, rather than a Roman, settlement of the king's "Great Matter." By January 1533, when Henry secretly married a pregnant Anne, it was clear that Catherine's right to appeal her case to Rome had to be extinguished. In April, the Act in **Restraint of Appeals** did just that, enacting that all ecclesiastical cases and appeals be heard in English **church courts**. Upon passage of the act, Thomas **Cranmer**, the new archbishop of Canterbury, officially invalidated the Aragon marriage and confirmed the Boleyn marriage. Although Clement excommunicated Henry in July 1533 and officially upheld the Aragon marriage in March 1534, Henry, now supreme head of the English Church, ignored both actions as the unwarranted interference of a foreign power.

See also Mary I; Royal Supremacy; Submission of the Clergy

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Don Antonio Expedition

See Portugal Expedition

Don John of Austria

See John of Austria

Dorset, Earl of

See Sackville, Thomas, Earl of Dorset

Dorset, Marquis of

See Grey, Thomas, [First] Marquis of Dorset; Grey, Thomas, [Second] Marquis of Dorset

Douglas, Archibald, Earl of Angus (c. 1489–1557)

Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, was the second husband of **Henry VIII**’s sister, Margaret **Tudor**, and briefly regent for Henry’s nephew **James V** of **Scotland**. Douglas succeeded his grandfather, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, in 1513. Early in the next year, he secretly married Margaret Tudor, the widow of **James IV** and regent (or tutrix) for her infant son, James V. The marriage discredited the regent and forestalled any attempt by Angus to share his wife’s authority. In 1515, the regency passed to John Stuart, Duke of Albany, and Margaret fled to England where she gave birth to the couple’s daughter, Margaret **Douglas**, future Countess of Lennox. Estranged from his wife after 1517, Angus became a member of the young king’s regency **council**. On 30 April 1520, Angus was involved in an episode known as Cleanse (or Clear) the Causeway, a bloody brawl in the High Street of Edinburgh between Angus’s supporters and a council faction led by James

Hamilton, first Earl of Arran. In 1521, Angus retired to **France**, where he remained until 1524, when Arran overthrew Albany's regency by proclaiming the 12-year-old king of sufficient age to rule in his own right. After stopping in **London**, where he assured the English government of his devotion to its interests, Angus effected a brief reconciliation with his wife as a means of restoring his influence in the Scottish council.

In 1526, Angus seized custody of the king, who was again declared of full age. Power, however, resided with Angus, who named himself chancellor and distributed other key offices to relatives and allies. For two years, the earl ruled Scotland while holding James a virtual prisoner. In 1527, Margaret persuaded the pope to grant her a divorce from Angus, and in 1528, after two years of plotting, she arranged her son's escape to Stirling Castle. When an assembly of nobles called to Stirling decreed the earl's banishment, Angus withdrew into England.

Returning to Scotland after James's death in 1542, Angus assumed leadership of the pro-English faction and took up arms against the government in late 1543, when the regent for Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, James **Hamilton**, second Earl of Arran, the son of Angus's old rival, repudiated the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Greenwich**, which had called for the queen's marriage to Prince Edward of England. Angus could not, however, support the series of English invasions that characterized Henry VIII's so-called **Rough Wooing**, and in February 1545, he defeated an English force at Ancrum Moor. He had less success as commander of the Scottish van at the disastrous Battle of **Pinkie** in 1547. Angus largely withdrew from public affairs after the achievement of peace in 1551 with the Treaty of **Norham**. The earl died at Tantallon Castle in January 1557.

See also Edward VI

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Douglas, Margaret, Countess of Lennox (1515–1578)

Margaret Douglas was the granddaughter of one king of England and the grandmother of another. Douglas's mother was Margaret **Tudor**, eldest daughter of **Henry VII** and widow of **James IV** of **Scotland**; her father was Margaret Tudor's second husband, Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus. Margaret Douglas was thus the aunt of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, the first cousin of **Elizabeth I**, and a claimant to the English throne. Because her parents separated in 1518 and divorced



Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, was related to both the Tudors and the Stuarts and held a legitimate claim to the English throne. (Esther Singleton, ed. *Famous Women as Described by Famous Writers*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1907)

in 1527, Douglas passed from the custody of her mother to that of her father and spent the 1520s being shuttled among various residences in both Scotland and England.

In 1528, her uncle **Henry VIII** placed her in the household of his daughter, Princess Mary, with whom she formed a close friendship. In 1533, Douglas was named first lady-in-waiting to Princess Elizabeth but became first lady in the realm in 1536 when the execution of Elizabeth's mother, Anne **Boleyn**, caused both Elizabeth and Mary to be declared bastards. Douglas then stood next in the English succession after her half brother James V of Scotland, although some Englishmen considered Douglas's claim to be superior because she had been born in England. In the 1540s, Douglas went briefly to the **Tower of London** for her politically unacceptable relationships with men of the powerful Howard family. In 1544, the king arranged a marriage

for her with Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, a union that resulted in two sons—Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, and Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox.

Because Douglas was Catholic, Henry VIII barred her from the succession in his will. After Elizabeth's accession, this barring led Douglas to scheme for a marriage between her son Darnley and his cousin, Mary Stuart; when the marriage occurred in 1565, Elizabeth punished Douglas with imprisonment in the Tower of London until after Darnley's murder in 1567. In 1574, Douglas arranged the marriage of her second son to the daughter of the ambitious Elizabeth **Hardwick**; this union, unauthorized by Elizabeth, resulted in the imprisonment of both mothers-in-law and the birth of Arabella **Stuart**. Released from the Tower in 1577, Douglas died in March 1578, too soon to see the accession to the English throne of her grandson **James I**, the son of Darnley.

See also Darnley Murder; Ladies-in-Waiting; Mary I; Succession, Acts of

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Dowland, John (1563–1626)

John Dowland was an English musician and composer, who was particularly famed during his lifetime as a virtuoso performer on the lute. He traveled extensively in continental Europe, resulting in widespread dissemination of his **music**, which was unparalleled among English composers of this period.

The earliest years of John Dowland's life are shrouded in mystery; he was born in 1563, probably in **London**, but nothing is known about his upbringing and early education. In 1580, he traveled to Paris in the retinue of Sir Henry Cobham, the English ambassador to **France**, and remained there until at least 1584. Dowland received a BMus degree from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1588, but, although he described himself as “Bachelor of musicke in both the Universities” in the prefatory material to his *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), no record survives of him spending any time at Cambridge. The earliest sources of Dowland's music date from the mid-1580s. His lute music survives in numerous manuscripts dating from this period onward, and in 1592 he contributed six psalm settings to Thomas Est's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*.

In 1594, Dowland applied unsuccessfully for the position among the royal lutenists that had been vacated by the recent death of John Johnson. In a letter to Sir Robert **Cecil** dated 10 November 1595, Dowland blamed his lack of success in obtaining it on an earlier flirtation with Roman **Catholicism** during his time in France with Cobham. This professional disappointment seems to have prompted Dowland to take an extended continental excursion; he spent time at the courts of Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick, and Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse, before visiting Venice and Florence and returning home via Nuremburg. During the course of this trip, Dowland's music began to circulate on the Continent, and his reputation as a lutenist-composer grew.

Following his return to England, Dowland published his *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), a collection of four-part works that could alternatively be performed as solo songs with lute accompaniment. This publication enjoyed unrivalled commercial success—it was reprinted several times during the following decade and a half—and served as an important model for the numerous English lute-song anthologies that were to appear in the decades that followed its publication. Many of the songs included in the *First Booke* also survive in instrumental versions for solo lute, and it seems likely that some of these predate the published song arrangements.

In November 1598, Dowland was appointed court lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark, receiving one of the highest salaries of any of his employees. During his time in Christian's service, Dowland published two more books of lute-songs (in 1600 and 1603) and his famous collection of consort music titled *Lachrimae or Seaven Teares* (1604). Dowland remained in Denmark until February 1606 (although he took several extended leaves of absence during this period), after which his whereabouts are not well documented. He seems to have spent some time in the service of Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden, and he continued to publish widely, perhaps in a further attempt to secure royal **patronage**. During this period, he translated a 1517 treatise by the German theorist Andreas Ornithoparcus (*Micrologus*, 1609) and contributed three songs to *A Musicall Banquet* (1610), a collection published by his son Robert Dowland. In the same year, he also contributed some pedagogical material to Robert's solo lute anthology *Varietie of Lute-Lessons*, although it has been suggested that his role in its compilation was even greater—perhaps the elder Dowland was hoping to give his lutenist son a helping hand in launching his own career.

Dowland published his last lute-song volume *A Pilgrimes Solace* in 1612, shortly before finally achieving his goal of a position at the English court in October 1612. Having secured this appointment, however, Dowland continued to pursue other ventures, contributing two-part songs to William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule* (1614) and acquiring a doctoral degree sometime around 1620. Furthermore, a manuscript lute book containing some pedagogical material in Dowland's own hand (the "Margaret Board lutebook," now in the Royal Academy of Music Library, London) is also thought to date from around 1620, suggesting that Dowland was supplementing the income from his performing and composing activities with some teaching.

John Dowland was buried at St. Ann's Blackfriars, London, on 20 February 1626. By the time of his death, he was famed throughout Europe as both a composer and performer, with many of his works continuing to be copied and adapted by other musicians throughout the seventeenth century. For example, his most famous composition, the "Lachrimae pavan"—surely the seminal musical manifestation of the Elizabethan fondness for melancholy—survives in almost 100 different versions, including several lute settings and Dowland's own later rearrangements of it as a lute-song ("Flow my teares," published 1600) and a consort piece ("Lachrimae Antiquae," 1604). Dowland also did a great deal to inspire the early-seventeenth-century vogue for printed lute-song collections, both through the innovative publication format of his influential *First Booke* and the quality of his finely crafted songs.

The twentieth-century rediscovery of Dowland's music stemmed largely from the work of scholars such as Peter Warlock and Edmund Fellowes, both of whom produced important editions of Dowland's works during the 1920s. The pioneering

performances of Arnold Dolmetsch (a key figure in the revival of the lute), his pupils Suzanne Bloch and Diana Poulton, and the countertenor Alfred Deller have also been influential in popularizing Dowland's music.

Michael Gale

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Drake, Sir Francis (c. 1540–1596)

Sir Francis Drake was an Elizabethan merchant, navigator, privateer, naval commander, and politician. He is renowned in English history for his colorful exploits, which included numerous raids on Spanish ships and colonies, a circumnavigation of the globe (1577–1580), and participation in the celebrated 1588 victory over the Spanish **Armada**. Although revered in England, the Spanish perceived Drake as a notorious pirate and nicknamed him *El Draque* ("the Dragon").

Drake was born in Devon to a Protestant tenant farming family on the estate of Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford, who may have been Drake's godfather. Drake's birthdate is unknown, but estimates range from the late 1530s to the early 1540s. Tradition holds that his father fled Devon around 1548 due to religious persecution from the area's Catholics, but some historians argue that his reason for fleeing was his arraignment for assault and robbery. Drake was raised in Plymouth among his Hawkins relatives, who were involved in mercantile activities. Drake began his career at sea as an apprentice to a crew of a trading vessel. After the captain's death, Drake assumed its ownership.

Drake became involved in the Hawkins family's activities, which included seizing ships off the French coast. In the 1560s, Drake participated in the Hawkins family's expansion of the transatlantic slave trade, selling African slaves to **Spanish America**. By 1568, Drake had commanded his own ship during a Hawkins expedition that sold slaves in the Spanish Caribbean. The Hawkins fleet's activities were illegal because they lacked a license from the Spanish government. Such Spanish efforts to regulate its colonial trade did not stop Drake and his Hawkins cohorts. During another expedition to the Spanish Caribbean with John **Hawkins**, the fleet was trapped by Spanish warships off the Mexican port of **San Juan d'Ulloa**. All but two vessels in the fleet were destroyed. Drake only survived the attack because



Known for all manner of exploits at sea, Sir Francis Drake secretly received permission from Elizabeth to make raids against Spanish ships. (Library of Congress)

of his ability to swim and he returned to England in a small vessel. Drake is purported to have developed a lifelong grudge against the Spanish as a result of the incident. Nevertheless, the expedition brought Drake to **Elizabeth I**'s attention because she had invested in the venture.

During the 1570s, Drake voyaged extensively to the Spanish Caribbean and received a **privateering** commission from the English government to seize Spanish ships and goods. Drake's attacks against the Spanish brought much wealth from the New World into English hands. The Spanish quickly regarded Drake as a dangerous pirate. One of Drake's most celebrated exploits was his daring seizure of the Spanish Silver Train at Nombre de Dios in Panama. Although he was

wounded in the unsuccessful attack, he and his men escaped with large amounts of silver. This silver was perhaps the foundation of Drake's wealth. During this expedition, tradition holds that Drake managed to see the Pacific, vowing to sail an English ship in its waters. Drake returned to England as a hero, but the English government could not reward him because his return coincided with the conclusion of a temporary truce with **Spain**. Around this time, Drake sailed with a squadron to **Ireland**, serving under Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, and participating in the infamous 1575 massacre there.

In 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth with five ships and about 200 men. During the expedition, Drake eventually lost all his ships except his flagship due to desertion, storms, or the forced destruction of unseaworthy vessels. Upon reaching South America, Drake alleged a conspiracy by unreliable officers headed by Thomas Doughty, who was executed. Drake passed through the Strait of Magellan at the southern tip of South America and reached the Pacific in 1578. Drake's flagship, the *Pelican*, was his remaining vessel as he continued along South America's lower western coast. Drake renamed his flagship the *Golden Hind* in reference to the coat of arms of Sir Christopher **Hatton**, who had helped fund his voyage.

The *Golden Hind* continued north along South America's western coast, sacking Spanish ports and ships, including Valparaiso. To navigate, Drake used the more accurate Spanish charts that he had seized. During a visit to Mocha Island, Drake

was wounded by hostile indigenous inhabitants. Near Lima, Peru, he captured a Spanish ship loaded with gold. When Drake acquired news of another treasure ship heading west toward Manila, he pursued and seized it.

In 1579, Drake landed somewhere north of Spain's claims in America (probably on the western coast of the present United States) to resupply and repair his ships. He enjoyed amiable relations with the indigenous inhabitants. Drake claimed the land, which he dubbed Nova Albion (New England), for the English Crown. Some historians argue that Drake established Nova Albion on Vancouver Island or in western Canada during an undocumented voyage north in an attempt to locate a **Northwest Passage**.

Drake then sailed westward across the Pacific. At the Moluccas, he was received by a local sultan and acquired spices. Around Indonesia, the *Golden Hind* became stuck in a reef, but was not severely damaged. After crossing the Indian Ocean, Drake sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, reaching Sierra Leone by 1580. Shortly thereafter, Drake and his crew returned to Plymouth, cementing his name in history as the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. His vessels were loaded with a rich cargo of exotic spices and captured Spanish treasure and goods. Drake became instantly wealthy and famous. A percentage went to the English government and Drake presented Elizabeth with a jewel token. In return, Drake received a jewel with Elizabeth's portrait. Known as the "Drake Jewel," he wore it in his famous 1591 portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts.

Tradition holds that Elizabeth personally knighted Drake in 1581, but some historians claim that the French ambassador knighted Drake at Elizabeth's behest. Later that year, Drake became mayor of Plymouth. In the 1580s, he became a **Parliament** member. Mary Newman, Drake's wife, whom he married in 1569, died in 1583. In 1585, he married Elizabeth Sydenham, who was from a wealthy family. To solidify his new status as a gentleman, Drake acquired Buckland Abbey. While Drake remained a popular hero, many well-born Englishmen viewed him with disdain. Drake was wealthy but lacked grace and an aristocratic pedigree.

Following the 1585 outbreak of war between England and Spain, Drake commanded an expedition designed to cause strategic damage to the Spanish empire. Drake seized Santiago in Cape Verde and plundered the towns of Cartagena in Colombia, St. Augustine in Florida, and San Domingo (or Santo Domingo, on the island of Hispaniola). On his return, Drake brought home the first English colonists in Virginia. Following such exploits, **Philip II** of Spain furthered his plans for a naval invasion of England. In a preemptive attack, Drake sailed into the Spanish ports of Cádiz and La Coruña, destroying about 40 vessels. The attack, which Drake referred to as "singeing the king of Spain's beard," postponed Spain's invasion.

During the armada invasion in 1588, Drake was vice admiral in command of the English fleet under Charles **Howard**, Lord Howard. John Hawkins was rear admiral. According to legend, Drake was busy with a game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe

when he received news of the approaching armada. He remarked that he had plenty of time to finish his game and still defeat the Spanish. After holding off the initial invasion, Drake and the English fleet pursued the Spanish up the English Channel. As it became dark, Drake broke off and captured the Spanish galleon *Rosario*. During the night, Drake and Lord Howard orchestrated fireships, prompting most Spanish captains to break formation and sail into the open sea. The following day, Drake was involved in the Battle of **Gravelines**, fought near a port in the Spanish **Netherlands**, which was the nearest Spanish territory to England.

The Spanish Armada sailed around **Scotland** and Ireland into the northern Atlantic. The Spanish ships by then were damaged and lacking supplies. Without accurate methods of measuring longitude, the Spanish were unaware of the Gulf Stream, a powerful current from the Gulf of Mexico that follows the eastern coastline of North America before crossing the Atlantic. Consequently, Spanish efforts to stay on course proved difficult. Off the Scottish and Irish coasts, the Spanish encountered a series of gales and storms that drove them onto the rocks as they reached the coast. Many anchors had been abandoned earlier when fleeing English fireships.

After the Spanish Armada's defeat, Drake was sent to destroy any remaining ships and give aid to rebels in Spanish-controlled Portugal. Drake destroyed several Spanish ships at La Coruña, but suffered high losses. The attempt to aid the Portuguese was unsuccessful. Drake continued his exploits in the Americas throughout the 1590s. In 1595, following a series of defeats in Spanish America, Drake unsuccessfully attacked San Juan, Puerto Rico. John Hawkins died during the expedition and many in Drake's crew caught the fever. Drake died in January 1596 while his ship was anchored off Puerto Bello (modern Portobelo), Panama. He was buried at sea.

Drake has become an enduring part of English, American, and Spanish culture. In English legend, beating Drake's drum in times of national distress will prompt his return to rescue the country. Numerous places in the United States and England are named after him. Meanwhile, *El Draque* remained a bogeyman in Spanish culture long after his death. Drake's life also served as the inspiration for several films, including *The Sea Hawk* (1940) with Errol Flynn and *The Immortal Voyage of Captain Drake* (2009) with Adrian Paul, as well as a 1960s British television series with Terence Morgan.

Eric Martone

See also Cadiz Raid (1587)

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Drama

Although drama in Tudor England was a thriving industry well before the accession of **Elizabeth I**, the golden age of English drama began in the mid-sixteenth century, an era that boasted the talents of Christopher **Marlowe**, John Webster, Ben **Jonson**, Thomas Middleton, and William **Shakespeare**.

Scholars once tended to view the evolution of theater along a continuum from early liturgical drama to more sophisticated cycles and moralities in churches to interludes in great houses and then on to the secular successes of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, but they no longer interpret it as having been so clearly delineated. Cycle plays, for example, persisted late into the sixteenth century; moralities were likewise being performed and printed well beyond the construction of the first playhouses, and their powerful influence can be seen in works by many Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights. The various forms of theater coexisted in a mixture of venues, battling a strain of Christianity that would eventually overthrow the industry and a **plague** that persistently barred the players and audience from the playing spaces.

Originally an industry composed of individuals who were itinerant or in the employ of noblemen, the popularity of the theater resulted in the creation of a great number of companies, amateur and professional, touring or stationary. The touring companies' small size facilitated an itinerant lifestyle and played in any venue—indoor or outdoor—in any town or village that gave them welcome.

The Acte for Punishment of Vacabondes in 1572 professionalized the career by ensuring that entertainers were in companies under noble or royal **patronage**. While many actors drifted away to different occupations, several excelled in their craft and became shareholders in successful companies named either after their patrons, such as the **Chamberlain's Men** (later the King's Men, to which Shakespeare's name is inextricably linked), or their venues (such as the Children of Paul's). One company might produce as many as 30 or 40 plays in a year, and so players would have learn up to a new role per week and retain lines from 30 or 40 plays at a time.

The first royal patent was given to the Servants of the Earl of Leicester in 1574; by 1578, six companies had been granted royal permission to perform plays. It was not until Edmund **Tilney**'s appointment to the Revels Office in 1579 that effective royal control over the licensing and censoring of professional theater in **London**

(and at least in theory throughout England) was established. As master of the revels, Tilney was authorized to license and censor all plays “within this our realme of England.” Entertainment within London continued to be the most controlled, and as a result all the early theaters were built outside the city limits where, while still subject to control, they had more freedom. Tilney developed a method for licensing and **censorship** that remained largely unchanged until the closure of theaters in 1642. The one notable modification came from **Parliament**’s “Acte to Restrain the Abuses of Players” (1606), which forbade blaspheming on stage.

Play-going audiences comprised all sexes, ages, and social classes. While public theaters, which were thriving by the 1570s, were accessible to all social classes, the more expensive private theaters were the realm of richer audiences only. Money was valued over rank; thus, wealthier middle-class patrons may have found welcome in either venue, while impoverished aristocrats might find themselves standing in the yard (the space for “groundlings” or “penny stinkards”) at public theaters.

Crowds could become rowdy at all venues, including **universities** where ushers bearing swords attempted to keep the students in line. Thieves and prostitutes mingled in the crowd, and patrons vied for attention and provoked the players. Occasionally violence broke out and arrests were made, but for the most part the theater experience was a peaceable one despite the unruly nature of the crowds.

By the mid to late sixteenth century, there were two entrenched staging traditions: indoor and outdoor. Cycles and moralities, street pageants, and presentations by touring companies attached to noble houses were more often performed outside, while interludes and special entertainments tended more often to be played indoors. As the theater industry grew, new venues developed alongside established ones and reflected the indoor or outdoor traditions of the recent past.

Liturgical drama had been performed in churches since at least the tenth century. With the rise of professional players, churches also became venues for secular theater. Although London had numerous public and private playhouses, the rest of England—particularly the smaller villages—was not as fortunate. Every village, however, had a parish church that was of sufficient size to hold its entire parish. Despite constant ecclesiastical censure, professional touring companies appear to have thrived in these public spaces from as early as the fourteenth century and well into the seventeenth.

Many aristocratic households retained permanent entertainers and also welcomed touring companies; diverse entertainers presented interludes, **masques**, and a variety of other textual and nontextual performances. While most often entertainments occurred in the Great Hall, many households erected temporary or permanent structures in which to enjoy performances, and indeed many entertainments took place on the grounds or in any available space indoors, including hallways or bedchambers. While public venues were the reserve of men and boy players, women were often free to take part in household masques.

By the late sixteenth century, educated men began composing plays for professional production. “University wits” such as Thomas **Kyd**, Robert **Greene**, and Christopher **Marlowe** came from Cambridge, Oxford, and the **Inns of Court**, where academic theater had been thriving for some time. The academic theater space and the plays produced in them were distinct from the professional theater spaces, most notably in the “fixed locale”—the stage space represented one locality rather than the several it signified on the commercial stage. Academic theater functioned both as entertainment (such as the plays that took place during the **Christmas** holidays) and as a branch of rhetoric, where plays written in English, Latin, and occasionally Greek prepared students for public and religious office.

Public playhouses were usually round or polygonal buildings made of timber, brick, and plaster. Entrance fees ranged from one penny to six, and audience members (reaching into the thousands) enjoyed viewing plays from the yard, the galleries, or even from the stage. Because the theaters depended on natural light, plays ran in the afternoon, six days per week. Varying in size and space, they were roadhouses for a mixture of companies and probably sported similar features so that each company could comfortably move into a new space. At least 10 public theaters were built between 1567 (Red Lion) and 1613 (The Hope), but the most memorable is the **Globe Theatre** (built in 1599) because it became the home for the King’s Men, for whom Shakespeare was the chief dramatist.

In contrast with public theaters, private theaters were roofed spaces that charged higher entry fees (a minimum of sixpence), housed far fewer patrons, but had seats for all, and were candlelit. Blackfriars was the first of these indoor theaters, opening in 1576. Until 1608, private playhouses were the venues of boys’ companies and were generally viewed as producing more refined drama than did public playhouses. At the turn of the seventeenth century, boys’ companies fell out of popularity, and the private theaters came to be used by adult acting companies. Companies like the King’s Men would play at the Second Blackfriars from mid-October to mid-May, moving outdoors to the Globe in the more temperate months.

Comparatively few plays were performed at court, where there were a maximum of six plays per year brought in by established companies. Far more frequent were expensive, elaborate masques that playing companies could not hope to produce.

Some **Puritans** considered theater ungodly and thus sinful. Antitheatricalists charged all forms of entertainment as wrong on numerous counts: it fostered a dependence on recreation, which was based on the sin of idleness; it challenged the sexual mores of a denomination that thought “**sodomy**” and cross-dressing were abominations; and it reflected Catholic and pagan practices of ritual. Two of the most famous Elizabethan polemicists against theater are John Northbrooke, who launched the first significant assault at theater with *A Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes* (1577), and Stephen **Gosson**, who railed against the art in *The School of Abuse* (1579).

Out of the rich medieval tradition of mystery and morality plays grew the types of players and audiences, patrons and boycotters, indoor and outdoor venues that would become part of the most memorable period in English drama. Reductively summarized as a tradition that grew from presenting religious subject matter to secular-didactic themes and finally to entertainment that exhibited the playwrights' interest in a classical renaissance and greater interest in commercial prospect, it is more interesting to see how each of these genres, venues, and interests intersected to make Elizabethan drama the great and complex cultural industry that it was.

Julie Sutherland

See also Rose Theatre

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Dublin

Dublin, the capital of the modern Republic of **Ireland**, was the largest town and the seat of English government in Tudor Ireland. Located along the east central coast of Ireland at the mouth of the river Liffey, Dublin was first settled by Scandinavian raiders in the mid-ninth century. The town fell to Norman invaders from England in the 1170s, becoming thereafter the principal settlement and administrative center of English royal government in Ireland. In the early thirteenth century, King John made Dublin the capital of the English lordship by building Dublin Castle to house the Irish royal treasury and the Irish royal law courts. By the fourteenth century, Dublin had become the meeting site of the Irish Parliament. By the fifteenth century, the area of effective English rule in Ireland was reduced largely to the town of Dublin and the surrounding districts of the **Pale**, with control of the town government resting mainly with Dublin's **Anglo-Irish** merchant families.

Enriched by the city's former monastic properties, the Dublin merchant elite initially supported the **Reformation** imposed by the English Crown in the 1530s. However, the Elizabethan policy of extending a centralized English administration throughout Ireland alienated the Catholic Anglo-Irish citizens of Dublin by placing them under the control of Protestant lord deputies from England who had little sympathy with their religion or their Irish customs. By the end of **Elizabeth I's** reign, Dublin had lost many of its civic privileges, and the city's old Anglo-Irish leadership, politically restricted under the **penal laws** as Catholic **recusants**, had been replaced in power in the city, as the Anglo-Irish were throughout Ireland, by Protestant English (and, later, by Scots). Although Dublin became the second most important city of the British Isles in the eighteenth century, its population in the mid-sixteenth century was probably under 5,000 and little more than 10,000 in 1603.

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Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick (c. 1528–1590)

The third son of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was a prominent Elizabethan military figure and a leading Protestant peer. Like his brothers, Ambrose Dudley was given a careful humanist education. He was knighted in 1549 after serving with his father against rebels in Norfolk. Dudley was prominent at the court of **Edward VI** and friendly with the king and his half sister Princess Elizabeth. In July 1553, he joined the king and his father's attempt to put Jane **Grey** on the throne in place of Princess Mary and was committed to the **Tower of London** along with his brothers Henry and Robert **Dudley** when the attempt failed. Although convicted of **treason**, Ambrose Dudley was pardoned and released with his brothers in October 1554. In 1557, all three brothers served in Prince **Philip's** Saint-Quentin campaign against **France**, where Henry died in battle.

At **Elizabeth I's** accession in 1558, Ambrose came into favor at court, although he did not elicit the queen's romantic interest as did his brother Robert. The queen named him master of ordnance in 1560 and created him Earl of Warwick in 1561. In October 1562, the queen appointed Warwick captain-general of the military expedition being sent to take possession of the French port of Le Havre, which was being handed over to Elizabeth by the **Huguenots** in return for her assistance against the royalist Catholic forces. When the two parties in the civil war came to

terms in April 1563, Elizabeth ordered Warwick to hold the town against the combined Catholic-Huguenot armies. Severely wounded during the siege, Warwick received royal permission in July to return home with the remnant of his army.

His health permanently damaged, Warwick served as a commissioner at the trial of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, in 1572, and at the trial of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, in 1586. He was admitted to the Privy **Council** in 1573, where he advocated various **Puritan** causes. Always interested in foreign trade and exploration, Warwick was a chief promoter of Martin **Frobisher**'s first expedition in 1576. Warwick died in February 1590 from the effects of a leg amputation made necessary by his old wounds.

See also Humanism; Le Havre Expedition; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup

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Dudley, Amy Robsart (c. 1532–1560)

On 4 June 1550, in the presence of **Edward VI**, Amy Robsart, the daughter of a Norfolk gentleman, married Sir Robert **Dudley**, a younger son of John **Dudley**, then Earl of Warwick. The newlyweds, who were both about 18, resided in Norfolk, although Robert was often at **court**. On Edward's death in 1553, Robert was arrested for supporting the unsuccessful coup on behalf of Jane **Grey**. Until October 1554, Robert was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** under sentence of death, although Amy was allowed to visit him occasionally.

The Dudleys' fortunes changed on the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. The new queen knew Robert Dudley from her brother's court and remembered that they both had experienced the Tower and the possibility of execution in the reign of **Mary I**. Elizabeth made Dudley master of horse and named him to the Privy **Council**. The queen's obvious infatuation with Dudley led, both in England and abroad, to all manner of rumors concerning their relationship and the imminence of their marriage. The Spanish ambassador called Dudley "the king that is to be," and numerous people were imprisoned for openly declaring that Elizabeth was pregnant by her lover. Meanwhile, Amy Dudley, an obvious obstacle to any marriage plans, lived mostly in the country and was almost never seen at court. When on 8 September 1560 Amy was found lying dead with a broken neck at the foot of her stairs, Dudley came under immediate suspicion of murder.

The timing and manner of Amy's death seemed to confirm months of gossip; it was soon being openly stated that Dudley had ordered his wife thrown down the stairs to free himself to wed the queen. Although a coroner's jury returned a verdict of accidental death, rumors continued to accuse the royal **favorite** of murder. At the hearing, household servants hinted at suicide; they reported that Amy had been overheard praying for deliverance from her "desperation." Amy's disturbed state of mind may have been a result of rumors concerning her husband and the queen or of a painful illness she was said to be suffering. Amy's death cooled Elizabeth's passion, and though Dudley retained her special affection for the rest of his life, the possibility of marriage with him slowly disappeared.

See also Dudley Marriage Suit; Northumberland's Coup

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Dudley, Edmund

See Empson-Dudley Affair

Dudley, Sir Henry

See Dudley Conspiracy

Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (c. 1504–1553)

John Dudley was the de facto ruler of England during the last years of **Edward VI** and the leader of an unsuccessful attempt to alter the English succession. The son of Edmund Dudley, **Henry VII**'s unpopular financial minister who was executed in 1510, Dudley became the ward of Sir Edward Guildford. Under the tutelage of his guardian's brother Sir Henry Guildford, a boon companion of **Henry VIII**, Dudley was trained as a soldier and courtier. Knighted in **France** in 1523, Dudley achieved significant office only in the late 1530s when he became deputy governor of **Calais**. He was created Viscount Lisle in 1542 and in the years following became lord admiral, knight of the Garter, and member of the Royal Council.

Lisle was a prominent military figure in the 1540s, leading the assault on Boulogne in 1544 and commanding the royal fleet against the French in 1545. Henry VIII's will named Lisle to Prince Edward's regency council and Edward shortly afterward made him Earl of Warwick and lord chamberlain of England.

Initially loyal to Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Warwick fought at the Battle of **Pinkie** in 1547 and led the mercenary forces that suppressed **Kett's Rebellion** in 1549. In October 1549, after the uprisings of the previous summer had discredited Somerset's leadership, Warwick joined a coup that overthrew the protector. By early 1550, Warwick, serving as lord president of the council, emerged as leader of the new regency government. In 1551, the king created him Duke of Northumberland.

The new regime continued the program of Church reform begun by Somerset, issuing the more Protestant second **Book of Common Prayer** in 1552. Northumberland's control of the government and his position with the king were unchallenged after he engineered the execution of Somerset in January 1552. In 1553, the deterioration of the king's health prompted Edward and Northumberland to devise a plan to remove Princesses Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. Although the king was anxious to prevent his Catholic sister from succeeding him, the exact nature of Northumberland's role in devising the exclusion scheme has been much debated. The traditional view is that the duke promoted or perhaps even initiated the plan to maintain his hold on power. Most recent scholarship suggests that Edward, rather than the duke's ambition, was the driving force behind the plan.

The *Devise*, the instrument embodying the altered succession scheme, passed the Crown to Edward's Protestant cousin Jane **Grey**, who married Northumberland's youngest son Guildford Dudley in May 1553. Perhaps because of the swiftness of the king's death, Northumberland had not secured Mary's person by the time Edward died on 6 July. Jane was duly proclaimed queen, but public opinion supported Mary, who entered **London** in triumph in early August. Arrested and tried for **treason**, Northumberland was beheaded on 22 August; a last-minute conversion to Catholicism failed to save his life and undeservedly damaged his reputation among contemporary reformers.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Elizabeth I; Empson-Dudley Affair; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup

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Dudley, Lettice, Countess of Leicester

See Knollys, Lettice

Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (c. 1532–1588)

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was **Elizabeth I's favorite** for much of her reign and came as near as any man to becoming her husband. He won her affection and her respect, rose to the Privy Council, and was a political power in England for a quarter of a century. He favored **Puritans** and advocated a hawkish policy toward **Spain**, patronized intellectuals, and became a venture capitalist. He established the pattern in early modern England for the means by which a favorite could acquire political power.

Dudley was born 24 June 1532 or 1533, the fifth son of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, and Jane Guildford. Although his father had risen to rule England for the young **Edward VI** from 1549 to 1553, Robert was largely inconspicuous under his father's rule. Privately and excellently tutored in his childhood, he married Amy Robsart in 1550, probably a love match, since she was of undistinguished **gentry** family; their marriage was childless. In 1553, Leicester attempted to raise King's Lynn for Jane **Grey**, whom his father and the dying Edward had conspired to place on the English throne and hastily wed to Robert's elder brother Guildford. When Jane's nine-day reign collapsed and **Mary I** took the throne, Robert was sent to the **Tower of London** along with his father and brothers. Northumberland, Guildford, and Jane were executed. Robert, although convicted of **treason** and attainted, was released the next year along with the other surviving Dudley brothers. Robert and his brothers attempted to salvage their family from disgrace by ingratiating attendance at Mary's court and by service abroad in the English contingent of the army of Mary's husband, **Philip**



Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, held several positions at court and was Queen Elizabeth's lifelong favorite. (Library of Congress)

of **Spain**; Robert served with distinction as master of the ordnance for the Earl of Pembroke at the Spanish victory at Saint-Quentin, France (1557).

Dudley's career ascended meteorically after Elizabeth's accession in 1558. Dudley and Elizabeth may previously have become friends; it is also possible he had loaned her money. Certainly he was a member of Elizabeth's entourage from the beginning of her reign, and she appointed him master of the horse the day after her accession. By early 1559, Dudley—tall, dark, and handsome and equally adept at jousting and bantering—had emerged as Elizabeth's favorite. Their peculiar relationship emerged in this year—friendly, flirtatious, and loving on both sides—but Elizabeth demanded that he simultaneously attend her at court and woo her in a ritualized, bantering, and serious manner. Dudley's political and economic position depended on his role as Elizabeth's favorite. Dudley and Elizabeth's real affection for each other worked within the context of her power to demand his affection and his interest to elicit her affection.

Elizabeth's true feelings toward Dudley remain opaque, but it appears that she was disinclined to marry, not only because wedlock would limit her power and her freedom but also because while she remained single and a possible marriage partner, she could keep the various threatening international powers and domestic factions at bay. Elizabeth seems to have felt true affection and respect for Dudley, loved him for a while, and in the early 1560s might well have married him. At the start of her reign, Elizabeth could flirt safely with Dudley precisely because he was married. Amy **Dudley**, absent from court but quite alive, allowed Dudley and Elizabeth to play at romantic fantasy. Amy's puzzling death in 1560, apparently from falling down a flight of stairs, most likely was an accident; since she was convenient alive, protecting Dudley from charges that he sought to marry the queen, it is unlikely that either Dudley or Elizabeth plotted to kill her. Gossip that she had been murdered shadowed Dudley thereafter, however, and the scandal permanently damaged his chances of marrying Elizabeth.

Dudley progressed rapidly in Elizabeth's esteem. As master of the horse, he organized Elizabeth's royal **progresses**; his success at these logistical feats demonstrated that he was not only ornamental but also competent. He established himself as an informal adviser with increasing political influence, and Elizabeth gave him offices, remunerative licenses, and estates, although not so many as to make him financially independent of her. Dudley's influence received dramatic recognition in October 1562; Elizabeth, recovering from a nearly fatal attack of smallpox, declared her desire that he should be made protector of the realm should she die. That same month she regularized his political position by naming him to the Privy Council; from then on, he was a political power in the realm, a statesman as well as a favorite. His relations with William **Cecil**, later Lord Burghley, were often tense: Cecil, Elizabeth's political and administrative workhorse, resisted Dudley's rise to political power, and

disagreements between the two formed part of the structure of Elizabethan politics. Yet they also cooperated frequently, agreed on the broad contours of domestic and foreign policy, and worked in tandem for a quarter of a century.

Elizabeth and Dudley seem to have seriously considered marriage in the early 1560s; certainly Elizabeth played up the possibility for diplomatic purposes. As the possibility of marriage receded thereafter, their relationship underwent increased strains. In 1564, Elizabeth proffered Dudley to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, as a consort, and made him Earl of Leicester in part to give him high enough rank to make him a suitable, if unwilling, groom. Mary scuppered the match in 1565 by marrying Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. By the early 1570s, Leicester had taken to private *amours*, including a liaison with Lady Douglas Sheffield, which led to the birth of his bastard son Robert Dudley (1574–1649). In 1578, he secretly married Lettice **Knollys**, the widow of Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex; although Elizabeth ultimately forgave Leicester after she discovered the marriage (1579), she permanently banished Lettice from **court**. Leicester's one child with Lettice, Robert Dudley, only lived from 1581 to 1584; Leicester's dynastic hopes died with his one legitimate child and were sublimated thereafter by interest in the careers of his nephews, especially Philip **Sidney**, and of his stepson, Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Elizabeth and Leicester retained their mutual affection throughout the emotional strains of these private dramas but ever more as friends rather than as lovers.

During these decades Leicester patronized an intellectually diverse array of actors, literati, and clergymen. As chancellor of Oxford University, he not only forwarded the establishment of Protestant conformity within the university but also protected its interests against outside encroachments. He associated himself with merchant adventurers in **London**, not least to acquire the resources to support his earldom; he was an investor in the nascent English slave trade, in piracy against the Spanish Main, and in trade to Morocco. Leicester acquired estates throughout England, particularly in Warwickshire and North Wales, where he built up a formidable political and military clientage. He spent considerable resources building up his palace in Kenilworth, but more to house Elizabeth graciously during her progresses than for his own use.

Leicester's policies generally aimed to stabilize Protestant England. He supported Puritans so as to defend and further England's ongoing **Reformation** and protected them from intermittent harassment by the **Anglican Church** hierarchy. In 1569, Leicester schemed behind Elizabeth's back to marry Mary Stuart to Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, as a tactic to neutralize Mary's threat to Elizabeth; when the scheme collapsed, he confessed his role to Elizabeth from a convenient sickbed and was forgiven. In the late 1570s, Leicester devoted considerable time to preventing Elizabeth's marriage to the French Catholic prince Francis **Valois**,

Duke of Alençon. In the early 1580s, he worked to persuade Elizabeth to intervene in force to aid the Protestant Dutch rebels in the Spanish **Netherlands**. Elizabeth finally turned to open war with Spain in 1585 and sent Leicester to the Netherlands in command of an English army. In 1586, Leicester accepted appointment as governor-general of the Netherlands on his own authority; Elizabeth was enraged at his presumption and because his act committed England to the defense of the Netherlands far more deeply than she intended. Leicester's tenure in the Netherlands was miserable because he was caught between Elizabeth's parsimony and the morass of Dutch politics. The English army only slowed down the Spanish advance, and in January 1587 English Catholic officers, chosen by Leicester and whose loyalty he had guaranteed, betrayed Deventer and the Zutphen fort to the Spanish. When Leicester returned to England in December 1587, the **Netherlands expedition** had irreparably damaged his reputation.

In 1588, as the Spanish **Armada** threatened, Leicester was appointed commander of England's land forces. He assembled the English army at Tilbury and arranged for Elizabeth to inspect the troops; this led to the propaganda triumph of Elizabeth's **Tilbury speech**. Leicester disbanded the Tilbury camp in mid-August, when the armada had scattered; unwell, he then went for a spa treatment, worsened rapidly, and died on 4 September 1588. Elizabeth mourned his passing intensely and kept his last letter to her until the day of her death.

David Randall

See also Dudley Marriage Suit

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Dudley Conspiracy

The Dudley Conspiracy of 1556 was a shadowy but far-reaching plot to depose **Mary I** in favor of her half sister Princess Elizabeth. Devised by disaffected English gentlemen, the conspiracy was motivated by opposition to the Anglo-Spanish

connection forged by the queen's marriage to Prince **Philip** and by hostility to the possibility of Philip's coronation as king of England.

Sir Henry Dudley was a cousin of the late John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, leader of the last Edwardian government and architect, with **Edward VI**, of the failed scheme to place Jane **Grey** on the English throne. Deeply in debt and out of favor with the Marian regime, Dudley conceived a plan whereby an invasion force of French mercenaries and English exiles would land in England, instigate a rising of anti-Spanish Englishmen, and march on **London** to depose the queen and expel the Spaniards. For the plan to work, Dudley knew the conspirators required men of military experience to lead the army and money to buy arms and pay mercenaries. To acquire the former, Dudley forged connections between antigovernment exiles in France and anti-Spanish gentlemen in England, particularly in the West Country, where the invading force was expected to land. To acquire the latter, Dudley made contact with Jean de Bretville, a Frenchman long resident in England, who could present the conspirators' plan to the French ambassador, Antoine de Noailles, and, through him, to **Henri II** of **France**. Dudley hoped the French king's desire to wreck the Anglo-Spanish alliance would prompt him to fund the conspiracy.

Despite Bretville's efforts, Dudley's reception at the French court in February 1556 was unenthusiastic; the king dismissed him with only vague promises. Disappointed but undaunted, the conspirators adopted an alternative funding plan that involved robbing the English **Exchequer** of £50,000 in the custody of an Exchequer teller named Brigham. Although the teller was loyal to Mary, other government officials were bribed into the plot, and these men, through uncertain means, induced Brigham's wife to assist them in getting an impression of her husband's keys. Thus armed, the conspirators entered the treasury at night and opened the chests containing the silver, intending to steal it bit by bit and ship it to France.

In early March, before any definite plan of action had been made or any definite date for the landing set, the plan was revealed to Cardinal Reginald **Pole** by one of the Exchequer plotters. The government spent three months arresting and interrogating suspected conspirators, including members of Princess Elizabeth's household. Although no action was taken against her, rumor declared that even members of the **council** were implicated. In the end, 36 persons were indicted and 10 eventually executed. Noailles was expelled from the country, but Dudley, who was in France when arrests began, remained in exile, returning to England in 1563 and dying there in about 1569. Although uncovered before it began, the Dudley Conspiracy revealed how deep and widespread was internal opposition to the Anglo-Spanish connection.

See also Elizabeth I; Northumberland's Coup

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Dudley Marriage Suit

Of all the courtships of **Elizabeth I**, the suit pressed by Robert **Dudley**, future Earl of Leicester, came closest to success and had the greatest effect on English politics. In January 1559, only weeks after her accession, Elizabeth named Dudley master of horse, a position that gave him access to the queen and made him a regular companion when Elizabeth rode or hunted. By April 1559, Dudley was in such high favor that gossip concerning the nature of his relationship with the queen was beginning to spread throughout the court and the country. Rumors began to circulate that Dudley planned to poison his wife and so free himself to marry the queen. When scurrilous rumors about Elizabeth and Dudley were heard at foreign courts, Elizabeth's reputation both at home and abroad began to suffer.

Because people of the sixteenth century believed no woman could rule a kingdom, Elizabeth's husband was expected to rule for her. Intense opposition to the match arose among such powerful political figures as William **Cecil**, who feared for his own position should Dudley marry the queen. On 8 September 1560, at the height of these fears and rumors, Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart **Dudley**, was found dead at the foot of her stairs. The timing of this event was devastating to Dudley's ambitions and the queen's good name. Although a careful investigation led to an official verdict of accidental death, a conclusion accepted by most modern historians, rumors that Dudley was involved in the murder, or at least some sort of cover-up, dogged him for the rest of his life. The queen lessened the intensity of her relationship with Dudley after October 1560, but he remained the royal **favorite** until his death in 1588, and Elizabeth was clearly attracted more to him than to any other man.

After his wife's death, Dudley tried in various ways to convince the queen to marry him, including scheming with foreign ambassadors, creating a domestic political following, and commissioning plays and entertainments that set forward his merits as a husband. By the late 1560s, even a number of former opponents began to support the match as better than no marriage at all, but by that time Elizabeth had decided that even though she loved Dudley, she was unwilling to share her throne with him.

See also Marriage Question (Elizabeth I); Virgin Queen

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Dutch Revolt

See Netherlands Revolt

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Encyclopedia of Tudor England

Volume 2

E–O

John A. Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid, Editors



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*To my brother, Scott,
who loves history,
and to Tammy and Haley, who love him*

For Paul, who provided a home when it was most needed

what did Henry say to Anne,
when they spoke of love,
and both still thought the other one
a blessing from above?
and what did Henry say to Jane,
when he had changed his mind,
and had to make it seem to her
like something God designed?
and what did Henry say to Kate,
when she betrayed his lust,
and left him wounded with no choice
that left her more than dust?
and what did Henry tell himself,
when he was nearing fate,
and next to God he recognized
Anne and Jane and Kate?

Anonymous

Learn this for a rule: so long as we ourselves are present there is
no other general but ourselves

Henry VIII to Sir Peter Carew

The word “must” is not to be used to princes.

Elizabeth I to Sir Robert Cecil

I believe he doth as singularly love me, as any subject within his realm; however . . .

I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in
France, it would not fail to go off.

Sir Thomas More on Henry VIII

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East India Company

The East India Company was the most successful **joint-stock company** formed in the Elizabethan period. The Governor and Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies received its charter from the queen on 31 December 1600. Given a trade monopoly that extended from East Africa across India to the East Indies, the East India Company intended to challenge Dutch-Portuguese dominance of the rich East Indian spice trade. The company's first trading voyage sailed in February 1601 and returned in the autumn of 1603. A second expedition, during which the noted Elizabethan navigator and explorer John **Davis** met his death, left England in 1604 and returned two years later. Despite the high costs of the long voyages, the first two expeditions proved immensely profitable, and the company's future and English trade with India were firmly established.

After 1607, the company sent annual expeditions to India. The work of Sir Thomas Rowe, who, as company emissary to the Mogul emperor between 1615 and 1619, won trade privileges for the company in India, and the Dutch massacre of English merchants at Amboina in the East Indies in 1623 focused English East Asian trade in India. The company thereafter established a series of factories (trading posts) in the Bay of Bengal and in 1640 acquired the site of the modern Indian city of Madras. After 1660, the company obtained charters that gave it rights in India to acquire territory, conclude alliances, make war and peace, raise troops, and coin money. In 1667, the company acquired the site of Bombay (now Mumbai), and in 1690, it founded Calcutta.

In the eighteenth century, the company extended its territorial control throughout India and developed a triangular trade that sent Indian goods (including opium) to China for tea that was sold in England. The tea shipments that sparked the Boston Tea Party in 1773 were East India Company cargoes sent directly to the American colonies to help the company out of financial difficulties. The company lost its trade monopoly in India in 1813 and thereafter functioned solely as an administrative bureaucracy. The British Crown assumed full sovereignty over India in 1858 after the company's Indian army mutinied in 1857.

See also Regulated Company

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Easter

Being the celebration of Christ's Resurrection from the dead, Easter was the most important feast on the English Church calendar and one of the biggest holidays of the Tudor year. Easter is a movable holiday, occurring on a Sunday in March or April. The calculation of the date of Easter was a major controversy in Anglo-Saxon England; adherents of the Church of Rome celebrated Easter on a different day than adherents of the Irish Celtic churches, a real difficulty if, for instance, the king and queen followed different churches. By Tudor times, however, Easter fell on the first Sunday after the first full moon occurring on or after 21 March, meaning that Easter could fall anywhere between 22 March and 25 April.

Easter was preceded by the 40 days of Lent, a season of fasting and abstinence that spiritually prepared the believer for the joyous celebration of the Resurrection. Lent began on Ash Wednesday, which fell on the Wednesday before the sixth Sunday before Easter, sometime between 4 February and 10 March. The week before Easter, known as Easter Week or Holy Week, began on Palm Sunday. Before the **Reformation**, palms were carried into church on Palm Sunday, but this Catholic custom was discontinued by the Protestant **Anglican Church**. Many similar Catholic rituals that had once been conducted during Easter Week, on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday (Easter Eve), were also suppressed by the Edwardian and Elizabethan churches, including certain acts of charity observed on Maundy Thursday and the ritual of "creeping to the cross" on Good Friday.

Under **Elizabeth I**, Easter was one of the three holidays each year when all good Anglicans took Communion—the others being **Christmas** and Whitsun (the feast of Pentecost falling in May or June). After the Reformation, many parishes kept Easter books to record church attendance. With the eating of meat once again permissible (it was not allowed during Lent), Easter was a day of great feasting and revelry. The name Easter is thought to derive either from the pagan goddess Eostre, whose spring festival fell at about the same time as the Christian holy day, or from Eosturmonath, the fourth month of the Anglo-Saxon year. Like other Christian feasts, Easter had, by the late sixteenth century, acquired a series of

secular customs, some of which involved eggs and other fertility symbols from ancient times.

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Eastland Company

The Eastland Company was a **regulated company** chartered by **Elizabeth I** in 1579. The company was given a monopoly to trade with Scandinavia, Poland, and the Baltic towns of northern Germany. In the previous year, increasing rivalry with the English **Merchant Adventurers** had led the English government to revoke the special trading privileges it had extended to the Hanseatic League. A trading organization comprising various towns of north Germany and the Baltic, the Hanseatic League or Hanse, had dominated the trade of the Baltic and northern Europe for centuries. The formation of the Eastland Company was an attempt by the queen to improve English access to the timber and other naval commodities of the Baltic market.

After paying an entrance fee, Eastland Company members traded dyed and dressed English cloth for timber, hemp, tar, cordage, and other naval stores vital to the English fleet. Although Eastland Company traders had to share part of the Baltic market with the Merchant Adventurers, most of the Baltic was closed to English merchants who were not company members. The Eastland Company did a brisk business in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the closing of the Baltic market to other English traders, who had been able to do business there before 1579, caused some unrest in the **London** merchant community. The company's monopoly was confirmed in the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, but stiff competition from the Dutch and from English interlopers virtually destroyed the company's privileged position in the region in the late seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the Eastland Company continued to exist into the late eighteenth century.

See also Joint-Stock Company; Monopolies

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Economy

The economy of Tudor England was based on agriculture and on the woolen textile industry. Two important factors shaping the English economy were the steady rises throughout the period in **population** and prices. Although fundamental economic life changed relatively little during the period, most of the change that did occur was driven by the need to feed a growing population and by the shrinking of buying power related to prolonged inflation. Thus, the period witnessed the start of efforts to broaden the country's industrial base, to improve agricultural production, and to establish markets and increase trade with distant lands.

The great majority of English people made their living from the soil. Even rural artisans, such as carpenters, millers, and blacksmiths, usually kept animals and worked an acre or two of land. Because of inflation and population growth, the quality of the annual harvest was of vital importance. A poor harvest caused food prices to rise during the following winter and depressed the entire economy as people were forced to spend more of their income to feed themselves and their families. In times of severe harvest failure, as occurred in the mid-1550s and the mid-1590s, famine led to higher death rates in certain areas, mainly through weakened resistance to various diseases. English agriculturalists responded by bringing more land under cultivation—marginal lands were plowed, woodlands were cleared, and bogs were drained. Farmers also began searching for ways to improve yields, although little progress was made in this area until the Elizabethan period. By bringing vast new lands into lay hands, the **dissolution of the monasteries** encouraged landowners to seek new and better ways to exploit their holdings for profit.

The steady rise in prices, whether related mainly to an influx of precious metals from **America** and the debasement of the English **coinage** or to population growth, aggravated periods of hardship and gradually reduced the living standards of the poorer members of society. By the 1550s, despite government efforts to limit **enclosures** or otherwise ameliorate the situation, wage earners were much worse off economically than their great-grandfathers had been in 1485. The Tudor economy had a labor surplus, and many people were underemployed, a fact that helps explain the period's growing **vagrancy** problem. Many of the poor turned to small cottage industries to supplement their incomes, making such items as pins, nails, buttons, ribbons, and lace. However, certain heavy industries also began to grow, particularly the coal industry at Newcastle, which supplied the increasing needs of **London**; the iron industry, which was stimulated by introduction of the blast furnace and the wars of **Henry VIII**; and the copper, brass, salt-making, and glassmaking industries. Most of these undertakings were actively promoted by the government.

Between the accession of **Henry VII** and the death of **Mary I**, English cloth exports more than doubled. England sent undyed cloth to Antwerp for finishing by skilled cloth workers in the **Netherlands**. The primacy of the Antwerp market



Agriculture was one of the essential pillars of the early Tudor economy and good harvests like the one shown here were critical. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

discouraged development of the English shipping industry and left English merchants uninterested in costly voyages of trade and **exploration** to distant places. The cloth trade grew steadily until the 1550s, when efforts to revalue the coinage raised prices to buyers and caused a sharp drop in exports. Although the market rebounded after a short time, exports had not returned to their 1550 levels even by the end of **Elizabeth I**'s reign in 1603. The collapse of the cloth trade stimulated efforts to find new markets for cloth and new sources of supply for goods demanded at home, such as wine and spices. Under Mary, voyages to the White Sea opened trade with Russia, and merchants attempted to reach markets in Persia, North Africa, and the Middle East, thus laying the foundation for more frequent and extensive Elizabethan voyages of trade and exploration.

Under Elizabeth, agriculture continued to be the heart of the English economy, employing a far greater percentage of the population than any other industry or occupation. Except for fish, wine, spices, and certain fruits, Elizabethan England grew or produced all the food and most of the raw materials the English people required, including hides for leather, wool for the **cloth industry**, hemp for naval supplies, tallow for candles and soap, and horses for transport.

The most important feature of Elizabethan agriculture was its transformation from production mainly for the subsistence of the farmer or the local community to production for sale to wider markets. This change was also the result of rapid population growth, which caused a continued rise during the Elizabethan period in both the demand for food and in its price. Small peasant farmers gave way to gentleman and yeoman farmers whose larger acreages allowed them to produce

grain surpluses that could be sold in London and other parts of the kingdom where demand outstripped supply.

Enhancing this demand was the growth of the English cloth industry, which thrived on the increased production of English wool-growers. As more rural workers engaged in the manufacture of cloth, they joined the growing populations of London and other towns in swelling the percentage of English people who relied on others to grow their food. As a result of this demand, new farming methods (such as better crop rotation techniques) were devised to improve yields, and marginal lands, some of which had been out of production since the Black Death depopulation of the fourteenth century, were brought back under cultivation.

Many gentleman and yeoman farmers practiced enclosure, whereby land that had been pasture for common use by a village was enclosed with a hedge or fence and given over by the landlord to the production of grain for the commercial market. Enclosure sometimes added to the economic hardship of husbandmen or cottagers, who often lost the land they rented when their **gentry** landlords realized that it would be more profitable to grow grain and hire workers than to rent out the land. As the price of grain rose, the government increased its regulation of the market to ensure adequate supplies, for even small local shortages could lead to disorder. Except for the 1590s, when bad harvests required grain imports, English agriculture supplied the ordinary needs of the nation during the Elizabethan period.

See also Foreign Trade; Medicine and Disease; Price Revolution

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Edinburgh

Located in southeastern **Scotland** on the south side of the Firth of Forth, Edinburgh was the capital and largest city of sixteenth-century Scotland. The earliest

settlements on the site of Edinburgh go back to the sixth century, but the earliest historical references to the royal burgh or town of Edinburgh date to the early twelfth century. Although the administrative center of medieval Scotland, Edinburgh was not recognized as the capital of the country until the late fifteenth century, probably because it was not far from the English border and thus vulnerable to English attacks. The Scottish Parliament began meeting in Edinburgh during the reign of James III (r. 1460–1488), and the town's position as the seat of royal government solidified under **James IV**, who built the palace of Holyroodhouse and located the royal courts in Edinburgh.

In Tudor times, Edinburgh was confined to the sweeping spine of rock that descended from the height of massive Edinburgh Castle along the “Royal Mile” to the elaborate royal residence at Holyroodhouse. Although the great central block of Edinburgh Castle had been built in the fifteenth century, with an ornate dining hall added by James IV in the early sixteenth century, buildings and fortifications had existed on the castle height since the eleventh century, with the still-surviving St. Margaret's Chapel dating from around 1100. In the 1560s, during the reign of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, Edinburgh witnessed the preaching of John **Knox**, the murder of David **Rizzio** at Holyroodhouse, and the murder of Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, at the house of Kirk o'Field. In June 1567, when the Confederate Lords brought Mary back to the capital after her defeat at the Battle of **Carberry**, Edinburgh mobs greeted the queen with shouts of “Burn the whore,” burning being the prescribed punishment for a woman convicted of murdering her husband.

Under Mary's son, James VI, Edinburgh grew to perhaps 20,000 inhabitants and acquired a university, Edinburgh College, in 1582. After the accession of James to the English throne in 1603, the Scottish monarch was no longer resident in Edinburgh, and politically ambitious Scots were drawn to **London**, although Edinburgh remained the administrative and legal capital of the Scottish monarchy.

See also Darnley Murder; James I

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Edinburgh, Treaty of

By ensuring the success of the Scottish **Reformation**, the Treaty of Edinburgh broke the ancient alliance between **Scotland** and **France** and laid the foundation for a new understanding, based on a shared **Protestantism**, between Scotland and England. Concluded in July 1560, the Treaty of Edinburgh ended French and English military intervention in Scotland and civil war between Scottish Protestants

and Scottish Catholics for control of the regency government of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots.

French, Scottish, and English commissioners met in Edinburgh in June 1560 to resolve the military and political stalemate that had resulted from the death of Marie de **Guise**, Queen Mary's mother and regent, and the defeat in May of an Anglo-Scots army besieging the regent's French forces at Leith. The English delegation was led by William **Cecil**, who was able to use French military weakness and English command of the seas to forge an agreement favorable to England. In the treaty, the English and the French agreed to withdraw all military forces from Scotland. The French agreed to dismantle their fortresses, to stop interfering in Scottish affairs, and to prevent any French subject from holding an official position in the Scottish government. The treaty also obligated Mary, the Catholic claimant to the English throne, to cease displaying the English royal arms along with her own. The treaty vested the government of Scotland in a council of 12, 5 to be named by the Protestant Scottish Parliament and 7 to be named by the Catholic queen, then resident in France as the wife of the French king.

Elizabeth I was unhappy with the treaty because the French had refused to restore **Calais**, lost by her sister **Mary I** in 1558. Mary Stuart refused to ratify the treaty because Elizabeth would not formally recognize her as heir to the English throne. Despite the dissatisfaction of the two queens, the treaty began the process whereby England and Scotland, almost 150 years later, jointly agreed to a political union.

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Education

Although the value of education was increasingly recognized by all segments of society, Tudor England had no national system of education, and only a small fraction of children, and these mostly boys, received formal schooling. Nonetheless, the period witnessed many changes in education, including the spread and acceptance of humanist learning, the freeing of instruction from ecclesiastical control, and the founding of new colleges and **grammar schools**.

Starting at about age six, children began instruction in the skills appropriate to their gender and social position. The sons of the nobility and wealthier **gentry** were privately tutored or put in service to another noble or gentle household. Cecil

House, the home of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, became well known as an educational establishment; at times as many as 20 young men were in residence, learning manners, religion, and statecraft from tutors and from Burghley himself. The sons of prosperous urban merchants and craftsmen, and of less wealthy or well-connected gentlemen, often began their education in petty schools, which, after the **Reformation**, were private enterprises run by **towns**, **guilds**, or parishes. Petty schools taught the fundamentals of reading and writing in English and perhaps some basic arithmetic. Schoolmasters varied widely in their own education—some had little schooling, while about one-third had university training. Discipline in the petty schools was often harsh, with the birch rod used freely to correct misbehavior and academic failure, a practice that **Elizabeth I**'s tutor Roger **Ascham** severely criticized. Bright or highborn students proceeded to grammar school and from there to one of the **universities** or the **Inns of Court** in **London** for legal training.

Grammar schools were private educational foundations intended to give boys a basic grounding in the classics. Because the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the abolition of **chantries** closed many schools associated with those institutions, a host of new grammar schools were refounded after 1540 by towns and private patrons. **Henry VIII** endowed over 20 grammar schools, including King's School at Canterbury. These new schools served the sons of the urban middle class and the lesser gentry, as well as a few lower-class boys who showed promise. Most boys entered the grammar school around the age of 8 or 9 and left around age 14 or 15, but the length of one's training depended upon one's parents. Except for short two- or three-week vacations at **Christmas** and **Easter**, school was in session year round, six days a week. In summer, the morning began at 6:00 a.m. and ran to 11:00 a.m., with the afternoon session running from 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. In winter, the day usually started an hour later and ended an hour earlier. In many schools, Thursday afternoon was granted as a holiday.

Heavily influenced by the educational precepts of **humanism**, Tudor grammar schools focused on the teaching of Latin. Students learned Latin grammar and vocabulary, translated English into Latin, read the Latin **Bible**, and studied both classical authors and contemporary writers such as Desiderius **Erasmus**. Although much instruction was oral, printed textbooks of Latin grammar appeared during the early Tudor period. In 1543, Henry VIII ordered the exclusive use of the Latin grammar produced in 1515 by William **Lily**, the first headmaster of John **Colet**'s foundation at St. Paul's. By 1549, students entering the universities were noticeably more proficient in Latin, prompting the **council** to eliminate Latin grammar from the undergraduate curriculum and replace it with mathematics. In some grammar schools, study of Greek and Hebrew grammar supplemented work with Latin. Schools also provided some opportunities for recreation: boys were allowed to practice archery, play chess, run and wrestle, and act in yearly dramatic presentations staged by the school.

The two English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, arose in the twelfth century when groups of students gathered around the learned monks and teachers living in each town. By the thirteenth century, each university comprised a group of residential colleges. The colleges were corporations of students and instructors (masters) that had their own statutes, buildings, customs, and landed endowments. The medieval universities educated lower-class boys for careers in the church, with students attending lectures and participating in academic debates. In the early Tudor period, the universities fell increasingly under the influence of humanism, and classical studies gradually became the heart of the curriculum. **Henry VII's** mother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond, founded two new colleges at Cambridge, Christ's and St. John's, and Henry VIII founded Christ College at Oxford and Trinity College at Cambridge in 1546. The king also established the 10 original regius professorships (5 at each university) in Greek, Hebrew, divinity, law, and medicine.

The Reformation brought the universities, like the church itself, under royal control in the 1530s, when the teaching of **canon law** was prohibited. Because their original purpose of preparing students for ecclesiastical careers had largely disappeared, the universities experienced declining attendance after 1535. But in the 1550s, the universities revived as training centers for the sons of the gentry, and thereafter most **justices of the peace**, members of **Parliament**, and royal officials acquired some university training. By the end of the Elizabethan period, the annual number of incoming freshmen at Oxford, about 360, was almost three and a half times the number of a century earlier.

Educational opportunities for women were limited, particularly after the dissolution of the 40 schools associated with nunneries. Females could not attend grammar schools or universities. Except for daughters of the **peerage** or gentry, such as Margaret More **Roper** and Jane **Grey**, who could be privately tutored, few women received much formal education. This inequality in educational opportunity was reflected in Tudor literacy rates, with the figures for women being half or less of those for men. Overall, basic literacy was low but slowly rising with the number of petty and grammar schools. Perhaps 20 percent of men and 10 percent of women were literate in the 1530s. Perhaps 30 percent of men and 10 percent of women were literate by the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603. Literacy was higher in the towns, especially London, and in the more populous southern and eastern parts of the kingdom, as well as in the more **Puritan** areas where great emphasis was placed on being able to read the **Bible**.

See also Boroughs

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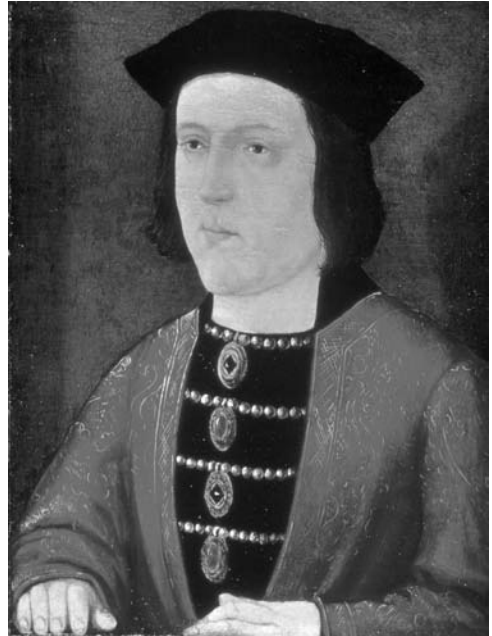
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Edward IV (1442–1483)

Edward IV, first king of the House of **York** and a central figure in the **Wars of the Roses**, was the maternal grandfather of **Henry VIII**, who was said to resemble Edward in both appearance and personality. Only 18 when he overthrew **Henry VI** and the House of **Lancaster**, Edward, despite personal flaws and political misjudgments that briefly cost him the Crown, was a strong and successful monarch who reduced disorder and lawlessness and reversed the deterioration of royal authority.

The eldest son of Richard, Duke of York, and his wife, **Cecily** Neville, Edward was born on 28 April 1442 at Rouen in English-held Normandy, where his father was then serving as lord lieutenant. By 1454, 12-year-old Edward had been created Earl of March, a title formerly belonging to the Mortimers, the family of Edward's paternal grandmother, from whom the House of York derived its claim to the throne. In 1459, when civil war erupted between the supporters of York and the king, Edward, now 17, was with his father when defeat at the Battle of Ludford Bridge forced the duke and his adherents to flee the country. York sailed for **Ireland**, while Edward made for **Calais** with his father's chief allies, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his son, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

Although separated from his father, Edward began in 1460 to emerge as an important political figure in his own right as he acted in concert with the vigorous Warwick to advance his



Edward IV of the House of York was the maternal grandfather of Henry VIII, who supposedly favored Edward in both appearance and personality. (Corel)

family's cause. Having frustrated all Lancastrian attempts to dislodge them from Calais, the three Yorkist earls invaded England in June 1460. After securing **London**, the earls marched north and, on 10 July, captured Henry VI at the Battle of Northampton. In October, York returned to lay claim to the Crown. **Parliament**, being unwilling to depose Henry, fashioned the compromise Act of Accord, which disinherited Henry's son, Prince Edward, and vested succession to the Crown in York and his sons. In December, when York marched north to suppress Lancastrian uprisings against the new regime, Edward set out to raise troops on the Welsh border. At Gloucester, in early January 1461, Edward learned of the death of his father at the Battle of Wakefield.

Now leader of the Yorkist cause and, for the first time, in independent command of a military force, Edward defeated Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke, in Wales on 3 February, but two weeks later Queen Margaret of Anjou defeated Warwick and took custody of Henry at the Battle of St. Albans. Aided by southern fears of the northerners in Margaret's army, Edward boldly entered **London** in late February. Handsome and confident, the very antithesis of Henry VI, Edward, though only 18, looked and acted like a king and was therefore greeted as a deliverer by the frightened Londoners. Proclaimed king on 4 March, Edward began immediately to gather an army. On 29 March, Edward secured his throne by winning the bloody, daylong Battle of Towton, his personal leadership helping to steady his troops at several crucial junctures during the fighting. By 1465, Edward was firmly in power, with Henry VI in the **Tower of London** and Queen Margaret and her son in exile in **France**.

During the 1460s, Edward's political inexperience led him to pardon opponents too easily, to reward supporters too richly, and to delegate authority too freely, especially to Warwick. Although he never abdicated ultimate control and never allowed his mistresses political power, Edward was also pleasure loving and much given to sexual dalliance. In 1464, he created enormous political problems for himself and his heirs by secretly marrying a subject, Elizabeth **Woodville**, who brought to **court** a host of ambitious relatives. The Woodvilles' avid pursuit of wealth and power alienated Warwick and the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, who in 1469 launched a coup that briefly placed Edward in their custody. When a second coup failed in the spring of 1470, Warwick and Clarence fled to France, where the earl concluded an agreement with Margaret of Anjou. Realizing that Edward had grown too independent and politically astute to allow him to continue to dominate the government, Warwick agreed to restore the weak-minded Henry VI, who could never be more than a figurehead. Given to indolence and self-indulgence, Edward had been caught unprepared in 1469, and was again in 1470, when the Neville defection to Lancaster found him in the north without sufficient forces to make a stand. On 2 October, Edward fled to Burgundy with his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and a small band of supporters.

Over the winter of 1470–1471, Edward recruited men and raised money with the assistance of his brother-in-law Duke Charles of Burgundy. Landing in England in March 1471, Edward began a bold and energetic two-month campaign that permitted him to retake London and defeat and kill both Warwick and Prince Edward of Lancaster. When Henry VI was murdered in the Tower on 21 May, undoubtedly on Edward's orders, the House of York was secure and the Wars of the Roses over.

In the 1470s, Edward began the process, which was continued and extended by **Henry VII**, of restoring royal authority and making the king once more the powerful and respected arbiter of noble disputes, rather than merely the leader of one faction of the peerage. As the power of the Crown grew in relation to that of the nobility, noblemen found themselves no longer able to conduct private feuds or disrupt local courts, although the Crown still required the military and political support of great magnates and Edward was occasionally willing to overlook their transgressions to retain their cooperation. Edward also reorganized Crown finances, becoming one of the few medieval English kings to die solvent, and developed a loyal and capable body of councillors and household servants, often drawn from former opponents, who worked to improve royal administration and implement royal policy. However, Edward was also willing to allow his closest supporters to build regional political interests, which had serious consequences in the reign of his son. His brother Gloucester governed the north as heir to Warwick, while William Hastings, Lord Hastings, dominated the Midlands, and the Woodville family developed powerful support in the south and **Wales**, where the queen's brother supervised the household of Prince Edward.

In 1475, Edward invaded France in concert with the Duke of Burgundy, who had been a formal ally of the House of York since marrying Edward's sister, **Margaret of York**, in 1468. However, no fighting occurred, for, after a personal meeting with Louis XI, Edward agreed to the Treaty of Picquigny, whereby he withdrew his army in return for an annual pension and a promise of marriage between Louis's heir and Edward's daughter, **Elizabeth of York**. In 1478, Edward preferred a bill of **attainder** against his brother Clarence, whose long history of treasonous and provocative behavior determined Edward to destroy him. In the late 1470s, Edward revived claims to English hegemony over **Scotland**, an ill-advised policy that achieved the recapture of Berwick but otherwise led only to costly and futile campaigns by Gloucester. By 1483, Edward's power was unquestioned, and his dynasty was recognized across Europe and unchallenged in England, although many of his subjects were beginning to see him as increasingly arbitrary and avaricious. Edward died unexpectedly on 9 April 1483, just short of his 41st birthday; given to corpulence in later years, the king was said to be the victim of a life given to excess and self-indulgence. He was succeeded by his son **Edward V**, who within three months of his father's death had lost the Crown to his uncle, **Richard III**, whose defeat at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485 placed the House of

Tudor on the throne in the person of Henry VII, who married Edward's daughter Elizabeth of York in 1486.

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Edward V (1470–c. 1483)

The eldest son of **Edward IV** and second monarch of the House of **York**, Edward V was the uncrowned king of England from April to June 1483, when he was dethroned by his uncle **Richard III** in an act of usurpation that reignited the **Wars of the Roses** and led ultimately to the accession of the House of **Tudor** and the union of York and **Lancaster** in the marriage of **Henry VII** and **Elizabeth of York**.

At Edward's birth in November 1470, his family's cause was in disarray. In the previous month, his father had been overthrown and forced into exile in Burgundy by a former ally, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who restored **Henry VI** to the throne. Edward was born at Westminster, where his mother, Queen Elizabeth Woodville, had taken sanctuary after her husband's flight. However, by May 1471, Edward was heir to a Yorkist throne made secure by his father's destruction of the rival House of **Lancaster** and by his own birth.

In 1473, the three-year-old prince was given his own household at Ludlow, a Yorkist stronghold in Shropshire. Supervised by his maternal uncle Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, the household included 25 councillors, a large staff of servants, and numerous schoolfellows and playmates drawn from the sons of English noblemen. Directed by Bishop John Alcock of Worcester, the prince's formal educational program involved training in Latin, **music**, religion, and archery and other physical recreations. The prince was eventually made the nominal head of the Council of **Wales**, which included Rivers, Alcock, and other experienced royal administrators, and which was charged with maintaining order on the chronically disordered Welsh border.

After his father's death on 9 April 1483, the prince, now recognized as Edward V, was escorted to **London** by Rivers. In late April, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Edward's paternal uncle, intercepted the royal party at Stony Stratford, arrested Rivers, and took custody of the king. Over the next two months, Gloucester, fearing the young king was dominated by his mother's family and unsure of his own future in a Woodville-controlled monarchy, had Edward declared illegitimate and engineered his own usurpation of the throne, which was completed with his coronation as Richard III on 6 July. Edward and his younger brother Richard, Duke of

York, were lodged together in the **Tower of London**, where they disappeared from view by late summer. By the autumn of 1483, the country was awash with rumors that Richard III had murdered his nephews.

Although the exact fate of Edward V and his brother has never been resolved, and the role of Richard III in their disappearance is still vigorously debated, by September 1483 most people believed the princes were dead, and Richard's responsibility for their fate was sufficiently accepted to undermine support for his regime. In the autumn of 1483, many Yorkists transferred their allegiance to Edward's elder sister, Elizabeth of York. When Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the Lancastrian claimant to the throne, agreed to take Elizabeth as his queen, the Yorkist and Woodville interests supported Buckingham's Rebellion as the first step in an eventually successful effort to win the Crown for Richmond.

John A. Wagner

See also Princes in the Tower

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Edward VI (1537–1553)

The son of **Henry VIII** and Jane **Seymour**, Edward VI was the third monarch of the House of **Tudor**. Born at **Hampton Court** on 12 October 1537, Edward lost his mother two weeks later and was given into the care of a household of nurses and physicians headed by Lady Margaret **Bryan**. The first Tudor monarch to be formally trained for kingship, Edward, beginning in 1544, was tutored by some of the leading scholars at the English **court**, including Richard **Cox**, Roger **Ascham**, John **Cheke**, and Anthony **Cooke**. By the time his formal schooling ended in 1552, Edward was proficient in Latin, Greek, and French; had extensive knowledge of geography, history, political theory, and military science; and had trained in rhetoric, dialectics, **music**, and mathematics, including use of the astrolabe and other instruments of navigation. From his humanist tutors, Edward also imbibed

an advanced **Protestantism** that led reformers to view him as England's Josiah, the biblical king who purified Hebrew worship. As a result, under Edward, the Henrician Church, which had been separated from Rome but was otherwise largely Catholic in doctrine and practice, was transformed into a truly Protestant institution, upholding the basic tenets of **Calvinism**.

Edward was nine when he succeeded his father as king on 28 January 1547. Although Henry VIII had intended the country to be governed by a regency council during Edward's minority, real power passed to the king's maternal uncle, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who ruled as his nephew's guardian and lord protector. In October 1549, the **council**, led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, overthrew Somerset, who was blamed for the internal disorders of the previous summer. Although he was also effective ruler of the realm, Warwick, who became Duke of Northumberland in 1551, did not revive the protectorship, but acted instead under the pretence that he was chief minister to a king who had assumed full authority. Historians are unsure about the extent to which Edward was involved in matters of state or in formulating the policies of his governments. Under Somerset, the king, although in agreement with his uncle's Protestantism, was clearly controlled by the protector. However, as the source of political authority, Edward could not be ignored. In attempting to undermine his brother's position, Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Seymour, the king's younger uncle, befriended Edward and passed him pocket money as a way to gain his favor and support. Advised by Cheke, his trusted tutor, Edward declined Seymour's advances and consented to his execution in March 1549.

Dealing with an older monarch, Northumberland worked to earn and maintain the king's trust. In this effort, the duke was successful; Edward embraced the government's policies as his own and even consented to the execution of Somerset in 1552. Under Northumberland, Edward played a larger official role in governing, meeting ambassadors, agreeing to policy, and addressing speeches and memoranda to the council. He developed an interest in the details of royal administration and even turned his attention to the debasement of the **coinage**, the relief of poverty, and foreign policy. However, much of this activity is ascribed by historians to careful coaching, and the ultimate direction of affairs rested with Northumberland and the council, although in his last years the king showed an increasing concern for the exercise and proper acknowledgment of his royal authority. Even Edward's undoubted support for Northumberland's Protestant policies may have rested more on a desire to be obeyed than on a concern for proper doctrine.

Although Edward, who was an intelligent youth with gray eyes, a fair complexion, and a slight build, was proposed as husband for several ladies, including his cousins, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and Lady Jane **Grey**, none of these matches ever materialized. The state of Edward's health has also been much debated. Although given to occasional illnesses, he enjoyed long periods of good health and

remained interested in **hunting**, tournaments, and other activities until the commencement of his final illness in the spring of 1553. Concerned that the accession of his Catholic sister Princess Mary would mean civil war and the destruction of the English Protestant Church, Edward, with the assistance of Northumberland, circumvented the statutory succession by devising the Crown by will to the future male heirs of his Protestant cousin Jane Grey. When his deteriorating health made waiting for male heirs impossible, the king altered his document of succession (known as the ***Devise of the Crown***) to pass the throne directly to Jane, who was married to Northumberland's son in May. Because the *Devise* was illegal on a number of grounds, the king and Northumberland had to pressure justices and councillors into accepting the document. Only 15 years old, Edward died at Greenwich on 6 July 1553. Although his death is usually attributed to pulmonary tuberculosis, more recent theories, seeing little evidence of long-term decline, argue that Edward succumbed to a severe and rapid lung infection. The attempt to enthrone Jane Grey, known as **Northumberland's Coup**, was unsuccessful, and Edward was succeeded by his Catholic sister **Mary I**.

See also Commonwealth Men; Humanism; Kett's Rebellion; Western Rebellion

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Effingham, Lord Howard of

See Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham

Elizabeth I (1533–1603)

The last **Tudor** monarch of England, Elizabeth I was the daughter of **Henry VIII** and his second wife, Anne **Boleyn**. Born on 7 September 1533 at **Greenwich Palace**, Elizabeth was proclaimed heir to the English throne at birth but was removed from the succession and declared a bastard in 1536 after the execution of her mother

for treason and adultery. Under the guidance of Henry VIII's last queen, Katherine **Parr**, Elizabeth received an excellent education from such humanist scholars as William Grindal and Roger **Ascham**. On his death in January 1547, Henry left a will restoring Elizabeth to the succession behind her half siblings, **Edward VI** and the future **Mary I**. Except for an improper flirtation with Thomas **Seymour**, maternal uncle to Edward VI, Elizabeth lived quietly during her brother's brief reign.

After Edward's death in July 1553, Elizabeth supported her half sister Mary against **Northumberland's Coup**, but her reluctance to accept Catholicism and her position as a Protestant alternative to Mary cost her the queen's favor. Mary imprisoned her sister in the **Tower of London** in 1554 on suspicion of involvement in **Wyatt's Rebellion**, but nothing could be proved and Elizabeth was eventually released.

When Mary died childless on 17 November 1558, Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. Appointing William **Cecil** as her principal secretary and showing marked favoritism toward Robert **Dudley**, her master of horse, Elizabeth turned to **Parliament** to restore the English Church to **Protestantism**. Two of the most pressing problems of the new reign were the **marriage question** and the succession. Because Elizabeth's most likely heir was her Catholic cousin, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots (whom many Catholics already considered rightful queen of England) and because the age expected a woman ruler to take a husband to help her govern, Elizabeth's ministers urged her to marry and produce a Protestant heir. Although for a time she seemed likely to marry Dudley and many other suitors appeared, including her former brother-in-law, **Philip II** of **Spain**, Elizabeth confounded expectations by remaining unmarried and refusing to formally name a successor.

Elizabeth also steadfastly maintained the moderate **Anglican Church**, frustrating **Puritan** hopes for religious reform but also sparing England the religious wars that savaged **France**. Catholic conspiracies to place Mary Stuart on her throne and the threat of invasion from the Spanish, Catholic **Netherlands** forced Elizabeth to intervene militarily in the **Netherlands Revolt** in 1585 and threw England into war with Spain. In 1588, one year after Elizabeth reluctantly consented to the execution of Mary Stuart (who had been a prisoner in England since 1568), Philip launched the **armada** against England. By 1590, William Cecil was old and Dudley was dead, and a series of new political leaders had arisen at court, including Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, and Robert **Cecil**. Although the years after the defeat of the armada witnessed military failure and economic decline for England, they also saw the flowering of the greatest cultural renaissance in English history; remarkable developments in **music, architecture, art, drama, and poetry**; as well as brilliant achievements in commerce and **exploration**, which made England's Elizabethan Age a period of confidence and progress. Elizabeth, in her 70th year, died at **Richmond Palace** on 24 March 1603. She was succeeded by her kinsman, James VI of **Scotland**.



This portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, known as the “Armada Portrait,” is believed to have been painted by George Gower in 1588. (Ann Ronan Pictures/StockphotoPro)

Surprisingly little contemporary evidence survives as to the queen’s physical appearance. A reasonable description of Elizabeth I would be that she was slightly above average height for an upper-class woman of her time, that she had fair skin and dark eyes, a long slightly hooked nose, reddish-gold hair that curled naturally, a slim figure, and beautiful hands with fine long fingers. She appears

to have resembled her father more than her mother, and her paternal grandfather, **Henry VII**, more than anyone else. In her old age, her hair thinned and turned gray and her teeth deteriorated, but her figure remained trim and her body erect, all features shared with her grandfather.

She also shared certain personality traits with Henry VII. Both monarchs were accused of financial rapacity, of being overly frugal to the point of meanness. Certainly neither showed the bluff open-handedness of Henry VIII when it came to distributing rewards for royal service. Both realized that England must be solvent to be strong, and both strove to obtain the maximum benefit from any expenditure of limited resources. Thus, though both Henry VII and Elizabeth I had a taste for the regal and the opulent, all such displays—whether rich court finery for Elizabeth or lavish new palaces for Henry—were meant to impress foreigners with the glory of England or the Tudor dynasty and never simply for show. Elizabeth and her grandfather also shared a strong sense of national responsibility, carefully weighing the benefits and risks of each action for the nation as a whole. In Elizabeth, this caution often seemed to exasperated ministers to be simply procrastination and indecision and to reaffirm their own notions of the unfitness of women to rule a kingdom. However, over time, her ministers and most of her subjects came to appreciate her sound judgment and common sense, and in the less harmonious politics of her successor's reign, many English people came to look upon Elizabeth's time as a lost golden age.

Elizabeth never forgot the lesson of her sister's reign, when she had been the popular alternative to an unpopular queen. She always considered the love of the people to be her strongest asset in governing, and she strove all her life—with much success—to win and retain that love. Even such political and religious enemies as Philip II, who approved and financed plans for her overthrow and murder, gave her grudging respect as an intelligent and worthy opponent. Historians today consider Elizabeth one of the greatest monarchs in English history and one of the greatest female rulers of all time. By refusing to be pressured into marrying, Elizabeth allowed England to survive as an independent power. By crafting and maintaining a broadly based religious settlement, by pursuing peace and financial prudence, and by inspiring achievement in others through competition for her favor, Elizabeth gave England a new national unity and a new outward-looking attitude.

See also Anglican Settlement; Ashley, Katherine; Babington Plot; Elizabeth I, Portraits of; Humanism; James I; Ridolfi Plot; Succession, Acts of; Virgin Queen

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Elizabeth I, Portraits of

Ranging in date from the late 1540s to just before the queen's death in 1603, about 135 contemporary portraits of **Elizabeth I** have survived. Pictures of Elizabeth were in high demand from the beginning of the reign. A **proclamation** of 1563 declared that "all sorts of subjects and people both noble and mean [common]" desired to own and display the queen's image. The proclamation sought to regulate production of Elizabeth's likeness by proposing the distribution to painters of one portrait commissioned and approved by the queen as the pattern for all royal images. But Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, the start of war with **Spain** in 1585, and the **Armada** Crisis in 1588 made displaying the royal likeness an act of patriotism, and the demand for royal portraits soon exceeded the time and talent needed to produce them in the form and quality demanded by the queen. In 1596, when the Privy **Council** ordered the destruction of poor-quality portraits that were causing Elizabeth "great offense," a large number were collected and burned.

One of the most famous surviving portraits of Elizabeth I is the richly colored *Armada Portrait*; painted by George **Gower** in about 1588, it shows the queen wearing an elaborate bow-covered gown and standing before a depiction of the English victory over the armada. Traditionally attributed to Nicholas **Hilliard**, the 1585 *Ermine Portrait* was commissioned by William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. The portrait is named for the white ermine, a symbol of purity and chastity, that curls around the queen's left wrist. Another likeness of the **virgin queen** is the *Siena* or *Sieve Portrait* from the early 1580s; it depicts the queen holding a sieve, a symbol of chastity deriving from a story about a Roman vestal virgin.

The 1575 *Darnley Portrait* shows the queen holding a multicolored feather fan that sets off the accent colors in her white gown. The *Ditchley Portrait* from 1592 is the largest surviving image of Elizabeth and one of the few to suggest her age. Almost all other portrayals of the queen, including the *Rainbow Portrait*, painted in about 1600 when Elizabeth was nearing 70, give her the face of a young woman, a convention dictated by both the propaganda needs of the state and the queen's vanity.

See also Art; Limning; Pius V; *Regnans in Excelsis*

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Elizabeth of York (1465–1503)

Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of **Edward IV**, was the wife of **Henry VII** and the mother of **Henry VIII**. As heiress of York, Elizabeth's marriage to Henry symbolized the end of the **Wars of the Roses** and the legitimacy of the House of **Tudor**.

In 1470, when the Lancastrians overthrew Edward IV, Elizabeth accompanied her mother, Queen Elizabeth **Woodville**, into sanctuary at Westminster Abbey until Edward's return in 1471. In 1475, the king betrothed Elizabeth to the son of Louis XI of **France**, but the French monarch broke off the match in the early 1480s. After Edward's death in April 1483, Elizabeth fled again into sanctuary at Westminster with her mother, who feared her brother-in-law, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. By the autumn of 1483, Gloucester was king as **Richard III** and Elizabeth's two brothers, **Edward V** and Richard, Duke of York, were feared dead

at their uncle's hand. Now Edward IV's heir, Elizabeth became an important element in Buckingham's Rebellion, an uprising planned in part by her mother and in part by Margaret **Beaufort**, countess of Richmond. The rebels intended to enthrone the surviving Lancastrian heir, the countess's son, Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who had agreed to marry Elizabeth.

After the failure of the rebellion, Elizabeth remained in sanctuary with her mother and sisters until March 1484, when Richard III, in an effort to divorce the ex-queen from Richmond's cause, agreed to find his nieces good marriages and to provide for them financially. Even though the **Parliament** of 1484 had bastardized the children of Edward IV, Elizabeth was so warmly welcomed at **court** that



Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV and wife to Henry VII, seems to have been a kind and gentle person. (Library of Congress)

rumors soon claimed Richard was planning to replace his ailing queen with his 19-year-old niece. The rumors intensified at **Christmas** 1484, when the queen and Elizabeth wore similar gowns at the court festivities, and in March 1485, when Queen Anne died. Because these reports were so persistent and so damaging to the king's reputation, Richard's chief advisers successfully urged him to publicly repudiate the match. Although some later writers have claimed that Elizabeth was eager to marry her uncle, various contemporary ballads describe her loathing for Richard, whom she blamed for her brothers' deaths. Nothing can now be said with certainty about Elizabeth's opinion of her uncle, who underscored his disavowal of the union by dispatching her to Sheriff Hutton.

She was still at this Yorkshire castle in August 1485 when Richmond defeated Richard at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** and took the throne as Henry VII. Because he was unwilling to have it appear that he owed the Crown to his wife, Henry delayed his marriage to Elizabeth until 18 January 1486, after Parliament had recognized his right to the throne. Elizabeth was crowned queen on 25 November 1486, a year after her husband's coronation and two months after the birth of her first child. Elizabeth bore eight children, four of whom survived infancy. The eldest, Prince Arthur **Tudor**, preceded Elizabeth in death in 1502, but her second son ascended the throne as Henry VIII in 1509. Her elder daughter, Margaret **Tudor**, became the wife of **James IV** of **Scotland** in 1503, and her younger daughter, Mary **Tudor**, later married **Louis XII** of **France** and Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk.

Elizabeth, who seems to have been beautiful, gentle, and kind, was fond of dancing, music, hunting, and archery, all tastes shared by her son Henry VIII. Her relationship with her husband, whom she could barely have known at the time of their marriage, was warm and affectionate. She and Henry touchingly comforted one another after the death of Prince Arthur, and the king withdrew into deep mourning upon her death. Elizabeth died in childbirth on her 38th birthday, 11 February 1503. Her granddaughter **Elizabeth I** was named for her.

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Eltham Ordinances

Named for the royal palace at which they were promulgated in January 1526, the Eltham Ordinances outlined a program for reforming the royal household. Through these measures, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** sought to make the household more economical and efficient, more responsive to royal needs, and more amenable to his

oversight. By 1525, financial difficulties arising from the failure of the **Amicable Grant** and the costs of the recent **Anglo-French War** made cuts in household expenditure highly desirable. Also, the proliferation of political opponents within **Henry VIII's** privy chamber, the suite of personal servants who met the king's daily needs and shared his daily pastimes, led Wolsey to seek means whereby he could remove his most dangerous rivals and replace them with more reliable men. Wolsey's 1519 purge of the **minions**, high-spirited courtier companions like Sir Nicholas **Carew** who shared the king's revels, was only temporarily successful. By 1520, Carew and his fellows had been reinstated at **court**. No friends of Wolsey, these minions represented sources of **patronage** and influence beyond the cardinal's control. To address these problems, both administrative and political, Wolsey, with the king's support, devised and implemented a wide-ranging series of initiatives known as the Eltham Ordinances.

The ordinances comprised 79 specific chapters designed to cut costs, improve decorum, and restructure the privy chamber. The official size of the court and royal household was reduced, and the number of people who were accorded bouge of court (the right to food, drink, fuel, and lodging for themselves and a retinue) was similarly cut. The ordinances also tightened accounting and budgeting procedures, mandated staff inspections, and discharged anyone who was sickly or unneeded. Strict new rules likewise governed the conduct of those who attended upon the king, curbing boisterous or violent behavior to protect both the royal person and the royal honor, banning dogs to improve cleanliness, and setting mealtimes to promote economy. In the privy chamber, Wolsey prescribed the type and number of servants who waited on the king—six gentleman of the privy chamber, two gentlemen ushers, four grooms, a barber, and a page—a reduction of eight positions. Particular opponents of Wolsey, such as Sir William Compton, a long-serving groom, were pensioned off.

Although the measures for improving economy and etiquette were well meant and much needed, they proved ultimately unsuccessful as courtiers took their lead from a king who had little interest in household economy or administrative efficiency. Specific measures outlined in the ordinances were repeatedly included in later reform initiatives, a sure sign that they were little heeded in actual practice. Wolsey's purge of the privy chamber briefly enhanced his position, but the rise of Anne **Boleyn** and her supporters after 1527 eventually undercut his authority and largely nullified the political effects of the ordinances.

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Elyot, Sir Thomas (c. 1490–1546)

One of the most influential humanist writers of Tudor England and one of the first to write mainly in English, Sir Thomas Elyot is best known as the author of *The Boke of the Governour* (1531), or *Boke Called the Governour*; a treatise on **education** and politics that proposed an ideal humanist curriculum for the education of the nobility.

The son of Sir Richard Elyot of Wiltshire, Elyot was largely self-taught in Latin, Greek, and philosophy. In 1510, Elyot's father, who was a justice of the assize for the western circuit, secured his son's appointment as clerk of the assize. During the course of this legal career, which also included admittance to the Middle Temple, one of the **Inns of Court** in **London**, Elyot likely made the acquaintance of Sir Thomas **More** and Thomas **Cromwell**, both of whom were later his friends. In 1523, Elyot won appointment, through Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, as clerk of the royal **council**. He was dismissed from this post in 1530, following Wolsey's fall, and received no further advancement beyond a knighthood. Published to attract royal favor, *The Boke of the Governour* was well received at court and secured Elyot appointment as ambassador to **Charles V**. Charged with convincing the emperor to accept the king's divorce from **Catherine of Aragon**, a cause to which the ambassador did not subscribe, Elyot was replaced by Thomas **Cranmer** in 1532. Before returning home, Elyot, at the king's direction, traveled to the **Netherlands**, where he tried unsuccessfully to apprehend William **Tyndale**.

Although he served as sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1532–1533, was **justice of the peace** in Wiltshire and Oxfordshire from the mid-1520s until his death, and sat on various other commissions, Elyot never again held a major office. In 1535, believing his earlier friendship with More had harmed his standing with the king, Elyot wrote Cromwell asking the minister to overlook the connection. In 1539, he sat in **Parliament** as knight of the shire for Cambridgeshire and in 1540 was appointed one of the gentlemen charged with receiving **Anne of Cleves**, to whom Elyot dedicated a work titled *Defense of Good Women* (1540). Among Elyot's other published works are *Pasquil the Playne* and *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man* (both 1533), Socratic dialogues that explore the difficulties involved in attempting to provide wise counsel to a ruler; *The Bankette of Sapience* (1535?), a compilation of pagan and Christian adages; and *The Castle of Health* (1536?), the first widely read medical treatise in English. Elyot's other major work, a Latin-English dictionary dedicated to **Henry VIII**, was published in 1538 and is considered one of the seminal works of English lexicography. Elyot died childless on 26 March 1546.

See also Court, Royal; Divorce, Royal; Humanism

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Empson, Richard

See Empson-Dudley Affair

Empson-Dudley Affair

As finance ministers of **Henry VII**, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley became closely associated with the king's vigorous enforcement of Crown rights and strict assessment of financial penalties. When **Henry VIII** ascended the throne in 1509, he sought to repudiate his father's unpopular fiscal policies without tarnishing his father's image. Because their zealous pursuit of the rejected policies made them convenient scapegoats, Empson and Dudley were arrested and executed for **treason**.

Born into a Northamptonshire **gentry** family, Empson (c. 1450–1510) was appointed **justice of the peace** in Lancashire in 1475 and attorney general for the duchy of Lancaster in 1478. After 1485, Empson obtained the patronage of Henry VII's influential minister, Sir Reginald **Bray**, and won appointment as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in 1505 in eventual succession to Bray. He also followed Bray in the chairmanship of the **Council Learned**, which adjudged and fined offenders against the king's rights, especially those pertaining to feudal overlordship. In 1491, Empson served as Speaker of the House of Commons.

Dudley (c. 1462–1510) was trained in the law, possibly at Oxford, and was reader (lecturer on law) at Gray's Inn. In the late 1490s, he became undersheriff of **London** and was Speaker of the Commons in 1504. Like Empson, Dudley enjoyed the patronage of Bray and served on a royal board, the Court of **Star Chamber**, which imposed fines for various violations, especially those involving commercial disputes among London merchants.

Although they rarely worked together and were only two of many royal councillors implementing the king's financial policies, Empson and Dudley became

most closely identified with the unpopular system of fines, bonds, and recognizances that characterized the reign after 1505. Both men collected the large fines and penalties assessed for various offenses, including the bonds levied by installment or the outright forfeiture of goods and property required from the disloyal. Men seeking offices, favor in lawsuits, or the right to marry a widow or oversee a minor holding land of the king, as well as clerics seeking to possess the properties pertaining to their office, paid fines, fees, and assessments to Empson or Dudley. Beyond the unpopularity generated by the efficient performance of their official duties, the two men also made enemies by the ruthless use of their positions to amass personal wealth. Both acquired properties from the politically or legally vulnerable and otherwise used their offices to enrich themselves and their families.

On 24 April 1509, three days after Henry VII's death, the new king and his council sent Empson and Dudley to the **Tower of London**. The arrests were likely motivated by a combination of reasons: Henry VIII's desire for personal popularity, the personal animosity of other councillors, and a genuine response to widespread complaints about the two ministers. Charged with threatening the king by summoning armed retainers to London in April 1509, both men were convicted of treason. Although generally dismissed as fabrications, the charges may refer to actual efforts at self-protection made in light of a possible succession crisis.

Not executed until 17 August 1510, both men tried to settle their affairs and save their lives. Dudley planned an unattempted escape and sought, through paid advocates, to win a royal pardon. He also sent the king a list of royal debtors whose balances Henry VII apparently wanted forgiven or reduced, and wrote, for Henry VIII's benefit, a treatise on the responsibilities of monarchy titled *The Tree of Commonwealth*. Dudley's son, John Dudley, would become Duke of Northumberland and leader of **Edward VI**'s government in the 1550s, while his grandson, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was the great **favorite** of **Elizabeth I**.

See also Inns of Court; Parliament

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Enclosures

An enclosure is the act of hedging or fencing land, whether arable, pasture, or waste, that had previously been common land open to the use of an entire village or parish community. By their actions, enclosers reserved the land for their private use and prevented all other residents of the community from continuing to exploit the land and its resources. Because contemporary opinion perceived enclosure to be a widespread phenomenon that caused depopulation, economic hardship, and popular disorder, the practice was highly controversial and much criticized by social commentators.

The exploitation of land held in common was closely regulated by the bylaws of the local community. Residents had a right to cultivate a certain amount of land, to pasture a certain number of animals at certain times, and to take for themselves certain quantities of natural resources, such as wood, bracken, sand, peat, berries, and hay or grass for grazing. Enclosures of common land were often conducted by agreement, whereby one member of the community enclosed a parcel of land for his personal use in return for surrendering his rights in the remaining common land. Difficulties arose when enclosers took action without first consulting the other residents. The lord of a manor, usually a local nobleman or gentleman, had, under the thirteenth-century Statutes of Merton and Westminster, the right to enclose land whenever he wished so long as sufficient commons land was left for tenants. However, such landlord enclosures often led to bitter disputes over what constituted sufficient land for common use.

Although modern research has shown that incidents of enclosure were most numerous before 1520 and were not as widespread or as socially devastating as contemporary opinion believed, the practice did cause real hardships in certain areas. Particularly affected were the densely settled portions of the Midland counties, such as Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Bedfordshire, where the common field system was extensive and common land was easily convertible to arable or pasture. In other areas, such as Kent, Essex, or the southwestern counties of Devon and Cornwall, where the open field system was less prevalent, enclosures were few and controversy nonexistent.

The ill effects of enclosures were magnified by sixteenth-century economic conditions. Rising **population** led to rising food prices and a growing demand for land. Farmers seeking to cultivate more intensively to take advantage of the higher prices for their crops found themselves hampered by rights of common and were most likely to undertake controversial enclosures. In the popular mind, enclosure was usually associated with a landlord's conversion of common land to pasture for raising sheep, a practice that could dispossess numerous tenant cultivators. The Tudor **vagrancy** problem, which had many causes, was often attributed to the action of enclosers. Public protests against enclosure led to commissions of inquiry in 1517, 1548, and 1565, and to antienclosure legislation in 1489, 1515, and 1536.

The Midland inquiry commission of 1548, which was led by John **Hales** and associated with the antienclousure writings and sermons of the **Commonwealth Men** movement, is especially well known and was later cited as a cause of **Kett's Rebellion** in 1549. Strongest in early Tudor England, opposition to enclosure gradually faded as food prices stabilized in the early seventeenth century.

See also Economy

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English

In medieval England, the language of the law and the royal **court** was French, while the language of literature, scholarship, and, to some extent, **diplomacy**, was Latin. English began to come into fashion at court and among the nobility in the late fourteenth century, when the Hundred Years War with **France** encouraged a more self-conscious English nationalism. By the Tudor period, English was the language of government and was becoming the language of literature and scholarship. Unlike the fourteenth-century English of Geoffrey Chaucer, which is largely unintelligible to a twenty-first-century ear, the English of William **Shakespeare**, Christopher **Marlowe**, and other Elizabethan writers is close enough to modern English to be comprehensible.

Although some words had different meanings in the sixteenth century than they do today, and other words have today fallen out of use (e.g., “thee” and “thou” as familiar forms of address), the main difference between sixteenth-century and modern English consists of variations in the pronunciation of certain vowels (e.g., the Elizabethan pronunciation of “weak” rhymed with “break”). Pronunciation varied widely from region to region, and no standard pronunciation existed, although the **London** dialect was beginning to achieve a certain dominance by the end of the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

Unlike the standard British English today associated with the BBC, the **universities**, and the royal family (a fairly recent development), Tudor English had no official form, and widely varying dialects could even be heard spoken at court

by nobles and gentlemen from different parts of the realm. Spelling also lacked consistency, and people tended to spell words as they pronounced them, with wide variations in pronunciation producing equally wide variations in spelling. This variety even affected proper names; Sir Peter **Carew**'s name, for instance, appears in contemporary documents with numerous spellings, including "Caroo," "Carowe," and "Care." By Elizabeth's reign, English was a vigorous and flexible language that, through Elizabethan exploration and political and commercial expansion, extended itself into **Wales**, Lowland **Scotland**, **Ireland**, and **America**.

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English Reformation

See Reformation, English

Entertainment

Although common people labored from dawn to dusk in trade, agriculture, or some craft or industry, and members of the landowning classes served in government, managed their estates, or ran their local administration, the people of Tudor England found ample time to pursue a wide variety of entertainments and pastimes. **Hunting** was a favorite leisure activity of the **peerage** and **gentry** and of the royal **court**, and **animal sports** were enjoyed by all classes. The government, meanwhile, encouraged such activities as archery and fencing because of their military applications. Widely played outdoor sports included football, a somewhat more violent version of modern soccer; blindman's bluff and hoodman's blind, games in which a blindfolded person tries to catch or identify the people who are touching or hitting him or her; bowls, a game that involved the throwing of balls at a target; and ten-pins (or nine-pegs or skittles), which was similar to modern bowling. Tennis, at which **Henry VIII** was quite skilled, was introduced from **France** in the Middle Ages; it was popular with the upper classes, while all classes enjoyed swimming, wrestling, and horseback riding.

The most popular indoor pastimes were chess, draughts (similar to modern checkers), dice, and card games of various kinds, including early versions of 21,



Popular indoor entertainment for Elizabethans included chess, draughts, dice, and numerous card games such as Primero, being played here. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

cribbage, whist, and poker. Because Henry VIII was known to enjoy cards, **Anne of Cleves** asked that she be taught some of the king's favorite games while she waited at **Calais** for the wind to allow her to cross the English Channel. Tudor card decks were similar to modern decks, employing the same four suits, although the deck lacked a joker, and the king, queen, and knave (jack) had full-length images on them, not the modern mirror image. Except for chess, most indoor (and many outdoor) games involved gambling, itself a popular Tudor leisure activity.

The Elizabethan period also saw the introduction into England of billiards, which became an upper-class pastime, and a board game called goose, which was the ancestor of many modern board games. While **Puritans** objected to people spending the Sabbath and **holidays** engaging in activities they considered frivolous, the principal leisure time for Elizabethans, especially the lower classes, remained Sundays after church and holiday seasons. In Elizabethan **London**, the rise of theaters and the flowering of English **drama** and **music** led to the development of the first English entertainment industry, with both courtiers and ordinary Londoners attending various kinds of performances.

See also Dance; Globe Theatre; Local Government; Masque

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Epistre contenant le process criminel faict a l'encontre de la royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre

The *Epistre contenant le process criminel faict a l'encontre de la royne Anne Boullant d'Angleterre* is a 1,318-line poem often cited by historians of Anne **Boleyn**. Dated 2 June 1536, two weeks after Anne's death, it was written by Lancelot de **Carle**, secretary to the French ambassador to England. The poem is a summary of Anne's life and death, focusing especially on the later years and her trial and execution.

Carle makes it clear at the outset of the poem that it was meant to be read by only one person, clearly a superior; so, despite its literary format, it may well have been intended as a diplomatic report for the French king, **Francis I**. Carle says that he is repeating what he has heard from a variety of sources since he arrived in England (probably about six months earlier), but he does not name his sources. Nor does he address the overall accuracy of his information, correct the numerous factual errors he could have checked, or claim to have witnessed any of the events he recounts.

There are 13 extant copies of the poem—two printed and 11 manuscripts. These copies are found in the British Library, the Bibliotheque Nationale, the Royal Library of Belgium, and in several departmental archives in **France**. Except for the two printed copies, none are identical to any of the others and none of the manuscript versions are identical to the printed copies. There is no documentary evidence to suggest that any of them are Carle's original, and there is no evidence to say one way or the other if Carle approved, or even knew about, the published version, which did not appear until 1545.

In 1920, George Ascoli, a French literary scholar, presented a transcript of one version of the poem in a book examining the French perception of Great Britain as gleaned from literary sources. Ascoli provided a verbatim transcript of the manuscript version of the poem in the Bibliotheque Nationale known as f. fr. 12795—the one he thought most likely closest to Carle's original. He did not modernize the French in the manuscript, but he did provide explanatory notes and a line-by-line listing of all variations between it and the other extant versions.

Excerpts from the poem have been translated and cited by most of the modern biographers of Anne Boleyn, although no full scholarly translation of the poem into English has ever been published. These historians tend to be selective in their

use of the poem as evidence for Anne's life, and they reach varying conclusions about its veracity and usefulness as documentary evidence.

The poem is important for a number of interesting and somewhat divergent reasons. First, it is one of the relatively few documents that historians of Anne Boleyn have available to work with, although it is not yet clear exactly what its value is.

Second, it provides a glimpse into sixteenth-century diplomacy and how it may be like and unlike that of today. The poem's content reveals the sort of information members of the diplomatic corps might acquire and report back to their government. About a year after the poem was written, Stephen **Gardiner**, **Henry VIII's** ambassador in France, informed Henry that the poem was circulating there and forwarded a copy to him. Henry was irate because he considered it completely improper that something like that (the poem did not reflect particularly well on Henry, Anne, or even England) would have been written on English soil and in a house Henry had made available to the French ambassador. Henry suggested that Gardiner try to persuade the French king to suppress it.

Third, the poem is important because it demonstrates how different kinds of historical knowledge are intertwined with one another. Understanding something about the history of the book helps the historian appreciate how the poem reflects some of the changes the printing press was bringing to books and publishing in the sixteenth century. It was not unusual for something to exist in both manuscript and book form at that time—printing could reach more people, but a manuscript could get to one person more quickly. Modern concepts of authorship and copyright were yet to come and many printed books were prepared without the knowledge of the author, much less their permission or cooperation. Thus we cannot automatically assume that just because there is a version of the poem in book form that Carle knew of and approved its publication or that he would have considered it the most correct version.

And, finally, the poem is an excellent reminder of the intersection of history and other scholarly disciplines, including literary studies, scholarly editing, and translation. Scholars of literature often view the poem from an entirely different perspective than do historians, concentrating on its literary style and aesthetic qualities. Carle often appears to be presenting a morality tale, implying that Anne was not so much a bad person as one who reaped the logical consequences of too much high living and too little humility. How Carle represents his time and his place among other writers is important to literary study.

Textual scholars—those who examine, annotate, and edit documents with multiple versions—help to make documents available for study. Understanding something about how these scholars evaluate a group of documents and choose one to use as the base for a project can help illuminate a document's value as historical evidence.

And finally, anytime a scholar examines a document in another language, the techniques and theories of translation come into play, and these have changed

radically over time. Understanding when and how a translation was done can be critical to evaluating a translated document and its usefulness to historical research.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Foreign Relations and Diplomacy; Printing

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Equity

Equity is the custom and practice of law that arose outside the **common law**, notably in **Chancery**, to remedy deficiencies and inequities in the common law. Like the English **church courts**, the courts of equity practiced **civil law**, which was derived from the Roman civil law and based on a procedure that involved written pleadings.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, various new law courts developed to supplement the courts of common law. In Chancery, the lord chancellor developed a system, which later became a formal Court of Chancery, for handling petitions submitted to the king by subjects for remedy in matters the common law failed to address. During his chancellorship from 1515 to 1529, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** greatly expanded the judicial scope and procedures of Chancery, making it a popular venue for litigants who could obtain no redress at common law or who wished to avoid the costly and lengthy procedures of the common law courts. By the early Tudor period, Chancery had established its jurisdiction over matters concerning trusts and wills, fraud, accidents, breach of contract, and other cases over which common law had no or limited competence. The judicial precedents and procedures of Chancery gradually developed into a body of legal practice that came to be used in every new court that evolved after 1400, including the Courts of **Star Chamber** and **Requests**, which developed out of the judicial function of the royal **council**.

Some of the equity procedures unknown to the common law courts included the use of injunctions (enjoining parties to refrain from a particular action until the case was decided), the use of subpoenas (compelling a party to appear), and the ability to allow witnesses to testify and to put witnesses under oath. Also, all proceedings in equity courts used the written procedures of the civil law and were conducted in English rather than in the law French used in common law courts. A case began with a written bill or statement of claims or alleged wrongs. Defendants made answer in writing, either denying or lodging a counterclaim. Further pleadings were then submitted by both sides, enabling the court clerks to frame interrogatories that elicited the evidence that allowed the court to render a judgment.

Because the equity courts tended, at least at first, to be more flexible, speedier, and less costly than the tradition-bound common law courts, they were more popular with Tudor litigants. The expanding scope and increasing use of equity courts under the Tudors angered common lawyers, who usually challenged any perceived expansion of equity jurisdiction. In the 1640s, **Parliament** abolished such equity courts as Star Chamber and Requests, which the Stuart kings had used to enforce unpopular royal policies and to squelch dissent. Chancery, however, survived as a settled court with set procedures that supplemented the courts of common law. In 1873, the Judicature Act merged the equity and common law jurisdictions.

See also Common Pleas, Court of; Exchequer; King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

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Erasmus, Desiderius (c. 1466–1536)

The Dutch monk Desiderius Erasmus was a humanist scholar of international reputation and a friend and mentor to such English humanists as Thomas **More**, John **Colet**, and John **Fisher**. Born in Rotterdam, the illegitimate son of a cleric, Erasmus entered the Augustinian monastery at Gouda in about 1486, after plague carried off his parents. Ordained in 1492, he thereafter obtained permission to leave the monastery and became Latin secretary to the bishop of Cambrai. In 1495, Erasmus commenced the study of Greek and divinity at the University of Paris. At the invitation of an English student, Erasmus came to England in 1499. Befriended by More, Colet, and other English humanists, Erasmus even met young Prince Henry before returning to the **Netherlands** in 1500. On his second trip to England in 1505, Erasmus spent six months working with More on Latin translations of various Greek works.

Between 1506 and 1509, Erasmus traveled in **Italy**, where he studied Greek and tutored an illegitimate son of **James IV** of **Scotland**. Returning to England on **Henry VIII**'s accession in 1509, Erasmus lived for two years in More's home, where he wrote (and dedicated to More) *The Praise of Folly* (1511), an imaginative oration in which Folly heaps praise upon herself. From 1511 to 1514, Erasmus served as Lady Margaret professor of divinity and lecturer in Greek at Queen's College, Cambridge, posts offered him by Fisher, who was university chancellor. During this period, Erasmus also assisted Colet in devising the curriculum for St. Paul's School. After returning to the Netherlands, where he was released



Desiderius Erasmus spent six months during his second visit to England working with Sir Thomas More on various Latin translations of Greek works. (Musée de Louvre, Paris/Corel)

from his monastic vows and allowed to live as a celibate priest, Erasmus made several more trips to England, leaving for good in 1517. Although he last saw Henry VIII and Fisher at **Calais** in 1520 and More at Bruges in 1521, he continued to correspond with More and to receive a pension from Archbishop William **Warham** (later renewed by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**).

Working from Basle in Switzerland, where he lived for most of the 1520s, Erasmus completed his enormously influential New Testament (1516), the first Greek version ever published. Both Martin Luther and William **Tyn-dale** used Erasmus's work as the basis for their vernacular editions. Erasmus dedicated his *Education of a Christian Prince* (1516) to **Charles V**, whom he served as councillor at Louvain from 1517 to 1521, and his *Paraphrases on the Epistles of Peter and Jude* (1520)

to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**. In the 1520s, Erasmus published his *Paraphrases of the Gospels*; his *Lord's Prayer*, which was translated by More's daughter Margaret More **Roper**; and his successive editions of *Colloquies*, which criticized various religious practices. Although interested in promoting study of the **Bible** and critical of clerical abuses, Erasmus was not a reformer. Encouraged by his English friends, he wrote against **Lutheranism**, but he also engaged in debates with Catholic theologians. In 1529, when Basle adopted **Protestantism**, Erasmus moved to Catholic Freiburg, where he stayed until 1535, when Basle lured him back by guaranteeing him freedom of conscience.

Although he produced several works for both parties, Erasmus took no strong stand on the question of Henry VIII's **divorce**. Written for **Catherine of Aragon**, *Institution of Christian Marriage* (1526) is mainly a manual for choosing a spouse, and the works produced for Thomas **Boleyn**, Earl of Wiltshire, Anne **Boleyn's** father, such as the *Catechism* (1533) and *Preparation of Death* (1534), are mainly devotional. Saddened by the executions of More and Fisher in 1535, Erasmus died a year later, on 12 July 1536.

See also Humanism

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Erastianism

Erastianism is the belief that the state should be supreme in ecclesiastical matters. As applied in Tudor England in the 1530s, the principle meant subordination of the church to the Crown. The term is named for the Swiss reformer Thomas Erastus (1524–1583), who is supposed to have refuted ministerial claims of an independent right to impose excommunication by declaring that the church had no power to punish except as it was authorized to do so by the secular ruler. Although Erastianism is sometimes employed only to describe the ideas of Erastus, historians of the English **Reformation** generally use the term to describe any theory or practice that subjects the church to state authority.

The idea that the church comprised the whole body of Christian believers and that government of the church therefore belonged to them and not to an institutional hierarchy was enunciated several times in the Middle Ages, most forcefully by Marsiglio of Padua in the fourteenth century. His most famous work, *Defensor Pacis* (1324), declared the state the ultimate earthly power, responsible for supplying all the needs of the people from whom it derived its authority. Because the function of the church was to prepare people for the next life, it had no claim to any temporal power, property, or jurisdiction beyond what the state chose to grant it. The clergy, according to Marsiglio, held their offices of the state and could be deposed by the secular ruler if they failed in their prescribed duty of helping people attain salvation. The clergy also had no right to claim any special exemptions, privileges, or payments unless the people, through their civil government, saw fit to grant them such things.

Based on Aristotelian ideas, *Defensor Pacis* caused its author's excommunication but otherwise had little practical impact until the sixteenth century, when Thomas **Cromwell**, seeking to bolster public support for the newly established **royal supremacy**, commissioned William Marshall to publish an English translation of the work in 1535. Marsiglio's ideas also informed the writings of other government propagandists, such as Thomas **Starkey** and Christopher **St. German**. The

ecclesiastical supremacy of the secular ruler was also a prominent part of Lutheran thinking, and the idea that reform of the church was the work of the state took strong root among English reformers influenced by **Lutheranism** in the 1520s and 1530s. Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** was a firm Erastian, holding that Christian princes were responsible for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of their subjects, and that reform of the church was properly the responsibility of the monarch.

Once shorn of papal overlordship, the Henrician Church became strongly Erastian; after the **Submission of the Clergy** in 1532, the church could not legislate without royal consent, and after passage of the Act of **Supremacy** in 1534, **Henry VIII** was formally recognized as supreme head of the church, with power to declare church doctrine and order church governance. Also, the ancient tradition of cathedral chapters electing royal nominees as bishops was now formally mandated, with imprisonment prescribed for failure to follow the king's will. On the other hand, English churchmen did salvage a degree of special status, remaining, for instance, a potent legislative force in the House of Lords and a continuing judicial authority through the **church courts**. Although the 1559 Elizabethan Act of Supremacy modified the queen's ecclesiastical title to supreme governor and more closely associated **Parliament** with the Crown in church administration, secular control of English ecclesiastical affairs remained strong and is still in place today.

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Essex, Earl of

See Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex; Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex; Devereux, Walter, Earl of Essex; Parr, William, Marquis of Northampton

Essex's Rebellion

A brief rebellion led by Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, **Elizabeth I's** young **favorite**, was the last great political upheaval of Tudor England. In 1599, Essex lost favor with the queen for concluding an unauthorized truce with the Irish rebel Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, and for returning to England without permission from his post as lord deputy of **Ireland**. Elizabeth ordered the earl confined to his house but halted a **Star Chamber** inquiry into his activities in Ireland and released

him from confinement when he wrote to her humbly begging forgiveness. However, still denied access to **court**, Essex began plotting against the queen in November 1600 when she refused to renew his monopoly on the sale of sweet wines, an action that threatened the extravagant earl with bankruptcy. Supported by his stepfather, Sir Christopher **Blount**; his friend, Henry **Wriothesley**, Earl of Southampton; and various other young noblemen and gentlemen, Essex planned to seize the queen and force her to remove his political enemies, especially Robert **Cecil**, from power.

On 6 February 1601, Essex's followers paid the **Chamberlain's Men** to perform William **Shakespeare's** *Richard II* at the **Globe Theatre**. Because the play depicted the deposition of an English monarch, Blount and the other Essex supporters in the audience hoped the performance would psychologically dispose Londoners, with whom Essex was popular, to accept the coup. Suspicious of Essex's activities, the Privy **Council** summoned the earl for questioning, but he refused to appear; having lost the element of surprise, he sought to rouse **London** to his support by announcing throughout the city that the queen's pro-Spanish ministers sought to kill him.

On 8 February, Essex imprisoned four messengers who came to him at Essex House from the queen. He then led about 200 of his followers into London, but the Privy Council had already denounced Essex as a traitor to the city government, and few Londoners supported him. With his supporters melting away, he retreated to Essex House, where he found his hostages gone and Charles **Howard**, Earl of Nottingham, preparing to besiege the building. After burning all incriminating documents, Essex surrendered. Tried and condemned with his chief followers, Essex was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 25 February, with Blount and others suffering the same fate some weeks later. Southampton languished in the Tower until released by **James I** in 1603.

See also Monopolies; Treason

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Etaples, Treaty of

Concluded on 3 November 1492, the Anglo-French Treaty of Etaples ended **Henry VII's** only continental military expedition. By the terms of the agreement, Henry, in exchange for recognizing the French acquisition of **Brittany**, received a

large monetary settlement and a promise that **France** would be closed to English rebels and pretenders.

Because the December 1491 marriage of **Charles VIII** of France and Duchess Anne of Brittany threatened to end Breton autonomy and bring the entire southern coast of the English Channel under French control, Henry prepared to launch a campaign for the defense of the duchy. Delayed by his own reluctance to make war and by an unsuccessful effort to bring **Spain** into the campaign, Henry did not land in **Calais** until 2 October 1492. Although the English quickly captured Ardres, by late October they had bogged down in front of the strongly fortified town of Boulogne. With the campaigning season far advanced and the prospects of taking Boulogne or Brittany remote, Henry was eager for peace. Fortunately, Charles VIII was equally anxious to be freed of English distractions so he could begin campaigning in Italy. Rumors that the French were willing to make peace caused much discontent among the English soldiery, who wanted to fight a successful and lucrative campaign as their ancestors had in the previous century. On 27 October, Henry countered this disaffection with the unusual expedient of ordering his commanders and councillors to petition him to make peace on the French terms.

Concluded within a week of this petition, the Treaty of Etaples restored trade between the two nations and committed Charles to repay Henry the expenses he had incurred defending Brittany—which were owed him by Duchess Anne under the Treaty of **Redon**—and the arrears of the 1475 pension owed to **Edward IV** (and halted in 1483). Henry was to receive roughly £5,000 per year until these sums were paid off. Even more important from Henry's point of view was Charles's agreement to refuse asylum in France to English rebels, particularly to Yorkist pretenders like Perkin **Warbeck**, who was expelled from France upon publication of the treaty. In return, Henry agreed not to aid the Emperor **Maximilian I** against Charles. Although by signing the Etaples agreement Henry tacitly accepted the end of Breton autonomy, something he could not have prevented in any case, he enhanced the prestige and security of himself and his dynasty by improving royal finances and by denying Yorkist conspirators a haven in France.

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Eucharist, Views of the

The Eucharist (Holy Communion, Lord's Supper) is the ceremony in Christian churches where consecrated (made sacred) bread and wine are employed in commemoration of the Last Supper, and in the Catholic Church it is one of the seven

sacraments. The doctrine underlying the ceremony was among the critical points of disagreement between the Roman church and Protestant reformers during the **Reformation** of the sixteenth century. Doctrine of the Eucharist falls into four general categories: **transubstantiation**, consubstantiation, spiritual presence, and memorialism. Not all Protestant denominations today celebrate the Eucharist, but those that do can trace the ceremony's evolution to the debates and changes in the sixteenth century.

Transubstantiation is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, a doctrine first formalized in the 1200s and then reaffirmed in the Council of **Trent's** second period. In transubstantiation it is believed that at consecration the substance of the bread and wine is converted into the actual body and blood of Christ. What remains only looks like bread and wine, and the term "Real Presence" is then used to refer to Christ's presence in them. Key also is the belief that Christ's sacrifice on the cross is also made fully present at the Mass, and so its benefits fall to those witnessing it and those who are prayed for at the Mass.

An important point of conflict during the Reformation surrounded the need for and role of priests as intermediaries between ordinary people and God. The celebration of the Eucharist in the Roman church required a priest to perform the Mass (consecrate the bread and wine) and allowed him to receive both the wine and the bread while the laity received only the bread. For the Roman Catholic Church the Council of Trent fully reaffirmed the intermediary role of priests and Communion in "one kind" for the laity. While most Protestant reformers felt that ministers in some form were important, they argued that no intermediary was essential to salvation and that the laity should receive Communion in "both kinds."

Reformers varied in their beliefs about the Eucharist and its celebration. Consubstantiation, which means that the substances of the bread and wine coexist with the body and blood of Christ, was the position taken by Martin Luther (**Lutheranism**), although he never used that term, and he did not see the Eucharist as making present Christ's sacrifice on the cross. For John **Calvin**, the Eucharist involved the spiritual but not the literal presence of Christ in the bread and wine. This spiritual presence view is found today in Reformed and Presbyterian churches. Ulrich Zwingli (reform leader in Zurich, Switzerland) held that there is neither physical nor spiritual presence; the celebration of the Eucharist is strictly a remembrance of Christ's suffering and a reminder of his power. Today, that doctrine of memorialism is found in many churches, including Baptist. In the sixteenth century the term "sacramentaries" was often used to refer to those who denied that the body and blood of Christ were truly present in the Mass.

Doctrinal statements under **Henry VIII** were often ambiguous, reflecting the variations among religious thinkers; but Henry's views on the sacraments were generally traditional and he was a firm believer in transubstantiation. Under **Edward VI**, the **Forty-two Articles**, and the first **Book of Common Prayer**,

transubstantiation was thoroughly rejected along with any sense of the Real Presence. Under **Mary I**'s six-year reign, England returned to Catholic doctrine; but the subsequent **Anglican Settlement** under **Elizabeth I**, with the **Thirty-nine Articles** at its base, again denied transubstantiation, although more moderate language allowed for the possibility of receiving Christ's body in a spiritual sense during Communion. Codified in the second Book of Common Prayer in 1552, it remains essentially the liturgy in today's Anglican Church, although, like Methodists, individual Anglican churches may hold differing views of the Eucharist.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Evil May Day

The term “Evil May Day” refers to a riot that erupted in **London** in the early morning hours of 1 May 1517. The rioters, who were mainly young apprentices, directed their violence at the persons and property of foreigners resident in London. Evil May Day was the most serious outbreak of urban disorder and xenophobic violence in sixteenth-century London.

In 1517, London's alien community was small, consisting mainly of immigrants from **France** and the **Netherlands**, who lived and worked in certain parts of the city such as Saint Martin le Grand and Cornhill. Relations between alien residents and London citizens were occasionally strained, but, during Easter week 1517, a xenophobic sermon preached at **Paul's Cross** by a Dr. Bell at the behest of a disgruntled peddler named John Lincoln significantly raised tensions. Over the following weeks, several aliens were attacked and rumors spread that all foreigners would be slain on May Day.

However, the disorders that began on the evening of 30 April were not planned or organized; they erupted spontaneously when city authorities attempted to arrest some young men who were unknowingly breaking the 9:00 p.m. curfew recently decreed by the royal **council**. Within hours of this incident, a disorderly crowd of about 1,000 young men had congregated in Cheapside, where they released the prisoners held for earlier attacks on aliens. Ignoring pleas to disperse from Sir Thomas **More**, then undersheriff of London, the rioters invaded Saint Martin le Grand and other foreign

enclaves and proceeded to loot houses and shops owned by resident aliens. The disorders lasted only about four hours and no one was killed, although many were injured. The arrival of 2,000 soldiers under Thomas **Howard**, second Duke of Norfolk, resulted in over 300 arrests and the restoration of order by midafternoon.

About 15 of the ringleaders, including the peddler Lincoln, were executed. The remaining detainees were pardoned on the intervention of Queen **Catherine of Aragon**, who went on her knees before the king. Pardon was granted at a splendid ceremony at Westminster, during which the prisoners, shackled with chains and crying for mercy, paraded before **Henry VIII**. After responding to a lengthy speech by his chief minister, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, Henry ordered the captives released. Although Evil May Day was not a serious disturbance by later standards, the government dealt swift punishment for what it considered a treasonous breach of peace, and London remained relatively peaceful for the rest of the Tudor period.

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Exchequer

The Exchequer was the royal financial and accounting office, as well as a court of **common law** for matters involving Crown revenue. Originating in the twelfth century, the Exchequer took its name from the checkered table that department officials, known as barons of the Exchequer, used as an abacus to tally accounts. The Exchequer developed out of the royal household, becoming by the thirteenth century a separate department of state headquartered at Westminster. As a court of common law, the Exchequer had jurisdiction over a variety of cases, including the trying of corrupt or delinquent sheriffs, the levying of fines imposed by royal courts, the auditing of accounts, the recording of transfers of property held by the Crown, the hearing of all disputes involving the monarch's revenues, and the supervision of government execution of parliamentary statute. The lord treasurer was the principal Exchequer officer, but the department was divided into various offices such as the clerk of the pipe and the king's remembrancer, which kept their own records and usually operated in semi-independent fashion. Under the early Tudors, the lord treasurer was usually an important nobleman, such as Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, who served under **Henry VIII**; Edward **Seymour**, Duke of

Somerset, who combined the office with his protectorship under **Edward VI**; and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, who held the office under **Elizabeth I**.

The Exchequer was divided into two parts. The Upper Exchequer, or Exchequer of Audit, oversaw the accounts of royal officials and the enforcement of statutes and acted as a court of record for cases concerning royal finance. It supervised many activities that eventually became the responsibility of separate government departments, such as trade and industry, agriculture and fisheries, and the **navy**. It also directed the work of sheriffs and other local officials concerned with finance. The Lower Exchequer or Receipt was a treasury that tallied moneys and accounts. Early in the sixteenth century, the Exchequer, like the other common law courts, was notorious for its slowness, inefficiency, and antiquated, inflexible rules and procedures. Under **Henry VII** and Henry VIII, the need for speed and secrecy caused many of the chief sources of royal revenue to be withdrawn from Exchequer control and placed under special officers. In the 1530s, new courts, such as the Court of **Augmentations**, were created to handle the expanded land revenues accruing to the Crown through the **dissolution of the monasteries**. However, in 1554 during the reign of **Mary I**, the problem of overlapping jurisdictions led the government to restructure the Exchequer, consolidating it with all other revenue courts except the Court of **Wards and Liveries**.

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Exeter, Marchioness of

See Courtenay, Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter

Exeter, Marquis of

See Courtenay, Henry, Marquis of Exeter

Exeter Conspiracy

Centered around the Poles and the Courtenays, noble families of Yorkist descent, the Exeter Conspiracy involved a clique of conservative courtiers whose privately expressed dissatisfaction with the king and his policies was interpreted by **Henry VIII** and Thomas **Cromwell** as an active plot to overthrow the House of **Tudor**.

The principal figures in the conspiracy were Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, whose mother was a daughter of **Edward IV**, and the marquis's cousins, Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, and his brothers Cardinal Reginald **Pole** and Sir Geoffrey **Pole**, whose mother, Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, was a niece of Edward IV. Both families incurred the king's displeasure by maintaining close ties with **Catherine of Aragon** and her daughter Princess Mary. The countess had been Mary's governess, and both she and Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter, were close friends of Catherine. The Poles also suffered from the king's anger at the cardinal, who, having been educated at royal expense, withdrew from England in 1532 after informing the king that he could not in conscience support the **divorce**. In February 1537, Cardinal Pole was named papal legate and dispatched to **France** to await the outcome of the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, which, if successful, promised the overthrow of Henry VIII and the restoration of papal authority.

By 1538, peace between France and the empire threatened joint action against schismatic England and heightened the government's fear of papal intrigues promoted by the cardinal. Suspicious of his Yorkist relatives, Henry ordered the arrest of the youngest Pole brother—the hotheaded Sir Geoffrey. Imprisoned in August 1538, Pole broke down under interrogation and revealed all the criticism leveled at the king in private by Exeter and Montague. Although no overtly treasonous actions could be proved, the cousins and their circle had openly hoped for a change, had denounced Henry as a beast ruled by knaves and fools, and had claimed the king sought to assassinate the cardinal.

Because all such talk was technically **treason** under the statute of 1534, Exeter and Montague were imprisoned in the **Tower of London** on 4 November 1538. The Marchioness of Exeter, the Countess of Salisbury, and Sir Edward Neville, Montague's brother-in-law, were arrested shortly thereafter. Convicted of treason, Exeter, Montague, and Neville were beheaded on 9 December. Thirteen others suffered later, including Sir Nicholas **Carew**, executed in March 1539, and the Countess of Salisbury, beheaded in May 1541. **Parliament** condemned all the conspirators by act of **attainder** in the spring of 1539. For turning state's evidence, Geoffrey Pole was pardoned and released, becoming one of the few living descendants of the House of **York** left in England. Although the Exeter Conspiracy was never a serious threat to the Tudor throne, Henry VIII chose to see it as such and ordered the near extermination of his Yorkist cousins.

See also Mary I

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Ex Officio Oath

See High Commission, Court of

Exploration and Discovery

Early Tudor voyages of exploration were few and limited due to the unwillingness of merchants to support costly and risky ventures and of the Crown to challenge the established Asian and American claims of **Spain** and Portugal. Nonetheless, between the 1480s and the 1550s, several English attempts were made to explore **America** and to initiate trade with Asia.

The first English attempts at North Atlantic exploration were launched from the western port of Bristol in the early 1480s. Interested in discovering the island of Brasil, which supposedly lay west of **Ireland**, and in uncovering new Atlantic fishing grounds, Bristol merchants and fishermen undertook several westward voyages. Although the first such venture on record sailed in 1480, little is known for certain about any of the Bristol voyages, and even earlier expeditions are possible. In 1481, Thomas Croft, a royal customs official, left Bristol with two ships laden with salt; the outcome of Croft's venture is uncertain and rumors that he and other Bristol explorers reached North America are unconfirmed by any hard evidence.

Bristol merchants also provided the initial backing for John **Cabot**, a Genoese seaman who settled in England in about 1494. Authorized by **Henry VII** to seek and occupy for England any western lands unclaimed by a European ruler, Cabot launched an ultimately unsuccessful westward voyage from Bristol in 1496. His second voyage, which left Bristol in May 1497, eventually reached North America, landing probably at Newfoundland. Believing that he had reached China and bearing news of a rich fishing bank off the coast of his landfall, Cabot received financial support from both the Crown and the English merchant community for a third expedition of five ships, which launched in May 1498. The subsequent disappearance of Cabot and his fleet did not dampen English enthusiasm for Atlantic exploration. In 1501, Henry VII authorized the Company Adventurers to the New Found Land to exploit Cabot's voyage, which was now recognized as having



This map of Russia by Anthony Jenkinson, foremost Elizabethan explorer of Asia and the Middle East, reflects the growing importance of exploration and discovery. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

reached America. Between 1501 and 1505, numerous trade and fishing expeditions left Bristol to explore the eastern coasts of North America. In 1508, a voyage led by Cabot's son, Sebastian **Cabot**, reached Labrador and may even have discovered Hudson Strait.

Having failed to find a **Northwest Passage** to Asia, the Cabot voyages did not excite **Henry VIII**, who was more interested in European conquest than American exploration. Nonetheless, several significant voyages of trade and discovery were launched in the new reign. In 1517, John **Rastell** attempted to find a Northwest Passage to Asia but got only as far as Ireland before his crew mutinied and set him ashore. In 1527, John Rut's search for a Northwest Passage was stymied by ice and cold, which set him on a long southward exploration of the American coast. In the early 1530s, William **Hawkins** of Plymouth launched three trade voyages that took him from West Africa, where he traded for pepper and ivory, to Portuguese Brazil in South America, where he eluded the colonial authorities to conduct a valuable trade in the local dyewood. In 1536, Hawkins asked Thomas **Cromwell** for royal support;

although the minister's response is unknown, the Africa-Brazil trade continued into the 1540s. A third Henrician voyage to North America, launched by Richard Hore in 1536, was intended both to catch cod and to allow London gentlemen to see the New World. Anchoring off the coast of Newfoundland, Hore's tourists soon turned to cannibalism when they could not find or catch sufficient food for their needs. Only the capture of a well-supplied French vessel allowed the survivors to return to England, where their story discouraged further Henrician exploration.

Because **Edward VI**'s regency governments were too poor to support overseas voyaging, English exploration lapsed until after the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, when economic depression revived interest in new trade routes. Supported by courtiers and London merchants, a new trading company formed with the intention of discovering a Northeast Passage to Asia was incorporated in 1553 under the governorship of Sebastian Cabot. A company-sponsored expedition led by Sir Hugh **Willoughby** and Richard **Chancellor** had mixed success; Willoughby and his men froze to death when forced to winter along the coast of Lapland, but Chancellor reached Moscow, where he established a lucrative English trade with Russia. The **Muscovy Company**, formed in 1555, was granted a monopoly of trade in the region. In 1556, the company dispatched Stephen **Borough** along the northern coasts of Siberia on an ultimately unsuccessful search for a northeastern passage to China.

Under **Elizabeth I**, interest in Africa and America revived as John **Hawkins**, son of William, led three trade voyages to **Spanish America** in the 1560s. Hawkins carried slaves from West Africa to the Caribbean where he sold them to Spanish colonists for a handsome profit. In the East, the English explorer Anthony **Jenkinson** journeyed from Russia through Central Asia; although he established a profitable trade with Persia, Jenkinson found Central Asia too unsettled for the overland trade route to East Asia to be practicable. This discovery revived interest in a Northwest Passage and stimulated the American explorations of Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** and Martin **Frobisher** in the 1570s and of John **Davis** in the 1580s. Although a Northwest Passage was never found, the English desire to break Spain's trade monopoly with her colonies led Gilbert and his half brother Walter **Raleigh** to propose the establishment of English colonies in America to provide England with valuable raw materials and to serve as bases for **privateering** raids on Spanish America. Gilbert was lost at sea in 1583 after exploring the North American coast, but Raleigh was able to plant two short-lived colonies on Roanoke Island off the Virginia (now North Carolina) coast in 1585 and 1587.

In England, the work of Raleigh and other English explorers and colonizers was greatly furthered by the writings of Richard **Hakluyt**. Beginning in 1579 with his *Discourse on the Strait of Magellan* and continuing through the 1580s with the *Discourse on Western Planting* and the monumental *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Hakluyt collected and disseminated accounts of voyages that aroused and maintained an interest in exploration and

colonization in the English government and people. Although no successful English colony had been established by Elizabeth's death in 1603, new commercial markets had been opened in Russia, Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia by the work of English explorers, and the establishment of the first permanent English colony, Jamestown in Virginia, was only four years away.

See also Amadas-Barlowe Expedition; Lost Colony; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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Fabyan, Robert (d. 1513)

Robert Fabyan, a **London** alderman and cloth merchant, is best known for his chronicle history of England. The *New Chronicles of England and France* influenced such later Tudor chroniclers as Edward **Hall** and Richard **Grafton**, and, through them, such Elizabethan writers as William **Shakespeare**. Fabyan's portrayal of fifteenth-century English history also had great influence on Tudor perceptions of the events and personalities of the **Wars of the Roses**.

Like his father, Fabyan was a London clothier and member of the Drapers' Company. He was alderman for the London ward of Farringdon Without and in 1493 was sheriff of London. In 1496, he was a member of the committee appointed to present **Henry VII** with a list of the city's trade grievances. In 1497, he was one of the citizens charged with holding Ludgate and Newgate against the Cornish rebels, and in 1498 was a city commissioner for assessing the tax approved by **Parliament** for war with **Scotland**. Little else is known about Fabyan's life, other than the facts, gleaned from his will, that he was a wealthy man with a large family. He died on about 28 February 1513.

Completed in about 1504, *The New Chronicles* (also known as *Fabyan's Chronicle*) was published in 1516 by Richard Pynson, who titled the work to reflect its unique interspersal of sections on French history with those on English history. Divided into seven books that run from the arrival in England of the mythical Brutus to the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485, the chronicle is written from a Londoner's perspective, recording city pageants and public events of interest to London citizens, such as the 1467 tournament staged in the city by **Edward IV**. Book 7, which begins with the Norman Conquest, also starts each year from the reign of Richard I (1189–1199) with a listing of city officials, such as bailiffs, mayors, and sheriffs. As a source for English history, Book 7 is the most important because it covers the late fifteenth century and includes events for which Fabyan was an eyewitness, such as the 1468 arrest of prominent London merchant Thomas Cook. Although he makes uncritical use of his sources, Fabyan did consult a wide selection of French and English writers for his material. The second edition of the *New Chronicles*, published by William **Rastell** in 1533, contains Fabyan's continuation

of the work to the death of Henry VII in 1509. The third edition, printed in 1542, was edited to conform to a reformist perspective of recent English history, and the fourth edition, appearing in 1559, contained a continuation by another hand to the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. Fabyan is also considered the author of the *Great Chronicle of London*, a more detailed compilation of events in London, which was not published until the twentieth century.

See also Cornish Rebellion

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Fairs and Markets

In Tudor England, fairs and markets provided producers and consumers with regular opportunities to come together and buy or sell needed goods. Such events also offered local communities a gathering place to view popular entertainment and exchange local and national news. During the Middle Ages, kings, bishops, and local lords all granted towns the right to hold regular markets or fairs, so that by the Tudor period a great variety of such marketing events occurred across the realm each year.

Markets were weekly gatherings of buyers and sellers held in a designated market town. By the early sixteenth century, over 750 towns in England and another 50 in **Wales** were market towns. Although this number grew slightly during the Tudor period, it was still less than the total number of market towns that had existed before the arrival of the Black Death in the late 1340s. Markets allowed nearby country dwellers to come to town to sell their agricultural produce or manufactured goods to town residents or other country people. It also allowed them to acquire necessary items from town merchants. The market was closely regulated by the town or manor lord, who appointed special market officers to collect tolls, maintain order, and ensure fair dealing. Most markets in small country towns offered a wide variety of products, although, by Tudor times, the markets in larger towns began

to specialize in certain products. In **London**, for instance, specialized markets had developed for fish, livestock, coal, grain, and other products.

Held for certain periods of time at certain times of year, fairs were annual or biannual marketing events that drew traders and customers from a much wider area than a market did. The grant of market rights to a town usually also included the right to hold a fair, although many fairs were not associated with a market town. Fairs were also less closely regulated than were weekly markets. Although fairs also offered a wide range of products, most were known for a particular commodity such as sheep, cattle, horses, leather, or **cloth**. Because fairs attracted buyers and sellers from far outside their local areas—for example, each May, London merchants shipped their wares to Beverley Great Fair in Yorkshire—they provided opportunities to see jugglers, tumblers, fire-eaters, and other types of entertainers. Fairs were also opportunities to discuss news and current events with persons from distant parts of the kingdom. Although much trade was conducted daily by local merchants selling to local consumers, and many large buyers and sellers dealt with one another directly, markets and fairs were vital to the local **economy** of Tudor England.

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Family

The patriarchal nuclear family was the core social and economic unit of Tudor England. Tudor society saw itself not as a collection of individuals but rather as an aggregation of male-headed households; **population** was reckoned as number of householders, to whom all wives, children, and servants were subordinate. Although an average family comprised four or five individuals, household size varied by social class. Relatives beyond the nuclear family were more likely to be part of upper-class households than of lower-class households. Upper-class couples also tended to marry earlier, to have more children as a consequence, and to have the wherewithal to ensure a higher survival rate among their offspring. Also, because they often sent their infants out to wet nurses, noble and gentlewomen were denied the contraceptive effects of suckling, which reduced the number of births in lower-class families where mothers breastfed their own children.

Noble and gentle families also included retainers and servants, while the families of urban merchants and craftsmen included apprentices who lived with the



This woodcut of a Puritan family from 1563 reflects the patriarchal nuclear family that was at the core of Elizabethan society. (Photos.com)

family while learning the householder's trade or craft. Thus, counting servants and distant relatives, a peer's household could number 30 to 40 people and a gentleman's or wealthy merchant's 10 to 12. The household was also the primary unit of production, with the family supporting itself by working together in agriculture or in some trade or craft, especially the production of **cloth**. Among the lower classes, most sons were expected to take up the occupation of their fathers when they married and started their own household, and most daughters were expected to marry a man of their father's social class.

Among the upper classes, social expectations were less rigid, but family connections determined marriage prospects and influenced careers at **court** or in local government. High mortality rates also left many families with only one parent and many children with stepparents and half siblings. Some historians have argued that relationships between parents and children, especially in upper-class families, were stiff and distant, especially in light of the high rate of infant mortality, and were characterized by strict discipline enforced by the father. Although the Tudor father's authority over his family was unquestioned by society, most historians agree that parent-child relationships in the Tudor period were as close and loving as such interactions are expected to be in modern families.

See also Gentry; Peerage

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Family of Love

See Anabaptism

Farnese, Alessandro, Duke of Parma (1546–1592)

As Spanish governor-general of the **Netherlands** after 1578, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, so firmly reestablished Spanish authority in the southern provinces of the Netherlands that the country eventually split into the independent Dutch Republic in the north and the Spanish Netherlands in the south. Born in Rome, the son of Ottavia Farnese, Duke of Parma, and Margaret, the illegitimate daughter of **Charles V**, Alessandro Farnese was thus the nephew of **Philip II** of **Spain**. Serving under his uncle **John of Austria** (known as Don John), half brother of Philip II, Parma distinguished himself against the Turks in the naval battle of Lepanto in 1571. In 1577, after ably serving Philip as a diplomat and military commander in Italy and elsewhere, Parma accompanied Don John to the Netherlands, where he won a major victory over the Netherlands rebels at Gembloux.

In 1578, after Don John's death, Parma succeeded his uncle as governor-general and began a campaign of reconquest that captured Antwerp in 1585 and led to the eventual restoration of Spanish authority throughout the southern provinces. The momentum of this campaign was broken in the 1580s by the need to prepare for the coming of the Spanish **Armada**, which was to ferry Parma's troops across the English Channel to overthrow **Elizabeth I** and restore Catholicism to England, an action that Philip thought was a necessary prerequisite to finally crushing the Netherlands Revolt. Although skeptical of the claims made by Cardinal William **Allen** and others of the great numbers and enthusiasm of English Catholics, Parma readied his troops for a junction with the Spanish fleet. In August 1588 as the armada



Alessandro Farnese, the Duke of Parma, was the Spanish governor-general of the Netherlands after 1578 and a critical force in Spanish control of the area. (Library of Congress)

sailed up the Channel, poor communications, shoal water, and the action of the English fleet prevented Parma from making contact, and after 7 August, strong winds blew the armada northward and ended any hope of its joining with Parma.

After the failure of the armada, Parma intervened, on Philip's orders, in the French civil war, forcing the new Protestant king of France, **Henri IV**, to raise his siege of Catholic Paris in 1590. Parma also resumed his campaign of reconquest in the Netherlands, but made little progress after 1590, when rebel victories created a military stalemate that ensured the eventual independence of the north, just as Parma's earlier successes had ensured continued Spanish rule in the south. Parma died in Arras on 3 December 1592.

See also Netherlands Revolt

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Fashion

See Clothing and Costume

Favorites

The ill-defined role of royal “favorite” was informally conferred by the **court** on anyone who held a position of special friendship or trust with the monarch. In

medieval and early Tudor England, the position of royal favorite was a male role because it carried an implication of political influence and power. A king conferred honors and rewards, as well as important political and military positions, on the men he favored. **Henry VIII**, for instance, granted a dukedom and important military commands to his friend and favorite, Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, who was even forgiven for his rash, unauthorized marriage to the king's sister **Mary Tudor**. A king's sexual relationships with women—while sometimes conferring influence—did not tend to raise the woman to the position of favorite because she could not exercise her influence directly as could a male friend of a king. Although **Mary I** had a number of female favorites, such as Gertrude **Courtenay**, Marchioness of Exeter, who exercised influence at court as a result of her relationship with the queen, the accession of a young woman to the English throne in 1558 in the person of **Elizabeth I** significantly altered the political dynamic surrounding intimate royal relationships because her great favorites were men, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. The role of favorite acquired sexual overtones when the monarch was a woman giving special favor to a man.

Thanks perhaps to the circumstances of her mother's death and to the uneasy nature of her relationship with her sister, Elizabeth's close friendships were with men. Leicester was the love of Elizabeth's youth, the man she would have married had not her position as queen made marriage such a complicated undertaking. The queen's affection and favor brought Leicester financial gain and political influence. Elizabeth forgave Leicester every indiscretion, including his secret marriage to Lettice **Knollys**, which the queen took as betrayal, and for which she never forgave Knollys. However, the queen never allowed her passion for Leicester to give him the power his ambition craved, and he never replaced William **Cecil** as Elizabeth's most trusted adviser. Both her own and foreign courts assumed that the favor Elizabeth showed Leicester was based on sexual intimacy. Whether or not that was true is now unclear.

Elizabeth's relationship with the much younger Essex was based on his connection with Leicester and on the pleasure his lively company gave an aging woman. By the end of the reign, assumptions about the basis of Leicester's special position, and the queen's open use of sexual byplay to show favor, led most male courtiers to play the public role of Elizabeth's ardent suitor. Although Essex achieved the status of favorite by playing this role more fully than most, Elizabeth consented to his execution when he rose in rebellion against the political limits that she imposed on him.

See also Boleyn, Anne; Dudley Marriage Suit; Essex's Rebellion; Marriage Question (Elizabeth I); Virgin Queen

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Feckenham, John de (c. 1518–1585)

John de Feckenham was the last abbot of Westminster and a leading voice for English Catholicism during the reign of **Elizabeth I**. Born in Feckenham Forest in Worcestershire, to a peasant family named Howman, he entered the monastery of Evesham where he became known as John of Feckenham. He then entered Oxford, returning to the monastery after completing his degree in 1539. Evesham was dissolved shortly thereafter, and Feckenham obtained a **benefice** in Warwickshire. He also served as chaplain to the bishops of Worcester and London until his conservatism in religion caused Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** to commit him to the **Tower of London** in 1549.

On her accession in 1553, **Mary I** released him, appointed him royal chaplain and confessor, and granted him various other important benefices. He was also employed to preach, delivering sermons at **Paul's Cross**, and to convert Protestant heretics. Being a kindly man, Feckenham tried to save the lives of those he could not convert and is credited with keeping over 20 people from the stake. Feckenham also befriended several leading Protestant gentlemen, including Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford, and Ambrose **Dudley** and Robert **Dudley**, the future earls of Warwick and Leicester, respectively. Feckenham also attempted unsuccessfully to convert Jane **Grey**, even accompanying her to the scaffold in 1554. He is also said to have spoken in favor of Princess Elizabeth when she was imprisoned in the Tower for suspected complicity in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. In 1556, Mary refounded the monastery at Westminster and appointed Feckenham abbot, thus giving him a seat in the House of Lords. Despite difficulty finding monks of sufficient Catholic zeal, Feckenham restored all the old Catholic traditions and rituals.

On Elizabeth's accession, Feckenham spoke in **Parliament** against the **Anglican Settlement** of religion. The Westminster monastery was dissolved in 1559, and Feckenham was imprisoned in 1560. He spent most of the rest of his life in confinement, either in the Tower or in the custody of one of Elizabeth's Protestant bishops. Frequent attempts were made to convert him to **Protestantism**, but all failed, and in 1580 Feckenham was imprisoned in Wisbech Castle, where captured Catholic priests were held. Released after a short confinement, Feckenham spent his last years quietly ministering to the poor. He died in 1585.

John A. Wagner

See also Marian Martyrs; Universities

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Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Isabella (1451–1504)

Through their marriage and joint rule, Ferdinand II and Isabella I, known as the Catholic Monarchs, created the united Spanish monarchy. Together they made **Spain** a power in Europe and laid the foundations for the Spanish empire in the New World. In England, the marriage of their daughter to the son of **Henry VII** helped legitimize the insecure **Tudor** dynasty and fostered a tradition of Anglo-Spanish friendship that lasted, with few disruptions, from the reign of their son-in-law **Henry VIII** through the reign of their granddaughter **Mary I**.

Ferdinand was the son of John II of Aragon, the eastern Spanish kingdom with interests in **Italy**, and Isabella was the daughter of John II of Castile, the largest Spanish state. Despite the objections of her half brother Henry IV, Isabella married Ferdinand in October 1469. On Henry’s death in 1474, Isabella was proclaimed queen. When the king of Portugal invaded Castile in 1476 to press the claim of Henry’s daughter Juana, Ferdinand defeated the Portuguese at Toro, thereby securing his wife’s throne. Upon his father’s death in 1479, Ferdinand became king of Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia. Thereafter, the two monarchs were corulers in both Castile and Aragon, although Isabella made final decisions for the former and Ferdinand for the latter. For both kingdoms, Isabella, who had borne five children by 1485, focused on administrative and judicial matters, while Ferdinand concentrated on military and diplomatic affairs.

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada, the last Islamic kingdom in Spain. This achievement enhanced their prestige throughout Europe and strengthened their influence with the **papacy**. With the exception of Portugal and the small kingdom of Navarre, which Ferdinand conquered in 1512, the Catholic Monarchs now ruled the entire Iberian Peninsula. Seeking to establish religious as well as political unity in their territories, Ferdinand and Isabella demanded that all non-Christians convert to Catholicism or leave the realm; they expelled the Jews in 1492 and the Muslims in 1501. To ensure strict adherence to Catholic orthodoxy by all subjects, but especially converts, the Catholic Monarchs established the Spanish Inquisition, which they directed through a council of state. In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella also provided financial support for a Genoese explorer named Christopher Columbus, whose landing in the West

Indies led eventually to establishment of a vast and lucrative colonial empire in the Americas.

In 1489, Ferdinand and Isabella concluded the Treaty of **Medina del Campo** with Henry VII of England. Aimed at curbing the power of **France**, the agreement created a military alliance, promoted Anglo-Spanish trade, closed Spain to Yorkist pretenders, and arranged a marriage between the Catholic Monarchs' youngest daughter **Catherine of Aragon** and Henry's eldest son Prince Arthur **Tudor**. Celebrated in October 1501, the marriage ended with Arthur's death in April 1502. Catherine was then betrothed to her brother-in-law, Prince Henry, but Isabella's death in November 1504 precipitated a political crisis in Spain that threw the marriage into doubt. Her only son having died in 1497, Isabella was succeeded in Castile by her mentally unstable daughter Juana, whose claims were pressed by her husband, Philip Habsburg, ruler of the **Netherlands**. However, Philip died in 1506 before he could secure the Castilian Crown, and Ferdinand thereafter ruled all Spain as he had done during Isabella's lifetime.

On Henry VII's death in 1509, Henry VIII married Catherine and adopted a pro-Spanish foreign policy. However, in 1512, Ferdinand, having convinced his son-in-law to send an English force to Gascony for a joint attack on France, used his ally's troops to cover his invasion of Navarre and then abandoned them when his objective was achieved. Further diplomatic betrayals by Ferdinand during the Anglo-French War of 1512–1514 cooled Anglo-Spanish relations and lessened Catherine's influence in England. Upon his death in January 1516, Ferdinand was succeeded on the Spanish throne by his Habsburg grandson Charles, who later became Holy Roman Emperor as **Charles V**.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

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Ferrar, Robert (c. 1504–1555)

Robert Ferrar, a former monk, was the Edwardian bishop of St. David's and a **Marian martyr**. Born in Yorkshire, Ferrar is thought to have attended Cambridge before going to Oxford, where he joined the order of Augustinian canons. Through the influence of reformer Thomas Gerard, Ferrar fell under suspicion of heresy and

was forced to recant and make public penance in 1528. Remaining at Oxford, Ferrar took his bachelor's of divinity in October 1533. He accompanied William **Barlow**, a fellow Augustinian, on embassy to **Scotland** in 1535, and, through Barlow's influence, obtained a license to preach from Thomas **Cromwell** in 1536. About 1540, Ferrar became prior of St. Oswald's, a monastic house in Yorkshire; because his tenure as prior was brief, Ferrar may have been appointed only to arrange the surrender of the house to the Crown. For the rest of **Henry VIII's** reign, little is known of Ferrar, who took a wife sometime in the 1540s and may have served as chaplain to Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**.

On the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Ferrar became chaplain to Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who named Ferrar bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. David's in 1548. The appointment was the first episcopal selection made solely by royal letters patent without any election by the cathedral chapter of the diocese. In November 1548, before departing **London** for his see, Ferrar preached a sermon at **Paul's Cross** wherein he spoke against vestments and other Catholic usages. The sermon offended conservatives and secured Ferrar's reputation as an advanced reformer. Upon arriving in his diocese, Ferrar was immediately opposed by members of his chapter, who, on the basis of technical errors in the wording of his commission, charged the bishop with **praemunire**. Conservatives in the chapter resisted any attempt at reform, while Protestants found Ferrar too conciliatory to Catholics and lacking in zeal for preaching and **Bible** study. These disputes led to a series of trivial charges against Ferrar, such as a passing reference to Merlin being denounced as encouragement of vain prophecy. The fall of Somerset in late 1549 deprived Ferrar of his patron, and the bishop soon found himself before the Royal Council answering a list of 56 charges. After examining 127 witnesses, the council imprisoned Ferrar in 1551.

After the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, the government continued Ferrar's imprisonment and instituted proceedings that led to his deprivation in March 1554. Tried before Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, Ferrar was charged with breaking his monastic vow by marrying and with denying the doctrine of **transubstantiation**. Despite an appeal to Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, Ferrar was condemned for heresy on 13 March 1555 and burned to death at Carmarthen in **Wales** on 30 March.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Dissolution of the Monasteries

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Fidei Defensor

See Defender of the Faith

Field of Cloth of Gold

Field of Cloth of Gold is the popular name given to an elaborately staged meeting between **Henry VIII** and **Francis I** that occurred near **Calais** between 7 and 23 June 1520. The name is derived from the prodigious amount of cloth of gold displayed at the meeting by both kings and their entourages.

Plans for the meeting originated with the conclusion of the 1518 Treaty of **London**, an international peace agreement brokered by Henry and his chief minister, Thomas **Wolsey**. Although ostensibly a way for both monarchs to personally confirm the Anglo-French amity created by the treaty, the meeting had become much more for both kings by 1520. Preparing for war with the new Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V**, whose territories nearly encircled **France**, Francis hoped to eliminate any future threats from England by making a firm ally of the English king. Jealous of Francis's recent military successes, Henry hoped the meeting would enhance his standing as an international peacemaker and allow him to use the prospect of friendship with France to obtain better terms for an Anglo-Imperial alliance from Charles. Henry had actually met briefly with Charles before sailing to France, and then met him again after the Field of Cloth of Gold, when the two rulers initiated negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of **Calais** in July.

Occurring in the countryside of northeastern France, between the towns of Guines and Ardres, the Field of Cloth of Gold was characterized by a lavish display of wealth and hospitality. The meeting was actually a two-week tournament consisting of jousts, races, and other games of strength, speed, and military prowess. Henry resided in an ingenious replica of a palace, built of wood and brick and adorned with glass windows and rich ornamentation. Francis stayed in large pavilions fashioned of cloth of gold and covered with fleurs-de-lys. Evenings were given over to sumptuous banquets, gorgeous **masques**, and other elaborate entertainments. Both kings competed with each other in the giving of expensive gifts. Courtesy and goodwill marked the personal meetings of the two monarchs and the interaction of their **courts**; the only tense moment occurred when the younger Francis overcame Henry during a royal wrestling match.

Because the Field of Cloth of Gold was quickly followed by the conclusion of an Anglo-Imperial alliance, tradition has condemned the meeting as a wasteful display of sham peacemaking and a costly deception by Henry. However, the Field of Cloth of Gold is today thought to have had deeper symbolic functions. By his display of wealth and power, Henry sought to show Francis that England was a valuable ally and a dangerous foe. Francis, meanwhile, sought to show Henry that France viewed England as a useful but by no means necessary partner.

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The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women

Written by the Scottish Protestant reformer John **Knox**, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (in modern English, “Against the Unnatural Government of Women”) is a virulent attack on **Mary I**, the Catholic queen of England. Published in Geneva in 1558, the pamphlet denounces the very idea of a woman ruler. By also sanctioning the overthrow of a divinely ordained female monarch, Knox shocked contemporary public opinion and laid himself open to charges of sedition and **treason**. The pamphlet so outraged **Elizabeth I**, Mary’s Protestant successor, that she banned its author from ever again entering England. *First Blast* also caused Knox to be seen as a radical revolutionary by contemporaries and as a rabid woman hater by posterity.

In about 1544, Knox was converted to Protestantism by George **Wishart**, whom Knox followed until Wishart’s execution for heresy in 1546. When a group of disaffected gentlemen, seeking to avenge the death of Wishart, murdered Cardinal David **Beaton** and seized his castle, Knox became chaplain to Beaton’s murderers. When the French subsequently captured the fortress, Knox was confined aboard a French galley until the English government arranged his release in 1549. Knox then came to England, where **Edward VI** licensed him to preach and appointed him royal chaplain.

After Mary’s accession in 1553, Knox, like other Protestants, fled England. In Geneva, he began writing a series of works that attacked the Marian regime in England and the Catholic government of Marie de Guise, mother of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, in **Scotland**. Knox probably wrote *First Blast* while resident in the **Huguenot** community of Dieppe in late 1557. Knowing that the pamphlet would cause him trouble, Knox arranged for it to be published anonymously in Geneva without the knowledge or permission of John **Calvin** or the city authorities. To protect the printer, the title page gave no publishing information, only the title and date.

Most of *First Blast* is an attack on the English queen, whose government was then engaged in burning Protestants as heretics. Mary is denounced as “a wicked woman, yea, . . . a traitress and bastard” (Ridley, *John Knox*, 269), and Englishmen are urged to overthrow her. Knox then condemns rule by women as against the laws of God and nature and denigrates women as a sex, calling them “weak,

frail, impatient, feeble and foolish . . . unconstant, variable, cruel and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment” (271). Because leading armies into battle was still considered one of the chief duties of a monarch, and because male superiority was considered divinely ordained, Knox’s opinion largely accorded with accepted tradition and popular prejudice. What outraged contemporaries found to be truly radical was Knox’s passage exposing the illogic of a society that denied women access to every public office except head of state. Mary as a woman could not sit as a judge in the legal system over which she as queen was head. While other theologians urged men to obey a divinely ordained queen, Knox refused to do so, thereby weakening the mystique of sixteenth-century monarchy.

Despite his harsh denunciation of women in *First Blast*, Knox had shown no particular animosity toward the sex in his previous writings. In his personal life, he seems to have preferred the company and friendship of women to that of men. Many of his letters are addressed to women and many praise women as important, if subordinate, members of Christ’s congregation. Knox also married twice. In 1563, when he was near 50, Knox opened himself to much Catholic ridicule by taking as his second wife 17-year-old Margaret Stewart.

Prevented from returning to England, Knox, in 1559, went to Scotland, where he became a leading spirit in the Scottish **Reformation** and a strong opponent of the Catholic queen, Mary of Scots. By encouraging the Protestant lords of Scotland and rousing the Protestant majorities in Edinburgh and other towns, Knox’s preaching helped ensure the success of the Scottish Reformation. Although heartened by Mary’s deposition in 1567, Knox, who died in 1572, was thereafter robbed of his political voice by the need of subsequent Scottish governments to stay on good terms with Mary’s captor, Elizabeth of England, who never forgave the author of *First Blast*.

John A. Wagner

See also Marian Martyrs

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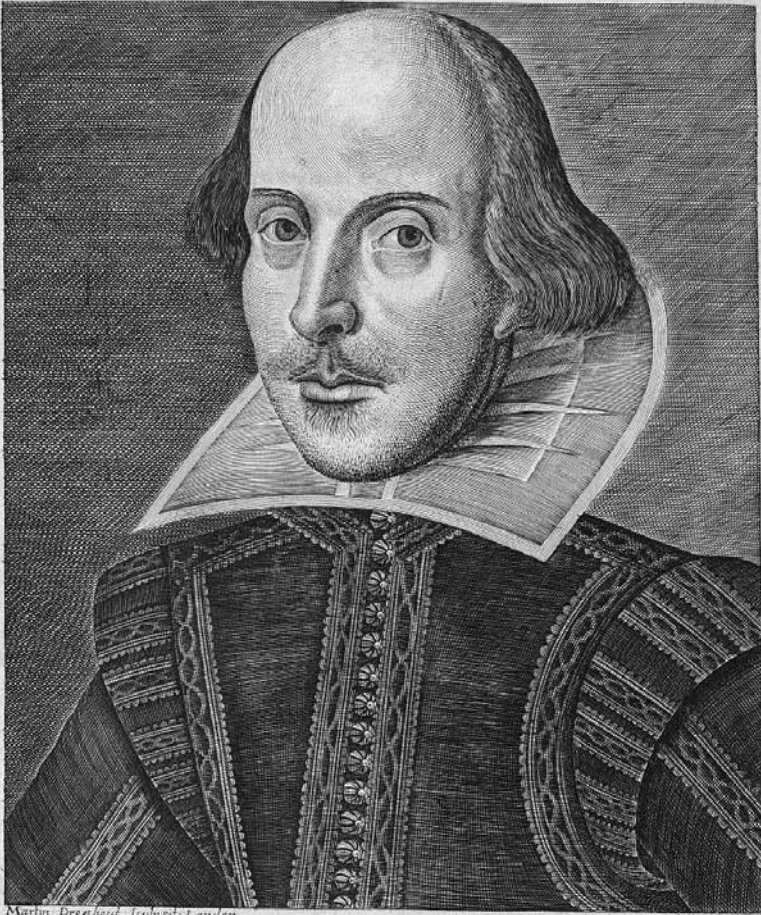
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First Folio

The term “First Folio” refers to the first printed anthology of the plays of William **Shakespeare**, published as *Mr. William Shakespeare’s Comedies, Histories &*

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



Martin Droeshout. Sculptor. London.

L O N D O N
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Title page of William Shakespeare's First Folio—the first collected edition of his plays, which appeared seven years after his death. (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Tragedies in 1623, seven years after the playwright's death. It is considered to be one of the most important books in English literature, due primarily to the fact that the First Folio is our only reliable contemporary source for nearly half of Shakespeare's plays. It was also printed in a prestigious format (a folio is a large-format book) in comparison with the 18 quarto (small-format book) editions of individual Shakespeare plays that preceded it between 1594 and 1622.

The impetus behind the publication of the First Folio was the release of Ben **Jonson**'s folio edition of his own works in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death. Never before had a collected edition of plays been published for posterity by an Elizabethan playwright, and Shakespeare's friends would have thought his entire canon just as worthy. The compilers and editors of the First Folio were Shakespeare's colleagues and fellow actors John **Heminges** and Henry **Condell**, who began preparing the work in 1620. As members of the original **Chamberlain's Men**—the playing company in which Shakespeare was actor and playwright—the men had access to primary sources, such as the company prompt-books and the author's handwritten scripts, from which to work. Heminges and Condell also commissioned engraver Martin Droeshout (1565–c. 1642) to create the portrait of Shakespeare that adorns the title page. Droeshout's depiction is considered the closest likeness of the playwright.

The publishing and printing were undertaken by a consortium of members of the Stationers' Company. The chief publisher was bookseller and translator Edward **Blount**, who had published a number of Elizabethan plays, including Christopher **Marlowe**'s *Hero and Leander* (1598). The printing of the 900-page text fell to printer and bookseller William Jaggard (c. 1568–1623), who, with the assistance of his son, Isaac, completed the edition of approximately 1,000 copies by early November 1623. The book is dedicated to the earls of Pembroke and Montgomery and includes a number of commendatory verses by, among others, Ben Jonson and John Milton, whose son of the same name wrote the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667) and other famous works of English literature.

Thirty-six plays were included in the First Folio. Masterpieces such as *The Tempest*, *Measure for Measure*, *Macbeth*, and *Twelfth Night* all made their first appearance in print in the folio edition and may have been lost forever were it not for its publication. In addition, the First Folio added act and scene divisions and some stage direction. Because of various textual omissions and inconsistencies, however, dramatic productions today are not normally based on the First Folio, but there are some companies that specialize in using its text and stage directions.

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First Fruits and Tenths, Act for

Passed by the **Reformation Parliament** in November 1534, the Act for First Fruits and Tenths required every new appointee to an ecclesiastical **benefice** to pay the Crown a onetime fee equal to one year's revenue (first fruits) and every continuing holder of a benefice to pay the Crown a fixed annual percentage of his income (tenths). The statute, in effect, transferred to the king the payment of **annates** and other fees formerly made to the pope.

In April 1534, **Parliament** passed the Act in Restraint of Annates, abolishing the payment of annates and all other fees to the **papacy**. Because the annates act contained no provision for annexing such payments to the Crown—a clause to this effect appears to have been deleted in the House of Lords—Thomas **Cromwell** and Lord Chancellor Thomas **Audley** drafted a new bill providing for such a transfer. In final form, the Act for First Fruits and Tenths required that, after 1 January 1535, every new royal appointee to a bishopric, abbacy, or other ecclesiastical benefice worth more than eight marks per year pay to the Crown a fee equal to the annual revenue derived from the benefice. In the late 1530s, first fruits is estimated to have brought the Crown close to £40,000 per year. The statute also required all clergy to pay the Crown an annual fee equal to one-tenth of their annual revenues, starting at **Christmas** 1535. To obtain a realistic assessment of the amount owed from each benefice, commissioners were to determine the actual value of all spiritual offices, a stipulation that resulted in a census of Church property undertaken in 1535 and known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

As vicegerent for ecclesiastical affairs, Cromwell had general oversight of the collection and management of first fruits and tenths, with daily business handled by Sir John Gostwick, who was appointed treasurer of first fruits in 1534, and Sir William **Petre**, another of Cromwell's deputies. Tenths were collected by the bishops, whose accounts were audited by the **Exchequer**, the royal financial office. In 1541, shortly after Cromwell's execution, Parliament created a formal court of first fruits to handle the Crown's ecclesiastical affairs, such as collecting revenue and managing **patronage**. Sir John Baker became chancellor and Gostwick was retained as treasurer. In January 1554, the court was dissolved and its duties were transferred to the Exchequer, where an office of first fruits continued to operate until the nineteenth century. Under **Mary I**, Parliament

returned first fruits to the papacy, only to restore them again to the Crown under **Elizabeth I**.

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Fiscal Feudalism

The Tudor monarchs' financial exploitation of ancient feudal obligations has become known as fiscal feudalism. The original basis of feudalism in medieval England was the granting of land by the king to a vassal in return for military service. To ensure continuous service, the king held certain rights, such as the right to arrange for the marriage of the vassal's widow or daughter, or the right to hold in ward the lands of an underage heir. The vassal also had certain monetary obligations, such as the duty to maintain the arms and armor of a knight or to contribute to the costs of knighting the king's eldest son or of marrying off the king's eldest daughter. By the Tudor period, the military obligation of vassals had largely disappeared, but these and other monetary obligations remained for the Crown to exploit when it wanted to raise money without going to **Parliament**. **Henry VII** and Thomas **Cromwell**, **Henry VIII**'s chief minister in the 1530s, both exploited the Crown's feudal rights to the fullest.

The most valuable of the feudal dues was wardship, the right of the Crown to administer the estate of a tenant-in-chief—a wealthy noble or gentle landowner—while the heir to the estate was a minor. The Crown also had the right to dispose of the heir's marriage, a particularly lucrative right since noblemen and gentlemen were always looking for suitable marriage partners for their children. By the reign of **Elizabeth I**, wardship brought the Crown almost £15,000 per year. The Crown also received a sizable yearly sum from the collection of livery, a small fee paid by heirs upon entering into their landed inheritance.

The collection of these ancient obligations stemming from an obsolete system of land tenure caused much complaint, especially during time of warfare when efforts were often undertaken to make collection more effective. Fiscal feudalism became a serious grievance under James I and his son in the early seventeenth century, when the Crown was always in need of money. Parliament abolished feudal dues in the 1640s.

See also Gentry; Peerage

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Fish, Simon (d. 1531)

Simon Fish was a London common lawyer of Gray's Inn who made something of a reputation for himself as a religious controversialist with his short and scathing *A Supplication for the Beggars*. It is believed that he wrote it during his second exile in the Low Countries. The first had come after angering Cardinal **Wolsey** with his participation in a Christmas play satirizing Wolsey. And the second was a result of his smuggling in and distributing copies of forbidden books, including William **Tyndale's** New Testament.

Printed in Antwerp in about 1528, *A Supplication for the Beggars* was cast as a petition to **Henry VIII** on behalf of the poorest of poor beggars who suffered because alms were being taken by the rich beggars (churchmen) who did nothing in return except pray for souls in **purgatory**. Fish argued that purgatory did not exist and offered up grossly exaggerated examples of priestly abuses. Like his contemporary the prominent legal theorist Christopher **St. German**, Fish argued that the king was sovereign in both church and state, but unlike St. German, he used coarse language and wrote to incite strong reactions, not to invite subtle reasoned analysis.

Sir Thomas **More** quickly responded to Fish with his *Supplication of the Souls*. One historian has observed that while More's treatise was far better written, Fish's was the one that Henry VIII saw. According to a story in John **Foxe's** "**Book of Martyrs**," it was Anne **Boleyn** who first showed Fish's treatise to Henry, who then kept it close beside him for several days. Whether or not this was how it came to him, it would have been of great interest to Henry because it emphasized a crucial and powerful role for the Crown in regard to the Church. Fish's treatise was freely available in England and was distributed in the streets of Westminster on the day the **Reformation Parliament** first met. Literate churchmen and members of the upper and middle classes are likely to have been familiar with the work, but how many others would have been familiar with it is unknown.

A Supplication for the Beggars became part of a body of works whose arguments were long held to be the absolute truth about the state of popular religion in the early sixteenth century. Fish and others cataloged the supposed sins of the Church and claimed that priests were nothing but rapacious money-loving idlers who brought ruin (financial and spiritual) to their parishioners. Such writing, taken as representing a widely held opinion of the Church, helped established what has

been called the “mythology of anticlericalism” (Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 118), which for a long time was the widespread perception of popular religion in the early sixteenth century. However, many different types of documents brought to light and analyzed in the past 50 years have helped historians today take a more nuanced view of the Church and popular religion in the Tudor era.

Simon Fish had Henry’s protection until his sudden death in 1531 from **plague**. Despite Sir Thomas More’s claim that Fish had seen the error of his ways and been reunited with the Church after he returned from exile the second time, there is no direct evidence of Fish’s feelings at the time. His widow, who was a Protestant, married another Protestant who was later burned at the stake as a heretic for his views.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Inns of Court

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Fisher, John (1469–1535)

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was the most prominent and effective clerical opponent of royal **divorce** and **royal supremacy**. Born into a Yorkshire merchant family, Fisher earned his doctorate of divinity at Cambridge in 1501. Associated with Cambridge for most of his life, Fisher was fellow and then master of Michaelhouse between 1491 and 1498, and vice-chancellor and then chancellor of the university from 1501 to 1535. Ordained in 1491, Fisher entered the service of Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond and mother of **Henry VII**, in about 1495. As the countess’s confessor and spiritual adviser, Fisher oversaw her frequent and substantial bequests to Cambridge, including endowment of a preachership, a lectureship in divinity, and two new colleges, Christ’s and St. John’s. Appointed bishop of Rochester in 1504, Fisher became well known as a preacher, delivering sermons on such noteworthy occasions as the funeral of Henry VII in 1509, the burning of Lutheran books in 1521, and the abjuration of Robert **Barnes** in 1526.

A scholar with humanist interests, Fisher persuaded Desiderius **Erasmus** to teach Greek at Cambridge (1511), drafted the first English college statutes (for St. John’s) to stipulate study of Greek and Hebrew (1516), and took up the two languages himself in his 50s. However, Fisher’s **humanism** did not lead him into reformism, and in the 1520s he published a series of polemical works that earned him a European-wide reputation as an orthodox theologian. In 1519, he published

three treatises refuting the contention that the Church had wrongly identified Mary Magdalene with Mary, the sister of Martha; in 1523, a refutation of Martin Luther's teachings titled *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutation*; and, in 1527, a defense of the Real Presence of Christ in the **Eucharist** titled *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*.

Fisher rejected the argument that **Henry VIII's** marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** was invalid, and after 1527 became the queen's champion and adviser, defending her before the legatine court at Blackfriars in 1529 and writing numerous works in support of her cause, including *De Causa Matrimonii* (1530). In **Convocation** in 1531–1532, he led opposition to government efforts to subordinate the English Church to the Crown. In 1533, Fisher secretly urged **Charles V** to depose Henry, a clear act of **treason**. Although included in the 1534 bill of **attainder** condemning Elizabeth **Barton** and her supporters, Fisher escaped with a fine. Because the preamble to the statute repudiated papal authority, Fisher, like Sir Thomas **More**, refused the oath to the Act of **Succession** and was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** in April 1534. Deprived of his see on 2 January 1535, Fisher was named a cardinal by the pope on 20 May, an honor that only increased royal hostility toward the bishop. On 17 June, Fisher was tried and convicted of treason for denying the royal supremacy. He was beheaded at the Tower on 22 June. With More, Fisher was canonized a saint of the Catholic Church in 1935.

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Fitzalan, Henry, Earl of Arundel (1512–1580)

Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, was a prominent Tudor magnate and courtier whose public career spanned four reigns. Fitzalan was the heir to one of England's oldest and wealthiest earldoms; **Henry VIII** stood godfather at his baptism. In 1534, he was summoned to **Parliament** as Lord Maltravers, a subsidiary family title, and was one of the peers who sat in judgment of Anne **Boleyn** in 1536. In July 1540, he became lord deputy of **Calais**, succeeding Arthur **Plantagenet**, Viscount Lisle. Although conservative in religion, Maltravers acquired considerable Church properties after the **dissolution of the monasteries**. He returned to England upon his father's death in January 1544 to assume the title Earl of Arundel. He was elected knight of the Garter in April 1544 and served at the siege of Boulogne in the following September.



Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, was a prominent courtier whose public career spanned four reigns. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

In 1546, Arundel became lord chamberlain and a privy councillor, and acted as high constable at **Edward VI**'s coronation in 1547. A covert opponent of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Arundel supported John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, in overthrowing the protector in October 1549. However, in December, Arundel was stripped of his offices and dismissed from the Privy **Council**. Placed briefly in custody, the earl was heavily fined and forced to retire to his Sussex estates as a condition of his pardon. Arundel's fall is traditionally ascribed to Warwick's desire, once he had disposed of Somerset, to remove religious conservatives from the council, but other evidence suggests that Arundel and Thomas **Wriothesley**, Earl of Southampton, another leading council conservative, were themselves considering the overthrow of Warwick.

In 1551, Arundel was charged with **treason** for conspiring with Somerset and was committed to the **Tower of London**. However, he was released after a year and restored to the council in an attempt by Warwick—now Duke of Northumberland—to buy his support for enthroning Jane **Grey** as queen upon Edward's imminent death. Arundel swore loyalty to Queen Jane, but then, upon Northumberland's departure to arrest Princess Mary, took the lead in convincing the council to abandon Jane. He and William **Paget**, Lord Paget, then offered the council's support to Mary, who dispatched Arundel with others to arrest Northumberland.

Under **Mary I**, Arundel became lord steward and president of the council. Although in high favor with the queen, Arundel clashed with her chief minister, Stephen **Gardiner**, who he believed was moving too quickly to undo the **Reformation**. Arundel was also criticized by the influential imperial ambassador Simon **Renard**, who doubted his commitment to restoring Catholicism. Although his opponents claimed he was reluctant to ride against **Wyatt's Rebellion** in 1554, that charge seems untrue. He did, however, oppose Gardiner's attempt to proceed against Princess Elizabeth for involvement with the rebels. Arundel was a member of the commission that negotiated the queen's marriage contract with **Philip**

of **Spain**, who, upon his arrival in England, showed particular favor to the earl and his family. Upon the outbreak of war with **France** in 1557, Mary appointed Arundel lieutenant-general for the defense of the realm, but the deaths of his son, daughter, and wife in 1556–1557 caused him to largely withdraw from public life, although he was briefly a member of the Anglo-Spanish peace commission at **Cateau-Cambrésis**.

Despite his age and her apparent dislike of him, Arundel was said to have considered himself a possible consort for **Elizabeth I**. He opposed her possible marriage to Robert **Dudley** and participated in the investigation into the mysterious death of Dudley's wife, Amy **Dudley**. Although Arundel remained a member of the council and did not oppose the Act of **Uniformity** or the **Anglican Settlement**, his general disaffection became such that in November 1564 Elizabeth briefly committed him to house arrest. He left England in 1566 to spend a year traveling in Europe. In 1569, Arundel was implicated in the **Northern Rebellion** and in the attempt to marry Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Imprisoned at **Nonsuch Palace**, which had been conveyed to him by Mary I, he was released in 1570. He was arrested again in 1571 for involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot**, but the evidence against him was thin and he was released in 1572. He took little further part in affairs, dying at Arundel House in **London** on 24 February 1580.

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Fitzgerald, Gerald, Earl of Desmond (c. 1533–1583)

Gerald Fitzgerald, 14th Earl of Desmond, was an important **Anglo-Irish** nobleman in Elizabethan **Ireland**. Because his father had usurped the Desmond title, the earl was not destined to hold his title from birth and so received little formal education as a child. Lack of training put the adult earl at a severe disadvantage in his rivalry with Thomas **Butler**, Earl of Ormond, who, besides being **Elizabeth I**'s cousin, had been educated in England and imbued with the social and political skills of an English courtier. Constant land and political disputes between Desmond and Ormond, whose families had long been at odds, led to a pitched battle at Affane in February 1565. Victorious in the encounter, Ormond paraded the humiliated Desmond through the streets of Waterford. Elizabeth summoned the two earls to

England and put both under bonds to keep the peace, but only Desmond went to the **Tower of London**.

After six years of confinement, he returned to his estates in Munster to find them devastated by the effects of **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion**, which had begun in 1569 while he was imprisoned in England. Heavily in debt, Desmond attempted to restore his fortunes by working closely with the **Dublin** administration to promote order and reform. He abandoned the traditional exactions of **coign and livery**, which had caused much unrest, and even assisted some small-scale efforts at English colonization in Munster, one of the issues that had ignited the Fitzmaurice rising.

In 1579, James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald**, Desmond's cousin, returned to Ireland and renewed his revolt against the English government. When Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald was killed and the earl's brother Sir John Fitzgerald accepted leadership of the uprising, the Dublin government assumed that Desmond also was involved and proclaimed him a traitor, thus forcing him to join the rebellion. After initial successes, Desmond was defeated and Munster was subjected to a devastating scorched-earth policy, which caused a famine that decimated the local population. His estates confiscated, Desmond—pursued by Ormond, who was now acting under a government commission to suppress the rebellion—went into hiding. Ormond's forces captured and killed Desmond in November 1583. The seizure of Desmond's lands and the depopulation of war-torn Munster led to the establishment of a large-scale English plantation in Munster in the mid-1580s.

See also Desmond Rebellion; Plantations, Irish

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Fitzgerald, Gerald, [Eighth] Earl of Kildare (1456–1513)

Despite his stubborn allegiance to the House of **York**, Gerald Fitzgerald, the **Anglo-Irish** eighth Earl of Kildare, remained the dominant political figure in **Ireland** during the reign of **Henry VII** and the first years of **Henry VIII**. The earl's political talents, the military potential of his large tenantry, and his family's territorial influence made him an indispensable part of any stable Irish government. Provided his loyalty could be ensured, Kildare represented a cheap and effective way to maintain English rule in early Tudor Ireland.

The earl served as deputy of Ireland from 1478 to 1492 and again from 1496 until his death. As deputy to **Edward IV**'s younger son, Kildare enjoyed great

power and influence in the early 1480s. After 1483, **Richard III**, seeking to maintain Yorkist dominance in Ireland, appointed his son as lord lieutenant, but left the government of Ireland in Kildare's hands as the prince's deputy. After the accession of Henry VII in 1485, Kildare remained loyal to the House of York. He welcomed Lambert **Simmel** to Ireland in 1487, accepting the young man's claim to be Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, the surviving Yorkist claimant to the English throne. In May 1487, Kildare allowed John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln and nephew to Richard III, to land in **Dublin** with troops provided by Lincoln's aunt, **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy. On 24 May, Kildare attended the Dublin coronation of Simmel as "Edward VI" and governed Ireland in "King Edward's" name in defiance of Henry VII. However, in 1488, a year after Simmel and Lincoln invaded England from Ireland and were defeated at the Battle of **Stoke**, Kildare submitted to Henry and was pardoned. He lost the deputyship and again fell out of favor in the mid-1490s when he was suspected of supporting Perkin **Warbeck**, a Yorkist pretender who claimed to be the younger son of Edward IV.

Attainted by the Irish **Parliament** of 1494, Kildare spent two years in the **Tower of London** before being restored as deputy in 1496. Although the earl's son remained at **court** as a pledge of Kildare's good behavior, Henry also made a concerted effort to win Kildare's loyalty. To enhance his position with English landowners resident in Ireland, Kildare was given many marks of royal favor, including being allowed to marry the king's kinswoman, Elizabeth St. John. In 1504, Henry rewarded Kildare with a Garter knighthood for his victory over Irish rebels at the Battle of Knockdoe. Having made his peace with the House of **Tudor**, Kildare remained deputy until his death in September 1513, when he was succeeded as governor of Ireland by his son Gerald **Fitzgerald**, ninth Earl of Kildare.

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Fitzgerald, Gerald, [Ninth] Earl of Kildare (1487–1534)

Succeeding his father in office, Gerald Fitzgerald, the **Anglo-Irish** ninth Earl of Kildare, served three times as lord deputy of **Ireland** (1513–1520, 1524–1528, and 1532–1534). The death of Gerald **Fitzgerald**, the powerful eighth Earl of Kildare, emboldened the nobles and **gentry** of the **Pale** (the area of direct English rule around **Dublin**) to complain to **Henry VIII** about the financial and military

exactions laid upon them by the lord deputy. Made more ominous by Henry's suspicion of any possible rival to his authority, these complaints, which grew in number over the years, led the king's chief ministers, Thomas **Wolsey** and Thomas **Cromwell**, to experiment with new arrangements for the governing of Ireland. The ninth earl was therefore twice removed from office (1520–1524 and 1528–1532) and twice detained at the English **court** (1519–1523 and 1526–1530). From 1520 to 1522, Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey (later third Duke of Norfolk), governed Ireland directly as lord lieutenant, but Surrey's administration foundered on his inability to control the Irish chieftains and on Henry's unwillingness to pay for conquest of Gaelic Ireland. From 1522 to 1523 and 1528 to 1529, the deputyship was held by Kildare's chief rival among the Anglo-Irish nobility, Piers Butler, Earl of Ossory. Resistance from Kildare's supporters frustrated Ossory's administrations, and a new English lord deputy, William Skeffington, who held office from 1530 to 1532, suffered a similar lack of success for similar reasons.

Restored to office in 1532, Kildare was recalled to England for a third time in September 1533. Mistrusting Cromwell, the earl delayed his departure and began removing the royal ordnance from Dublin Castle to his own strongholds. In February 1534, receipt of a royal commission empowering him to choose a deputy to govern in his absence reassured the earl, who sailed for England after naming his son Thomas **Fitzgerald**, Lord Offaly, as his replacement. In May, after repeated interrogations, Kildare was again placed in detention. The government, meanwhile, ordered Skeffington to Ireland and summoned Offaly to England. By some means, Kildare sent a message to his son warning him not to obey the summons and perhaps directing him to make some show of resistance to convince the government to restore Kildare to office.

On 11 June, Offaly appeared before the Irish Council and renounced his allegiance to the English Crown. Although likely not intended as a declaration of open rebellion, this act was interpreted as such by the king and Cromwell, who were in the midst of separating the English Church from Rome and thus particularly sensitive to any challenges to royal authority. Kildare was committed to the **Tower of London**, where he died from an old wound on 2 September 1534. Offaly continued the **Kildare Rebellion** until August 1535, when he was persuaded to surrender.

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Fitzgerald, James Fitzmaurice (d. 1579)

James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald (usually known as Fitzmaurice) led two rebellions against English political and religious control of **Ireland**. Fitzmaurice was the cousin of Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Desmond. When **Elizabeth I** imprisoned Desmond in the **Tower of London** in 1565, Fitzmaurice claimed leadership of the Fitzgerald interest in southern Ireland. On poor terms with his cousin and angered by English attempts to colonize Desmond lands, Fitzmaurice allied himself with other disaffected Irish and **Anglo-Irish** chieftains and rose in rebellion against the English government in June 1569. Declaring his uprising a Catholic crusade to win support from Catholic Europe, Fitzmaurice laid siege to Cork and Kilkenny, demanding that the magistrates abolish Protestant worship within their towns. After spreading terror and destruction, Fitzmaurice was put to flight by troops commanded by Lord Deputy Henry **Sidney** and Captain Humphrey **Gilbert**.

In 1570, Fitzmaurice revived the rebellion, remaining at large until 1573, when he was forced to submit to Sir John **Perrot**, the lord president of Munster. When Desmond returned to Ireland later in the year, Fitzmaurice tried unsuccessfully to convince him to join in opposing English rule. In March 1575, accompanied by his family and a few supporters, Fitzmaurice sailed for Europe. In Paris, he unsuccessfully offered the Crown of Ireland to **Henri III** in exchange for military and financial support in overthrowing English rule. In 1577, he offered Ireland to **John of Austria**, but **Philip II** of **Spain** declined to intervene on his half brother's behalf, being too heavily engaged in the **Netherlands** and Portugal to risk war with England. With the help of the dissident Englishman Sir Thomas **Stukeley**, Fitzmaurice finally persuaded Pope **Gregory XIII** to provide troops for an invasion.

Landing in southwestern Ireland in June 1579, Fitzmaurice and his papal army established a fort at **Smerwick** and waited for the arrival of Stukeley with reinforcements. Fitzmaurice, meanwhile, sent urgent requests to Desmond and other Anglo-Irish leaders to join his forces. When no response came from Desmond, Fitzmaurice set off on pilgrimage to a nearby monastery. On his way there, he was slain in a skirmish with Anglo-Irish forces hostile to his enterprise. Because the rising begun by Fitzmaurice in 1579 came eventually under the leadership of Desmond, it became known as the **Desmond Rebellion**.

See also Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Plantations, Irish

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Fitzgerald, Thomas, Lord Offaly and Earl of Kildare (1513–1537)

Known to history as “Silken Thomas,” Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly and 10th Earl of Kildare, was the leader of the **Kildare Rebellion**, an uprising that briefly threatened English rule in **Ireland**. The son of Gerald **Fitzgerald**, ninth Earl of Kildare and three times lord deputy of Ireland, Offaly was born in England of an English mother. He resided for part of his youth among the clans of Gaelic Ireland and for part at the English **court** as a pledge for his father’s loyalty. While in England, Offaly married the daughter of an English gentleman. Returning to Ireland some time before 1533, Offaly assumed the government of Ireland on his father’s appointment in February 1534. Having summoned the earl to England, Thomas **Cromwell**, **Henry VIII**’s chief minister, empowered Kildare to name a deputy to govern in his absence. In May, when Kildare was detained at court, Offaly was also summoned to England.

Offaly has traditionally been characterized as a rash and foolish young man who rushed to rebellion upon hearing unconfirmed reports of his father’s execution in **London**. Deriving from the later writings of the English historian Richard **Stanyhurst**, this depiction has now been largely dismissed. Modern research has shown that Offaly received a message from Kildare in which the earl warned his



Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly and Earl of Kildare, was leader of the Kildare Rebellion in June 1534. (The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

son not to come to court for fear of his life. Kildare probably also dictated the course of action that Offaly thereafter followed. On 11 June, Offaly stunned the Irish Council in **Dublin** by dramatically renouncing his allegiance to Henry VIII. Because Offaly was accompanied to Dublin by over 100 horsemen gorgeously arrayed in fine silk, Irish bards thereafter referred to him as “Silken Thomas,” an appellation by which he is still known today.

Although Offaly’s actions were probably intended only to force restoration of Kildare, the king and Cromwell took them as a declaration of rebellion. In part, Offaly was a victim of poor timing; deeply involved in the revolutionary process of severing the English Church from Rome, Henry was in 1534 particularly sensitive to

any challenges to his authority. Kildare was committed to the **Tower of London**, where he died in September, and Offaly, now the new earl, was forced into open rebellion. On 27 July, the rebels murdered John Alen, archbishop of Dublin and leader of the anti-Kildare party in the Irish council. Kildare then besieged Dublin until the arrival of William Skeffington as new lord deputy in October. In March 1535, Skeffington captured Kildare's stronghold, Maynooth Castle, and put the garrison to the sword. This act, known ironically as the "pardon of Maynooth," since the constable had been promised pardon and payment if he surrendered the fortress, convinced many of Kildare's supporters to submit and left the earl isolated and on the run. On 24 August, Lord Leonard **Grey**, Kildare's brother-in-law, persuaded the earl to surrender on promise of his life. Although furious that Grey would make such a promise on his own authority, Henry kept Kildare alive in the Tower until 3 February 1537, when Kildare and his five uncles, several of whom had not supported the uprising, were executed at Tyburn.

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Fitzjames, Richard (d. 1522)

Richard Fitzjames, bishop of **London**, is best known for his controversial involvement in **Hunne's Case**. Born in Somerset, Fitzjames entered Oxford in about 1459. Elected a fellow of Merton College in 1465, Fitzjames became proctor of the university in 1473, principal of St. Alban Hall in 1477, and treasurer of St. Paul's in 1483. He served as chaplain to **Edward IV** in the late 1470s and was appointed to various other Church livings and university offices in the following two decades. He became almoner to **Henry VII** in 1495 and was consecrated bishop of Rochester in January 1497. In 1499, Fitzjames traveled to the **Netherlands** with William **Warham** to negotiate a new trade agreement. In October 1501, Fitzjames was a member of the deputation sent to welcome **Catherine of Aragon** upon her landing in England, and in November he assisted at Catherine's marriage to Prince Arthur **Tudor**. Translated to the see of Chichester in January 1504, Fitzjames became bishop of London in March 1506.

Strongly conservative in his views, Fitzjames was considered an enemy of reform by humanists such as Desiderius **Erasmus**, who thought the bishop a superstitious reactionary, and John **Colet**, dean of St. Paul's, whom the bishop accused of heresy. Fitzjames was also a steady opponent of heresy in the city,

prosecuting 40 offenders in 1510 and like numbers in succeeding years. Most of the accused recanted and were released after performing public penance, but two died by fire in 1510, and probably at least one suffered during most years of Fitzjames's incumbency.

Although he did much during his tenure at London to promote preaching and to restore and beautify St. Paul's Cathedral, Fitzjames is best remembered for fueling the controversy that erupted after the death of accused heretic Richard Hunne. In 1514, Fitzjames made himself extremely unpopular by arresting Hunne, a London citizen who had challenged ecclesiastical authority by suing a cleric for **praemunire** in a royal court. When a search of Hunne's home revealed heretical books, including a Lollard **Bible**, the bishop imprisoned Hunne. In December 1514, shortly after being interrogated by Fitzjames, Hunne was found hanging in his cell. In the resulting uproar, several of the bishop's officials were indicted for willful murder. Fitzjames appealed to the king's minister, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, for royal intervention, declaring that Londoners were "so maliciously set in favor of heretical pravity that they will cast and condemn my clerk though he be as innocent as Abel" (Dickens, *English Reformation*, 51). Fitzjames then inflamed passions further by condemning Hunne for heresy, thus confiscating his property and beggaring his family, and having his body burned at Smithfield. The Hunne affair eventually escalated into a debate about church-state relations that ultimately involved **Henry VIII** himself. Fitzjames continued in office until his death on 15 January 1522.

See also Lollardy

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Fitzmaurice, James

See Fitzgerald, James Fitzmaurice

Fitzmaurice's Rebellion

Fitzmaurice's Rebellion was an unsuccessful attempt by various Irish and **Anglo-Irish** chiefs to halt the imposition on **Ireland** of a centralized English administration

and a Protestant church. Led by James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald** (known as Fitzmaurice), who had assumed leadership of the Fitzgerald clans while his cousin, Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Desmond, was imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, Fitzmaurice's Rebellion began in June 1569 in the Munster region of southern Ireland. Angered by English attempts to colonize Desmond lands, Fitzmaurice joined forces with other Irish dissidents to demand the end of English land-grabbing and the restoration of Catholic worship.

The uprising soon spread across southern Ireland, encompassing even members of the Butler family, the traditional enemies of the Fitzgeralds. The younger brothers of Thomas **Butler**, Earl of Ormond, had little interest in ending English rule or in overturning the Protestant Church of Ireland—they joined the rising solely to take revenge on Sir Peter **Carew**, an English gentleman who had recently been awarded control of large tracts of Butler land by the lord deputy and his council. While the Butlers harried Carew's lands, Fitzmaurice besieged the towns of Cork and Kilkenny, demanding that the civic magistrates abolish Protestant services. By turning the rebellion into a Catholic crusade, Fitzmaurice hoped to win support from Catholic Europe. Fitzmaurice visited much terror and destruction on English landholders and town dwellers, but by the end of the year, he had been driven into hiding by forces under Lord Deputy Henry **Sidney** and Captain Humphrey **Gilbert**. Meanwhile, Ormond's arrival from England in August led to the submission of the Butlers. Although Fitzmaurice revived the rising in 1570, Gilbert and the new president of Munster, Sir John **Perrot**, ultimately crushed the rebellion in Munster.

Between 1571 and Fitzmaurice's submission in 1573, Perrot executed more than 800 rebels and laid waste to the lands of many more. Desmond returned to Ireland from England in 1573 to find his lands devastated and his people impoverished. In 1575, Fitzmaurice fled to Europe, where he sought to interest the governments of **France** and **Spain** in backing an invasion of Ireland. The destruction and depopulation caused by Fitzmaurice's Rebellion and by the later **Desmond Rebellion** (1579–1583) made possible the large-scale English plantation of Munster in the mid-1580s.

See also Butler Wars; Plantations, Irish

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Fitzroy, Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (1519–1536)

Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, was the illegitimate son of **Henry VIII** and Elizabeth **Blount**, a maid of honor to Queen **Catherine of Aragon**. Because of his continuing lack of a legitimate male heir, Henry may have viewed Richmond as a possible alternative to the accession of a woman and as a means for ensuring the continuance of **Tudor** rule.

In June 1525, Henry created his son Duke of Richmond, **Henry VII**'s title before he won the throne, and Duke of Somerset, the ducal title of the **Beaufort family**, from whom the Tudors acquired their claim to the Crown. Henry also appointed his six-year-old son lord lieutenant of **Ireland** and made him a knight of the Garter, that is, a member of the most prestigious English order of chivalry. The duke was also given his own household, and various important foreign marriages were considered for him. Conferral of these honors and titles started rumors that the king meant to name Richmond heir to the throne, or even to marry him to his half sister Princess Mary. Although this is possible, Richmond was never recognized as legitimate, and it is equally likely that Henry sought only to make his son a more attractive marriage prospect.

Whatever the king's intentions, Richmond remained a possible heir and was certainly treated as insurance for securing an uncertain succession. Henry provided his son with a good humanist education, supervised by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and supplied by such noted scholars as John Palsgrave and the Greek master Richard **Croke**. In 1533, Richmond married into the powerful Howard family. Mary **Howard**, Duchess of Richmond, was the daughter of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, and sister to Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and one of Richmond's close friends and schoolfellows.

In the 1530s, the government increasingly employed Richmond to represent the king and his policies. In May 1535, the duke witnessed the execution of the **Carthusian** monks who opposed the royal **divorce**; in May 1536, he was present at the execution of Anne **Boleyn** in the **Tower of London**; and one month later, he attended the **Parliament** that declared Princess Elizabeth illegitimate. Richmond died on 23 July 1536 amid rumors that he had been poisoned by the late queen and her brother George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, although the cause of death seems to have been tuberculosis.

See also Elizabeth I; Humanism; Mary I

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Fitzwilliam, Sir William (1526–1599)

Sir William Fitzwilliam served twice as lord deputy of **Ireland**. Born into a Northamptonshire **gentry** family, Fitzwilliam was introduced to the **court** of **Edward VI** by his kinsman, John **Russell**, Earl of Bedford. Although a Protestant, Fitzwilliam supported the succession of the Catholic queen **Mary I** in 1553 and was rewarded by an appointment as keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland. A client of Thomas **Radcliffe**, Earl of Sussex, lord deputy of Ireland, Fitzwilliam was named, after 1559, to various Irish posts, including treasurer for war and lord justice. He also sat in the Irish Parliament. Fitzwilliam distinguished himself in campaigns against Shane **O'Neill** in the 1560s and was several times put in charge of the Irish administration during absences in England of Sussex and the next lord deputy, Sir Henry **Sidney**.

In January 1572, Fitzwilliam succeeded Sidney as lord deputy. Through Sir John **Perrot**, lord president of the southern Irish province of Munster, Fitzwilliam dealt with the last phases of **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion**. He also attempted to control the activities of Turlough Luineach **O'Neill** in Ulster, a task made more difficult by the ultimately unsuccessful efforts of Sir Thomas **Smith** and Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, to establish an English plantation in Ulster. Although ordered to assist both ventures, Fitzwilliam, jealous of his own authority, was slow to help either. In ill health and heavily criticized at court for the failures in Ulster and elsewhere, Fitzwilliam requested and received his recall in 1575, being replaced by Sidney.

Fitzwilliam lived quietly in England until 1588 when Elizabeth reappointed him to the Irish deputyship. He arrived in time to conduct the capture and execution of Spaniards from the retreating **armada** who had washed up on Irish shores. Becoming involved in the quarrels of Irish chieftains in Ulster, Fitzwilliam was later charged with being responsible for the Nine Years War. Recalled to England in July 1594, he was also accused of corruption by his Irish and English enemies, charges that Fitzwilliam vigorously denied. He died at his Northamptonshire home in 1599.

See also Plantations, Irish; Ulster Enterprise (Essex); Ulster Enterprise (Smith)

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Fitzwilliam, William, Earl of Southampton (d. 1542)

Treasurer of the royal household and lord admiral of England, William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, was a courtier, soldier, and longtime friend of **Henry VIII**. Described by Eustace **Chapuys** as the man who knew Henry's "nature and temper better than any [other] in England" (Erickson, *Great Harry*, 364), Southampton was the king's man, a loyal courtier of limited ambition who avoided factions and dedicated himself to royal service.

Born into a Yorkshire **gentry** family, Fitzwilliam was raised at **court** and shared the king's interests and activities. Appointed royal cupbearer on Henry's accession in 1509, and esquire of the body (a personal royal servant) in 1511, Fitzwilliam advanced to joint command of the fleet in the Anglo-French War of 1513. Wounded in a naval action off Brest, Fitzwilliam fought later in the year at Tournai and was knighted for his services in September. In 1518, Fitzwilliam became treasurer of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey's** household, and in 1521 was sent by the cardinal as ambassador to **France**. In 1523, Fitzwilliam saw naval service against the French as vice admiral of the fleet and in 1524 was appointed captain of the **Calais** garrison of Guisnes. In 1526, he succeeded Thomas **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, as treasurer of the royal household and won election as knight of the Garter.

Fitzwilliam fell seriously ill with the sweating sickness in June 1528, but he survived and was elected to represent Surrey in the **Reformation Parliament** in 1529. Although a former servant of Wolsey's, he supported the cardinal's dismissal, and in the subsequent redistribution of offices he succeeded Sir Thomas **More** as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In the early 1530s, Fitzwilliam supported the royal **divorce** and the religious innovations that accompanied it, but was not identified with the Boleyn faction, and in May 1536 he served on the commission that tried the commoners accused of adultery with Anne **Boleyn**. Although thereafter briefly suspected of supporting Princess Mary, Fitzwilliam was back in favor by August 1536, when he succeeded Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, as lord admiral. Fitzwilliam helped suppress the **Pilgrimage of Grace** in October 1536, and a year later, following the birth of Prince Edward, he was elevated to the **peerage** as Earl of Southampton.

In 1538, the earl interrogated Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, and in 1539 greeted **Anne of Cleves** at Calais. Prevented by weather from crossing the English Channel and charged by the king with entertaining Anne and her suite, Southampton acceded to Anne's request to teach her Henry's favorite card games. Although he had written to Henry from Calais praising Anne, Southampton did not suffer from the king's displeasure with his new bride, and, in fact, assisted in the arrest of Thomas **Cromwell** in 1540, when that minister fell, in part, for arranging the Cleves marriage. In October 1542, Southampton died at Newcastle while leading the van of the English army into **Scotland**.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Edward VI; Mary I

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Flodden Field, Battle of

Fought on 9 September 1513 near Berwick on the English side of the border, the Battle of Flodden Field was a decisive English victory over a Scottish invasion force. Resulting in the deaths of the Scottish king and many of his nobles, and in the accession of a child to the Scottish throne, the battle enhanced the prestige of **Henry VIII** but initiated a period of political instability in **Scotland**.

In June 1513, Henry VIII personally led an English invasion force into **France**, leaving Queen **Catherine of Aragon** in **London** to act as governor of the realm. Seizing upon his brother-in-law's absence, **James IV**, whose relations with Henry had been deteriorating for some time, honored the Auld Alliance with France and led an army of 30,000 across the border on 22 August. Within a fortnight, the Scots had forced the surrender of Norham, Wark, Etal, and Ford castles, and by 8 September they had entrenched themselves behind artillery on Flodden Hill overlooking the river Till. By 4 September, Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, had concentrated an English force of 20,000 at Alnwick. When James declined Surrey's invitation to come down from Flodden and give battle in the adjoining plain, the earl and his son, Thomas **Howard** (later third Duke of Norfolk), using river crossings unknown to the Scots and marching just out of range of the enemy's guns, outflanked the Scottish position and forced James to retreat to nearby Branxton Hill.

The English had the better of the ensuing artillery duel, and the Scots, seeking to escape the English guns and to prevent the enemy from cutting off their supply line, charged downhill at the English in a heavy rain. The squares of Scottish pikemen, carrying their heavy, long-shafted spears, fell into disorder as they crossed the slippery, sloping ground, which allowed the English halberdiers, carrying their shorter hooked axes, to do severe execution among the Scottish formations. After two hours of hand-to-hand combat, the center of the Scots line collapsed, leaving James, 9 earls, 13 barons, and an archbishop dead on the field along with thousands of other Scots. Although English casualties were fewer, Surrey lost two-fifths of his personal retinue, and the English were too exhausted to pursue the remnants of the enemy force.

Queen Catherine sent James's blood-stained coat to her jubilant husband, whose position as a leading European ruler was much enhanced by the victory at

Flodden and by his own less spectacular successes in France. In February 1514, Henry rewarded Surrey with elevation to the dukedom of Norfolk and Surrey's son with conferral of his father's former earldom. In Scotland the Crown passed to an 18-month-old child, **James V**. Although the disruption of government caused by Flodden was less than is generally supposed, the long minority of the new king allowed factions to contend for control of the royal administration and left Scotland weak and distracted for the next decade.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Spurs, Battle of the

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Food and Diet

Most people in Tudor England depended upon the produce of their own locality for their food, so regional variations were great. Diet tended to be monotonous by modern standards, with the usual meal being pottage or porridge made of cereal grains, which were the basic English foodstuffs. The respective diets of the various social classes were differentiated by the amounts and qualities of the breads and meats they consumed.

Among the **peerage**, **gentry**, and wealthier urban merchants, meals often consisted of several varieties of meat, including beef, pork, mutton, and capon (chicken), and such more exotic fare (at least to modern tastes) as woodcock, rabbit, venison, and crane. For large feasts, a wide selection of meats would be available, with guests ordering a sampling of the dish they most favored. Leftovers were consumed by servants, with the last scraps distributed to the poor. Everyday meals had less variety but were still heavy on protein. In the sixteenth century, meat was usually slaughtered in the fall, and, due to a lack of refrigeration, had to be pickled or salted to last through the winter. Asian spices were in high demand because they hid the taste of salted meat or recently slaughtered meat that had passed its prime.

Artisans, yeoman, and rural laborers ate less meat and more bread, eggs, and cheese. Pottage might be supplemented with beans, peas, onions, and carrots, while porridge was eaten with buttermilk, milk, or whey and might be flavored with honey. For other flavorings, most people turned to locally available items such as mustard seed, field herbs, and homemade vinegars. Some variety was provided



Bakers of York. Bread was an essential part of the sixteenth-century English diet, but the amount and quality of breads consumed varied across social classes. (*The Archaeological Review: A Journal of Historic and Pre-historic*. Vol. 1. London: David Nutt, Mar.–Aug. 1888)

by fish, which was required on Fridays (as well as Wednesdays under **Elizabeth I**) and throughout Lent (the 40 days preceding Easter). Fruits and vegetables were considered fit only for the poor and were little eaten until influences from **Spain** (stimulated by the marriage of **Catherine of Aragon** to **Henry VIII**) and from **Italy** (spread by merchants and humanist scholars) made the eating of fruits and vegetables fashionable and encouraged gentlemen to begin growing such foods as cabbages, onions, cherries, and strawberries. By the end of the Tudor period, oranges, lemons, currants, and a wider variety of spices, such as ginger, nutmeg, and clove, were being imported.

The type of bread eaten was a strong social indicator. The finest wheat bread, made from whole meal flour and creamy yellow in color, was reserved for upper-class tables, while darker and coarser wheat breads and brown or black rye or barley breads were the fare of servants and peasants. Barley was the most common cereal crop, since it was most easily grown and could be used for both bread and beer. Oats, for the making of oatcakes, were favored in the north, while rye was favored in regions with gravelly soil. Dairy products were little eaten and then only by the poor. Meat was less eaten by the poor than by the wealthy, although every piece of an animal or bird, including flesh, marrow, bone, and sinew, was cooked and consumed, making at least some meat available to all classes. In times of poor harvests, beans, peas, and even acorns were mixed with local cereals to make bread.

For drink, the English took such fermented beverages as wine, ale, and beer; water, being frequently tainted by natural impurities and poor urban sanitation, was seldom drunk, except by the poorest people. Wines, which had to be imported from Europe, were upper-class drinks; lower-class beverages were ale, made of water, barley, and spices, and beer, which was brewed with hops and cheaper than ale because it could be stored longer. Besides water, the poor also drank milk and whey. Although peasants occasionally faced famine, as occurred during the bad harvests of the 1550s and the 1590s, the traditional lower-class diet, being a generally better balance of foods, usually provided sufficient nourishment and was probably healthier than the high-protein, meat-heavy diet of the elite.

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Foreign Relations and Diplomacy

The main features of English foreign relations in the early Tudor period were the growing domination of Europe by **France** and **Spain** and the continuing hostility

between France and England. The ongoing Anglo-French conflict also poisoned Anglo-Scottish relations, as the northern kingdom maintained its Auld Alliance with France. After 1560, however, a shared **Protestantism** broke the ancient Franco-Scottish alliance and led to greater Anglo-Scottish accord, while religious wars in France left England as the main counterbalance to the growing power of Spain.

Tudor England was a second-rate power, unable to compete with Spain or France in **population** or financial and military resources. England had no standing army, and its **navy**, though slowly growing, was not sufficient to give England consistent command of the English Channel. **Henry VII** avoided foreign wars, even though Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire tried to involve him in their Italian adventures. **Italy** was a battleground from the 1490s to the 1550s, but Henry realized that England had no vital interests at stake there. Henry's diplomatic initiatives were aimed at securing recognition for the **Tudor** dynasty and closing foreign courts to Yorkist pretenders such as Perkin **Warbeck** and Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk. Agreements such as the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of **Medina del Campo**, the Anglo-French Treaty of **Etaples**, and the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Ayton** achieved these goals. The Spanish and Scottish agreements also arranged marriages with significant future consequences—the marriage of Prince Arthur **Tudor** and then of his brother Prince Henry to **Catherine of Aragon** was the starting point for England's break with Rome in the 1530s, and Princess Margaret **Tudor**'s marriage to **James IV** of **Scotland** allowed the succession of the Scottish House of **Stuart** to the English throne in 1603.

Henry VIII was anxious to emulate Henry V and win military glory in France. His first war with France (1512–1514) brought him two French towns and victory at the Battle of the **Spurs**, but made clear that England could not successfully attack France without the support of allies. The war also prompted James IV to invade England in support of the French, although the English defeated and killed James at **Flodden Field** in 1513. After 1520, Henry and Thomas **Wolsey** tried to use the ongoing rivalry between **Francis I** of France and **Charles V** of Spain and the empire to England's advantage. Henry again fought France between 1522 and 1525, but the great opportunity for French conquest seemingly provided by Charles's capture of Francis in 1525 came to naught through the unwillingness of Henry's subjects to pay for another campaign.

After 1527, tensions with Charles V over Henry's desire to divorce the emperor's aunt led the king to ally with France. After 1540, Henry, having established himself as head of the English Church and having enriched himself with monastic spoils, realigned with Charles and entered a third war with France. Begun in 1543, the last Henrician conflict with France won England the town of Boulogne but embroiled the two countries in Scotland, which was now ruled by a child, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and damaged the English economy. The Treaty of **Campe** ended the war in 1546 on the basis of mutual financial exhaustion.

After Henry's death in 1547, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the head of **Edward VI**'s regency government, continued the war in Scotland, where English success bred further French intervention. By 1549, **Henri II**'s desire to regain Boulogne initiated a new Anglo-French war, which the financially strapped government of John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, concluded by selling back Boulogne through the 1550 Treaty of **Boulogne**. In 1551, the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Norham** ended English involvement in Scotland and left French influence dominant there. Anglo-French relations were thereafter stable until 1557, when the government of **Mary I** reluctantly entered a new French war as ally to Mary's husband, **Philip** of Spain, but the French capture of **Calais**, England's last continental possession, discredited the Spanish alliance.

The end of Franco-Spanish hostilities in 1559 with the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** and the triumph of Protestantism in Scotland in 1560 left **Elizabeth I** facing an entirely new diplomatic reality. Religious civil war removed France from significant involvement in European affairs after 1560, while English Protestantism increased tensions with Spain but created common ground with Scotland. Anglo-Spanish hostility thus became the key factor in Elizabethan diplomacy. The 1560 Treaty of **Edinburgh** removed both French and English troops from Scotland and ended the civil war between Scottish Catholics and Protestants, thereby ensuring the eventual triumph of the Scottish **Reformation**. Despite the queen's reluctance, England became increasingly involved in the **Netherlands Revolt** from the 1560s, and that intervention, when coupled with English **privateering** in **Spanish America**, led to open war with Spain in 1585, the sending of English troops under Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester to the Netherlands in 1586, and the launching of the Spanish **Armada** against England in 1588. In the 1590s, Elizabeth also intervened militarily in France to aid the Protestant king Henri IV against the Spanish and the Catholic League.

Under Elizabeth, England also faced numerous Catholic plots designed to replace Elizabeth with Mary and restore Catholicism. The direction of foreign affairs was increasingly concentrated in the hands of Sir Francis **Walsingham**, one of the secretaries of state, who built and maintained a widespread intelligence network. In 1572, England expelled the Spanish ambassador for his involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot**. In 1584, another Spanish ambassador, Bernadino de Mendoza, was expelled for his involvement in the **Throckmorton Plot**. The discovery of the **Babington Plot** in 1586 led to the trial and execution of Mary in 1587, which helped convince Philip of Spain that Elizabeth had to be overthrown, but did no serious harm to Anglo-Scottish relations because Mary's son, James VI, had no intention of jeopardizing his succession to the English Crown for a mother he did not know.

See also Amicable Grant; Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Anglo-French War (Mary I); Coinage, Debasement of; James I

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Foreign Trade

With the exception of a temporary decline in the 1550s, English foreign trade, which was based on the export of cloth and the import of manufactured goods, steadily expanded throughout the Tudor period. However, early Tudor trade was narrowly focused on the Antwerp market in the **Netherlands**, where **London** merchants sold their cloth and purchased the manufactured products demanded by English consumers. Thus, although European knowledge of the world was growing, Tudor merchants had little interest in expanding their markets until forced to do so by the economic collapse of the 1550s.

The development of Tudor trade followed patterns established in the fifteenth century. The export of raw wool continued to decline, while the export of unfinished cloth continued to rise. Cloth shipments doubled between 1485 and 1550, with cloth accounting for more than 80 percent of England’s exports. London’s share of cloth exports also continued to rise, with almost 90 percent being shipped from the capital in the 1540s. The short English Channel crossing from London to Antwerp linked the city to the great entrepôt of European commerce and to the chief cloth markets in the Netherlands, Germany, and eastern Europe. London’s trade dominance came at the expense of provincial ports. Bristol, Southampton, Ipswich, Hull, and other towns were thriving centers of the cloth trade during the reign of **Henry VII**, but their share of cloth exports declined sharply by the 1540s, when most foreign merchants in the outports relocated to London.

The Tudor import trade grew in similar fashion, with London again achieving dominance by **Henry VIII**’s death in 1547. Because Tudor industry was backward and limited compared to the Netherlands, Germany, **Italy**, and other parts of Europe, most imports were manufactured products, such as metalware, glassware, and various luxury items. The import trade also flowed largely through Antwerp, a fact that inhibited development of English manufacturing as much as it limited the scope of English trade. For instance, the insistence of Antwerp traders on unfinished cloth hampered growth in the English **cloth industry**. Although the **Merchant Adventurers** gained control of the English cloth trade during the early

Tudor period, foreign merchants working in London continued to handle a significant share of the export business into the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

The export-led growth of English foreign trade was temporarily checked after 1551, when government attempts to revalue the **coinage** raised prices to Antwerp buyers and significantly cut cloth shipments. Instability in the Antwerp market provided merchants with an incentive to find new overseas markets, and the reign of **Mary I** saw the first serious attempts to open new avenues of trade since the transatlantic voyages of William **Hawkins** in the 1530s. Various commercial ventures, including one organized by the explorer Sebastian **Cabot**, sought to establish trade with Russia, Persia, North Africa, and the Middle East.

The Elizabethan era was a period of expansion and innovation in English foreign trade. The Marian voyages of exploration to Russia, the Middle East, and Asia were followed by the creation of joint-stock trading companies to establish trade in each region. The joint-stock arrangement spread the risk and expense of opening new markets in unfamiliar regions among a larger number of investors. In **America**, a desire to find an English-controlled **Northwest Passage** to the spice and silk markets of Asia and to exploit the growing markets in the Spanish colonies drove forward English exploration of North America. In the 1560s, John **Hawkins**'s trade expeditions to **Spanish America** demonstrated the Spanish colonists' growing appetite for many commodities, especially slaves, which could be readily obtained on one side of the Atlantic and profitably sold on the other. Although Spanish trade regulations inhibited this trade and further aggravated the already strained relations between England and Spain, the conflict with **Philip II** increased Elizabethan interest in American colonies as suppliers of needed metals and agricultural produce and as bases for **privateering** raids on Spanish America.

The American explorations of Martin **Frobisher** and John **Davis** in the 1570s and 1580s failed to find a practicable Northwest Passage to Asia but added to English knowledge of North America and helped men such as Humphrey **Gilbert**, Walter **Raleigh**, and Richard **Hakluyt** promote American colonization as a way to obtain raw materials and create new markets. By Elizabeth's death in 1603, English traders and trading companies were increasingly active in a host of new world markets, the value of English foreign trade was rapidly growing, and the number of English subjects engaged in some aspect of foreign trade was rising.

See also East India Company; Joint-Stock Company; Levant Company; Muscovy Company; San Juan d'Ulloa

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Forest, John (c. 1470–1538)

Executed in 1538, Friar John Forest was an outspoken opponent of the royal **divorce** and of the religious innovations that resulted from it. In about 1490, Forest entered the Greenwich house of the Franciscan order of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance, known popularly as the Observants. He was at Oxford studying theology in about 1500, but there is no record of his having taken a degree. Sometime after his accession in 1509, **Henry VIII** appointed Forest confessor to Queen **Catherine of Aragon**. In April 1532, William Peto, the provincial head of the Observant friars, preached a sermon against the royal divorce in the king's presence. Henry ordered Peto's arrest, and Forest replaced him as provincial. However, Forest was also opposed to the divorce and soon began encouraging resistance to the **royal supremacy**. Removed from office by Thomas **Cromwell** in 1533, Forest was then sent to one of the Observant houses in the north.

By early 1534, Forest was in prison, perhaps for involvement with Elizabeth **Barton**, the so-called maid of Kent, who predicted disaster for the realm if the king married Anne **Boleyn**. Although in custody for almost a year and in great danger of execution, Forest continued to correspond with Catherine of Aragon and her servants. The Greenwich Observants were dissolved in October 1534, and Forest seems to have secured his freedom sometime thereafter by acknowledging the royal supremacy, although, as Forest testified later, he took the oath of submission "with his outward man," while "the inward man . . . never consented thereto" (Routh, "John Forest," 115). After residing for a time at the house of Grey Friars in **London**, Forest fell again under suspicion for exhorting the penitents who came to him for confession to resist the royal supremacy. He even wrote a book titled *De Auctoritate et Pontificis Maximi*, which denounced the royal claim to authority in ecclesiastical matters.

In early 1538, Forest was arrested; during the course of his examination, he made statements that opened him to a charge of heresy, which was preferred in early April by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. Tried on 8 May, Forest was condemned as a heretic, although his real offense appears to have been his open support for papal supremacy. Facing the stake, Forest recanted his errors, but once back in confinement was encouraged to stand fast by two fellow prisoners, Laurence Cooke, a

Carmelite friar, and William Horne, the last surviving member of the London **Carthusians**. When Forest repudiated his recantation, he was sentenced to death and executed at Smithfield on 22 May 1538. After a long sermon by Hugh **Latimer**, Forest was slung on a bed of chains and slowly roasted to death. The wooden statue of a Welsh saint that was reputed to have the power to burn a forest was used to start the fire.

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Forman, Simon (1552–1611)

Simon Forman was noted throughout Elizabethan **London** as an astrologer and healer, and he is well known today for his valuable diaries and case books. Born into a Wiltshire yeoman (peasant) family, Forman was only 11 when the death of his father put an end to his formal education. In 1567, he apprenticed himself to a Salisbury grocer, but by the early 1570s he was at Oxford, acting as a servant for two cousins and picking up what education he could. He then held a number of teaching positions and in his spare time began to dabble in astrology, magic, and necromancy (the conjuring of spirits). In 1579, he set himself up as a healer outside Salisbury, but this unauthorized medical practice led to his arrest and imprisonment.

After his release in July 1580, Forman moved to London, where he established a thriving but necessarily peripatetic medical practice, staying always one step ahead of the authorities. By 1588, Forman had acquired enough influential clients to allow him to practice medicine and astrology in relative safety. However, his fortune and his reputation were fully secured in 1592–1593 when he successfully treated himself and many other Londoners during a severe visitation of the **plague**. After 1594, the Royal College of Physicians (the membership of which had fled London during the plague) repeatedly fined and imprisoned Forman for illegally practicing medicine, but he was speedily released each time through the intervention of highly placed friends.

In his diary, which he had kept since 1564, Forman recorded the many people, of all social classes, who consulted him on matters medical and astrological. He was frequently consulted by people seeking hidden treasure, lost or stolen property, or missing persons. Many of his clients were women who wanted Forman to predict the commencement or course of a love affair; Forman began sexual relationships with many of them, faithfully recording the details in his diary. Although he married

at age 47 in 1599, his sexual involvement with female clients continued. In 1603, he was finally granted a license to practice medicine by Cambridge, and his practice, in both medicine and astrology, flourished until his death in September 1611.

See also Medicine and Disease

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Forty-two Articles

The Forty-two Articles constituted the formal statement of faith and doctrine of the Protestant Church of **Edward VI**. Under **Henry VIII**, numerous attempts had been made to define the doctrinal positions of the English Church, including the **Ten Articles** of 1536, the ***Bishops' Book*** of 1537, and the ***King's Book*** of 1543. After Edward's accession, the program of Protestant reform initiated by the government of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and maintained and broadened by the succeeding government of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, demanded the creation of a new formulary of faith. Having essentially completed his reform of church liturgy with the issuance of the first **Book of Common Prayer** in 1549 (the revised second prayer book was issued in 1552), Thomas **Cranmer**, at the insistence of the **council**, turned to the drafting of such a formulary in 1551.

In May 1552, after first obtaining an informal review of his work from a group of bishops, Cranmer submitted a list of 42 articles of faith to the Royal Council. After reviewing the document, the council returned it to Cranmer for revision. In September, the archbishop resubmitted the list, now containing 45 articles, to the council, which handed the document to the royal chaplains, a group that included some of the most advanced Protestants in England. After further revision, Cranmer, at the end of 1552, resubmitted the list of articles, again reduced to 42, to the council for royal approval. Nothing further happened until 12 June 1553, when the king signed the final submission and ordered that it be printed. All clergy were now to subscribe to and observe the articles as the official statement of faith of the English Church. Because Edward died less than a month later, there was no time

to have the articles formally sanctioned either by **Parliament** or **Convocation**, although that was clearly the intention since the articles as printed bore the technically false claim that they had been accepted by the bishops.

Although clearly Protestant, the Forty-two Articles were moderate in tone, reflecting the views and temperament of Cranmer. Several articles delineated the English Church from Catholicism, denying the pope any jurisdiction beyond the bishopric of Rome; rejecting such notions as **purgatory**, the invocation of saints, and the adoration of relics; and upholding the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. Numerous articles sought to separate the church from **Anabaptism**, whose adherents, although constituting no clearly defined group, were definitely viewed as a serious danger to both church and state. On the central theological issue of the time—the doctrine of the **Eucharist**—the articles were more strongly Protestant than even the second Book of Common Prayer. **Transubstantiation** was thoroughly rejected, as was any sense of the Real Presence of Christ’s body and blood; thus the articles were closer to the advanced Protestantism practiced in Germany and Switzerland and advocated by John **Knox** and Bishop John **Hooper** than to the earlier and more moderate position of Martin Luther. Although the Forty-two Articles became a dead letter in England on the accession of **Mary I** in July 1553, they were revived and revised in 1559 to become the Thirty-nine Articles, the doctrinal basis of the Elizabethan Church.

See also Calvinism, English; Council, Royal/Privy Council; Lutheranism

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Foxe, Edward (c. 1496–1538)

Edward Foxe (or Fox), bishop of Hereford, was a skilled diplomat and one of the most active agents in **Henry VIII**’s campaign to obtain papal dissolution of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Born in Gloucestershire, Foxe was educated at Eton and at King’s College, Cambridge, where he was elected provost in 1528. About 1527, he became secretary to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, who, in 1528, sent Foxe and Stephen **Gardiner** to Rome to convince **Clement VII** to grant a dispensation annulling Henry’s marriage. Although they employed all means of persuasion, including warnings of English schism and threats of a general church council, they were never able to obtain documentation that exactly suited the king’s purposes. In

1529, Foxe met Thomas **Cranmer** and afterward told the king that Cranmer suggested canvassing **universities** for official opinions in support of the **divorce**, an act that brought Cranmer to the king's attention. In February 1530, Foxe and Gardiner obtained a favorable opinion on the divorce from Cambridge, and, in April, Foxe and John **Longland** obtained the same from Oxford. In 1530 and 1531, Foxe traveled several times to France to solicit similar opinions from French universities, and in 1533 and 1534 he tried to induce both **Francis I** of France and **James V** of **Scotland** to favor Henry's cause.

In 1532, Eustace **Chapuys**, the imperial ambassador, recognized Foxe as the principal royal agent for the divorce, and two years later, Gregory Casale, Henry's representative at the papal court, described Foxe as the most knowledgeable of the king's servants regarding divorce negotiations at Rome. In 1534, Foxe published *De Vera Differentia Regiae Potestatis et Ecclesiae* (The True Difference between the Regal and the Ecclesiastical Power), a treatise justifying the divorce and the **royal supremacy**. For his loyal service, Foxe was appointed royal almoner in 1531, dean of Salisbury in 1533, and bishop of Hereford in 1535. Increasingly Lutheran in his sympathies, Foxe joined Nicholas **Heath** on an embassy to the German Protestant princes in 1535. Although efforts at concluding an Anglo-German alliance foundered on the king's religious conservatism, Foxe spent much time in Wittenberg attempting to convince Martin Luther of the justice of Henry's cause. In 1536, during the course of defending the reformer Alexander **Alesius** before **Convocation**, Foxe made his famous declaration that laypeople knew the scriptures better than most clerics. In the same year, the reformer Martin **Bucer** dedicated his *Commentaries on the Gospels* to Foxe. In 1537, Foxe helped Cranmer prepare the *Bishops' Book*, the second Henrician formulary of faith. Foxe died in **London** on 8 May 1538.

See also Divorce, Royal; Lutheranism

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Foxe, John (1516–1587)

John Foxe, a Protestant scholar and cleric, was the author of the "**Book of Martyrs**," the most widely read volume in Elizabethan England. Born at Boston in Lincolnshire, Foxe became a tutor in 1548 in the household of Mary **Howard**, widow of Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond; among his pupils were Thomas **Howard**,

the Elizabethan Duke of Norfolk, and Charles **Howard**, the future Lord Effingham and Elizabeth's lord admiral. In 1554, Foxe fled to Germany with other Protestants seeking to escape the Catholic regime of **Mary I**. His work as a proofreader for a Basel printer taught him the tremendous power of the press. Hearing of the burnings of Protestants in England by Mary's government, Foxe augmented a Latin history of English martyrs that he had been writing with descriptions of the **Marian martyrs**. This work was published in August 1559, the same year Foxe returned to England to be ordained in Elizabeth's new **Anglican Church**.

Until 1564, Foxe lived in the household of his former student, the Duke of Norfolk, at whose execution for **treason** he was present in 1572. In 1563, Foxe republished his work in an expanded English edition titled *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days*. Soon known popularly as the "Book of Martyrs," the work traced the history of the Church since Christ, but focused on the recent history of the English Church and especially on the men and women martyred by Mary's regime. The book became widely known and read, especially after 1571 when the bishops ordered every cathedral to own a copy. Many parish churches and Protestant **gentry** families also owned copies, bringing Foxe great fame.

Foxe spent the last decades of his life revising and expanding the "Book of Martyrs." He published his last edition in 1583, but new versions with additions by other writers continued to appear throughout the seventeenth century. For many generations, Foxe's sympathetic depiction of the Marian martyrs kept alive their memories and fostered hatred of Catholicism in the national consciousness.

See also Marian Exiles; Printing

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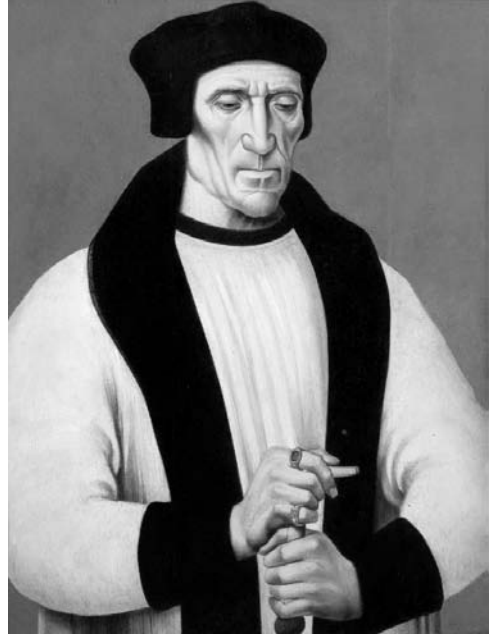
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Foxe, Richard (c. 1448–1528)

Richard Foxe (or Fox), bishop of Winchester, was one of the most capable and trusted ministers of **Henry VII**. A humanist who knew Desiderius **Erasmus**, Foxe also founded Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Born into a yeoman family at Ropesley in Lincolnshire, Foxe studied law at Oxford and became master of a

grammar school at Stratford-on-Avon in the late 1470s. In the 1480s, he traveled to Paris, where he earned a doctorate of **canon** (church) **law** and was ordained. In Paris, Foxe also became secretary to the exiled Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, thereby winning the enmity of **Richard III**, who refused Foxe appointment to the vicarage of Stepney. Having won the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485, Richmond, now Henry VII, appointed Foxe to the royal **council** and named him principal secretary of state and keeper of the Privy Seal. Foxe also rose rapidly through the Church hierarchy, becoming bishop of Exeter in 1487, of Bath and Wells in 1492, of Durham in 1494, and of Winchester, the richest see in England, in 1501. However, until his retirement in 1516, service to the Crown took precedence over service to



Richard Foxe was Bishop of Winchester and one of Henry VII's most trusted ministers. (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

the Church; Foxe never resided in any of his bishoprics nor attended personally to any of his pastoral duties, a suffragan being appointed to act in his place.

As royal minister, Foxe played a leading role in most of the important diplomatic and political events of the reign. He baptized the future **Henry VIII** in 1491 and was instrumental in negotiating the treaty with **Scotland** in 1487, the Treaty of **Etaples** with **France** in 1492, the **Intercursus Malus** with the **Netherlands** in 1496, and the Treaty of **Ayton**, which arranged the marriage of Margaret **Tudor** and **James IV** of Scotland, in 1502. Foxe also served as chancellor of Cambridge University and as master of Pembroke College, Oxford. He even oversaw the building of fortifications at **Calais** and directed the defense of Norham Castle against James IV's 1496 invasion of northern England on behalf of Perkin **Warbeck**. Both the king and his mother, Lady Margaret **Beaufort**, named Foxe executor of their wills. By the end of Henry VII's reign in 1509, Foxe, along with the late John **Morton**, archbishop of Canterbury, was closely identified with the rigorous assertion of royal power that had marked Henry VII's later years.

In the early years of Henry VIII, Foxe, who remained in favor, supported the king's marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** and continued to serve as a diplomat, although the aggressive foreign policy of the new monarch may not have been to his taste. The start of the **Anglo-French War** of 1512 saw the rise of Thomas

Wolsey, a Foxe protégé, whose organizational skills proved invaluable during the conflict. Because Foxe was less influential after 1513, historians once believed that Wolsey had ruthlessly supplanted his old mentor. However, more recent studies have suggested that Foxe voluntarily retired, being weary of government service and eager to devote himself to his humanist studies and pastoral duties. He resigned as Lord Privy Seal in 1516 and gradually ceased to attend council meetings.

The last years of Foxe's life were given to the planning and building of Corpus Christi College, which was functioning by 1517. Foxe conceived the college, to which he left his extensive library, as a broadly humanist institution—the first at either English university to provide for a lectureship in Greek. Corpus Christi attracted humanist scholars from all over Europe, including Juan Luis **Vives** and Nicholas Kratzer. Afflicted by blindness in his later years, Foxe died on 5 October 1528 and was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

See also Humanism

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France

Although sixteenth-century France far outstripped England in **population** and resources, the country remained England's ancient enemy, the tradition of hostility stretching back through the Hundred Years War. As a result, Tudor monarchs fought five wars against the French and confronted French armies in **Brittany** and **Scotland**.

In 1485, the fleet that carried Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, to England, and part of the army that helped him win the Crown at **Bosworth Field**, were supplied by the regency government of **Charles VIII** of France. The regent, Anne of Beaujeau, the young king's sister, hoped to use Richmond to prevent **Richard III** from supporting opponents of her regime. By 1492, Richmond, now king as **Henry VII**, launched a campaign against his former benefactor. Charles, now ruling in his own right, was threatening the absorption of Brittany, to which Henry was bound by the Treaty of **Redon**, and supporting the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**. Henry landed an army in France, but little fighting occurred. The two monarchs composed their differences in the Treaty of **Etaples**, in which Henry accepted a French Brittany and Charles expelled Warbeck from his domains.

Thereafter, Anglo-French relations were stable until the accession of **Henry VIII** in 1509. Eager to establish a military reputation, Henry looked for opportunities to campaign in France. The war of 1512–1514 began with an inconclusive naval campaign and a disastrous invasion of Gascony, led by Thomas **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, and betrayed to failure by Henry's ally and father-in-law, Ferdinand of **Spain**. Henry personally led the English invasion of 1513, which saw the capture of the towns of Tournai and Thérouanne and victory in the Battle of the **Spurs** but otherwise achieved little for English interests. Henry's invasion also ended a period of Anglo-Scottish peace, prompting **James IV** to revive the ancient Franco-Scottish alliance by invading England. As a result, the greatest English victory of the war was at **Flodden Field**, where Thomas **Howard**, future second Duke of Norfolk, defeated and killed James.

In 1514, Henry made peace with **Louis XII** by marrying his young sister, Mary **Tudor**, to the aging French monarch. Louis died in January 1515, leaving the throne to his cousin, **Francis I**, whose youth and energy invested Anglo-French relations with an element of personal rivalry between the monarchs. This rivalry reached its height in 1520 at the **Field of Cloth of Gold**, a diplomatic pageant in which the two **courts** tried to outdo each other in extravagance. In 1522, Henry went to war with France in alliance with **Charles V**. Hostilities between Charles and Francis, which were almost constant after 1520, forced Henry, if he was to remain a player in European affairs, to join the conflict. Despite hopes that Francis's capture at Pavia in 1525 might open France to English conquest, Henry could not raise the funds required for war and had to make peace.

Henry's last French war, fought between 1543 and 1546, involved Anglo-French rivalry for paramount influence in Scotland. The war, which saw Henry personally lead the 1544 invasion that captured the town of Boulogne and personally witness the 1545 foundering of his ship *Mary Rose*, ended with the 1546 Treaty of **Campe**, in which two aging and ill monarchs recognized their financial inability to support continued fighting. War revived in 1549 because the new French king, **Henri II**, desired the return of Boulogne, and the regency government of the new English king, **Edward VI**, faced French opposition to its ambitions in Scotland. Internal disorder in England led to the overthrow of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and forced the financially strapped successor government of John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, to restore Boulogne to France with the 1550 Treaty of **Boulogne** and to accept French influence in Scotland with the 1551 Treaty of **Norham**.

Anglo-French relations thereafter remained stable until 1557, when **Mary I** reluctantly committed England to war with France as ally of her husband, **Philip** of Spain. The war was a disaster for England, which lost **Calais**, its last continental possession, to the French in January 1558. Despite strenuous efforts by **Elizabeth I**, who became queen in the following November, Philip would not sacrifice peace for the return of Calais, and the town was lost to England.

Suffering from a succession of religious wars and weak kings, France in the Elizabethan period came close to political disintegration. In 1559, only months after Elizabeth's accession, **Henri II** was killed during a tournament celebrating the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambr sis** that ended the war with Spain. Henri's death passed the French Crown to Francis II, a sickly boy of 15 who was dominated by the duke and cardinal of **Guise**, the maternal uncles of Francis's young queen, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. The Guises were eager to suppress **Protestantism** in France, to maintain a Catholic and pro-French government in **Scotland**, and to push their niece's claim to the Crown of England.

In 1560, the Treaty of **Edinburgh** and the death of Francis II ended any immediate French threat to Elizabeth from Scotland. Catherine de **Medici**, widow of Henri II, sent Mary Stuart back to Scotland and assumed control of the government of her second son, 10-year-old Charles IX. The weak regency government of Catherine and the equally ineffective government of her third son, **Henri III**, who came to the throne in 1574, could do nothing to stop the spread of **Calvinism** throughout France or to control the violent Catholic reaction to Calvinism's growth. Catholics rejected the leadership of the French Crown when the monarchy seemed unable (and, at times, unwilling) to suppress the **Huguenots**, and the Huguenots turned against the Crown after Catherine instigated the 1572 slaughter of Huguenot leaders, known as the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre**. Civil war between the Huguenots and the Guise-led **Catholic League** raged intermittently from 1562 to the 1590s, leaving a weak and distracted France unable to play any significant part in European affairs. England, not France, acted as the main counterbalance to the growing power of Spain, particularly in the **Netherlands**.

The French monarchy began to revive in 1589 with the end of the **Valois** dynasty and the accession of **Henri IV** of the House of Bourbon. Although he was a Protestant and had received military assistance from Elizabeth, Henri converted to Catholicism in 1593 to secure the acquiescence of the Catholic League to his rule. By Elizabeth's death in 1603, Henri was just beginning the political rebuilding process that would make the French Crown the most powerful monarchy in seventeenth-century Europe.

See also Amicable Grant; Anglo-French War (Edward VI); Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Anglo-French War (Mary I); Brittany Expeditions; Ferdinand and Isabella; Foreign Relations and Diplomacy; Kett's Rebellion; Western Rebellion

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Franchises and Liberties

Medieval England contained numerous enclaves that enjoyed special rights of various kinds, including partial or complete exemption from royal jurisdiction. Beginning in piecemeal fashion under **Henry VII** and continued in a more systematic manner by Thomas **Cromwell** under **Henry VIII**, the Tudors used **Parliament** to bring all England under the legal and administrative jurisdiction of the Crown.

Existing by ancient prescription or royal grant, franchisal rights were based on good title and extinguishing them had been beyond the grasp of medieval monarchs. These franchises and liberties ranged from individual manors, such as Tyndale or Ripon, where evildoers flocked because the royal sheriff could not enter, to great palatinates, such as the county of Durham, where the bishop was sovereign, or the duchy of Lancaster, where the duke governed. By the end of the **Wars of the Roses**, many franchises had returned to the Crown—the king had been Duke of Lancaster since 1399—or their operation, especially in legal matters, had been eroded over time by the royal courts of the **common law**, to which all freeholders (and by 1500, manor-bound villains had virtually disappeared) had access. To suppress the remaining rivals to royal power, the Tudors turned to Parliament. In 1504, Parliament abolished the liberties of Tyndale, incorporating the enclave into the shire of Northumberland, and prohibited crafts, **guilds**, fraternities, and other borough corporations from making rules or ordinances that in any way diminished the rights or powers of the Crown.

In 1536, having recently used Parliament to free the Crown from the interference of papal authority, Cromwell turned again to statute to eliminate the remaining franchisal jurisdictions. Titled “An Act for Recontinuing of Certain Liberties and Franchises Heretofore Taken from the Crown,” the statute of 1536 abolished all “ancient prerogatives and authorities of justice” that previous monarchs had severed from the Crown “to the great diminution and detriment of the royal estate” (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 37). The act reserved to the Crown the granting of pardons for **treason** and felony and the appointment of judges and justices, including in the palatinate of Durham and in **Wales** and its marches (borders). It also ensured that the king’s writ ran throughout the realm by extending the operation of royal justice and shire administration to every franchise. The entire kingdom, without exception, was now subject to royal government. The county palatine of Durham was essentially abolished, and

the incorporation of Wales into the system of English law and administration, which would take additional enactments to complete, was begun.

Although opposition to the statute was a grievance of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels, suppression of the rebellion allowed the royal government to overthrow franchisal rights in the north. Cromwell devised a permanent **Council of the North**, which, after 1537, effectively incorporated the distant, medieval northern counties into the modern, centralized Tudor state, a process that was completed under **Elizabeth I**.

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Francis I (1494–1547)

A contemporary and rival of **Henry VIII**, Francis I, of the House of **Valois**, ruled **France** during the early Tudor period. Francis received a humanist education before succeeding his cousin, **Louis XII**, in 1515. Flamboyant, cultured, and sensual, Francis was a patron of Renaissance art and learning, granting a pension to Leonardo da Vinci and corresponding with Desiderius **Erasmus**. Within months of his accession, Francis invaded **Italy**, defeated the Swiss at Marignano, and seized the duchy of Milan. In 1516, Francis persuaded Pope Leo X to sign the Concordat of Bologna, an agreement that gave Francis extensive control over the French Church, something Henry VIII gained over the English Church only by breaking with Rome. In 1519, Francis, like Henry, sought election as Holy Roman Emperor, but he lost to Charles of **Spain**.

Although Francis fought several wars with England, the central theme of his reign was rivalry with **Charles V**, especially for dominance in Italy. Francis engaged in truly Machiavellian diplomacy, breaking his word frequently and allying with Protestants and Muslims against Catholic Spain. In June 1520, Francis and Henry met each other at the **Field of Cloth of Gold**, an elaborately staged meeting of the French and English **courts** near **Calais**. From 1521 until 1544, Francis waged intermittent war with Charles. After being defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia in 1525, Francis spent a year in captivity in Spain; he won his release only by renouncing his Italian possessions and sending his two eldest sons to Spain as hostages. Upon regaining his freedom, Francis repudiated the agreement, thereby sentencing his sons to severe confinement. In the late 1520s, Francis forged the League of Cognac, an alliance against Charles that included Henry, Pope **Clement VII**, and Venice; by 1529, Francis had regained his sons but was forced to again renounce his Italian holdings.

In October 1532, after meeting Henry and Anne **Boleyn** at Calais, Francis agreed to support Henry's efforts to divorce Charles's aunt, **Catherine of Aragon**. In 1538, with both sides financially exhausted, Francis made peace with Charles at Nice. The agreement caused much nervousness in England, where Henry and his ministers feared a Franco-Imperial invasion to overthrow the schismatic English king and restore Roman Catholicism. However, the concord between Francis and Charles did not last long enough to seriously threaten Henry, and, by 1543, Francis, now allied with the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, was at war with both Henry and Charles. In 1544, Francis lost Boulogne to Henry and made peace with Charles at Crespy, although he continued to support the Protestant princes of Germany against the emperor. In France, however, Francis was a defender of Catholic orthodoxy, instituting an index of banned books and a heresy tribunal that burned hundreds of **Huguenots** (French Protestants). Francis died on 31 March 1547, two months after Henry VIII.

See also Foreign Relations and Diplomacy; Henri II

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Francis II (1544–1560)

Francis II, king of **France** from 1559 to 1560, gained the throne when his father, **Henri II**, died unexpectedly in July 1559 from an injury received in a jousting match. Francis, who was married to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, was just 15 years old, sickly, and not particularly intelligent, but he was entitled to rule in his own name.

Over the previous 30 years Francis's father and grandfather had made many changes to France's administrative and financial systems and he inherited a kingdom facing political confusion, growing religious strife, and serious debt. This and the events of Francis's short reign would help lay the groundwork for civil war.

It was expected that Francis would need advisers for many years, and that those advisers were likely to become very powerful. This helped fuel a three-way power struggle between members of the militantly Catholic **Guise family** (its two most powerful members—the Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine—were uncles of Mary Stuart); members of the Protestant Bourbon family (its leading member,

Antoine de Bourbon, was king of Navarre and first prince of the blood); and Catherine de **Medici**, Francis's mother.

Francis's Guise uncles quickly stepped into the breach, pushing aside the expected choice, Antoine de Bourbon. Francis was far more accepting of his uncles and their advice than pleased his religiously moderate mother, but there was little she could do to counteract their influence. The Guise came to represent Catholic repression of Protestants, and the ensuing conflicts between the Guise and the Bourbon and their supporters came to a head in March 1560 when a plot was organized to "free" the king from Guise control. The plotters were mostly Protestants and were backed by several hundred armed provincial nobles. The rebels approached Bourbon, his younger brother the prince of Condé, John **Calvin**, and Queen **Elizabeth I** for advice and aid. Bourbon distanced himself from the plan, and Calvin strongly advised against it; however, Condé endorsed the plan and Elizabeth may have given the group a small sum of money.

Although the rebels had Condé's blessing, he was not present in Amboise when they began assembling near the royal estate where the king was staying. Plans for the plot were leaked in advance and Guise's forces were able to surprise the rebels, capturing and executing several hundred Protestants. Even though Condé was not present, a warrant was issued for his arrest, yet he managed to evade capture at the time. Unfortunately for the Protestant cause, the Conspiracy of Amboise (sometimes also called the Conjuration or Tumult of Amboise) simply reinforced the idea in Catholic minds that Protestants were nothing but traitorous rebels.

A meeting of the Estates General was called for December and Condé was captured and jailed when he showed up to attend. However, as preparations were under way for Condé's trial, Francis died rather unexpectedly on 5 December, and his mother, Catherine de Medici, claimed the regency in the name of his 11-year-old brother Charles IX, removed the Guise from power, freed Condé, and took the reins of government herself.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Frith, John (1503–1533)

John Frith was one of the earliest English Protestant martyrs, dying in the 1530s for views of **purgatory** and **transubstantiation** that were later adopted by the English Church. Born at Westerham in Kent, Frith was the son of an innkeeper. Educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, Frith likely participated with Thomas **Cranmer**, Robert **Barnes**, Miles **Coverdale**, and others in the reformist-minded

discussion group that met in the 1520s at Cambridge's **White Horse Tavern**. Earning his degree in 1525, Frith, who was a witty and attractive young man and already noted as a scholar of ability, was selected by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** to be a canon at Cardinal College (later Christ Church), Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford. However, Frith's outspoken rejection of Catholic rites and doctrines led the university authorities to imprison him for advocating heretical opinions. Wolsey arranged his release and ordered him to stay in Oxford, but in 1528 Frith fled to the **Netherlands**, where he helped William **Tyndale** prepare the new edition (published 1534) of his English New Testament. Hearing good reports of Frith's learning, **Henry VIII**, through his minister Thomas **Cromwell**, urged Frith to renounce his heretical views. Despite the king's efforts, Frith vigorously maintained his opinions.

Although Tyndale urged him not to commit these opinions to paper, Frith was soon engaged in a spirited pamphlet war with Catholic apologists. Frith's *A Pistle to the Christian Reader. The Revelation of Antichrist. Antithesis Wherein Are Compared Together Christ's Acts and Our Holy Father the Pope's* (1529) was one of the first antipapal books published in English, and his *Disputation of Purgatory* (1531) drew responses from both Sir Thomas **More** and Bishop John **Fisher**. Although he published the former work under the pseudonym "Richard Brightwell," Frith's heretical views were well known in English government circles. Returning to England in 1532, Frith was arrested in Essex and committed to the **Tower of London**. A commission of bishops headed by Cranmer examined Frith, but the archbishop and his colleagues were mainly interested in saving Frith's life. Both Cranmer and Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, Frith's former tutor at Cambridge, tried to convince him to recant. Cranmer may even have considered arranging Frith's escape, but the young man refused all efforts on his behalf. Condemned for heresy, Frith, tied back-to-back at the stake with another young heretic, Andrew Hewet, was burned at Smithfield on 4 July 1533. John **Foxe**, the Elizabethan martyrologist, published Frith's works in 1573.

See also Humanism

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Frobisher, Sir Martin (1539–1594)

Martin Frobisher was one of the earliest Elizabethan explorers of North America. Born into a Yorkshire **gentry** family, Frobisher was sent to **London** at an early age to be raised by a maternal uncle who was a merchant adventurer engaged in the



Martin Frobisher was one of the earliest Elizabethan explorers of North America, searching first for a Northwest Passage and later for gold. (Library of Congress)

Africa trade. Between 1553 and 1575, Frobisher served on numerous trading and **privateering** expeditions, spending time in the 1560s as a soldier in **Ireland** and as a prisoner in a Portuguese fortress on the West African coast.

In 1576, with the help of such powerful advocates as Sir Humphrey **Gilbert**, John **Dee**, and Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, Frobisher persuaded a group of London merchants to finance an expedition to discover a **Northwest Passage** around **America** to Asia. Frobisher's two ships left the Thames on 7 June 1576, receiving a wave of send-off from **Elizabeth I** as they sailed under her window at **Greenwich Palace**. The expedition skirted Greenland before exploring what is today Baffin Island, where Frobisher discovered what he took to be gold-bearing rock. He also encountered groups of

Inuit (Eskimo) peoples. Frobisher returned to England in October convinced that he had visited the eastern edge of Asia. The promise of gold spurred the formation of the Company of Cathay, a joint-stock venture to which the queen contributed a ship and £1,000.

Leaving London on 25 May 1577, Frobisher's second expedition included three vessels and a company of miners, the desire for gold having overshadowed the quest for a Northwest Passage. Frobisher once again explored the area of Baffin Island, excavating tons of rock and taking several Inuit captives. John **White**, one of the expedition's members, made several still-extant watercolors of the captives. The fleet returned to England in September. Convinced by German assayers that Frobisher's ore contained gold, the company outfitted a third expedition of 15 ships, which sailed on 31 May 1578. This fleet survived an exceptionally cold and stormy summer to return, much reduced in men and ships, in October. The rock brought back from the three voyages eventually proved worthless, costing the investors nearly £20,000 and Frobisher any hope of a fourth expedition.

In 1585, Frobisher was part of Sir Francis **Drake**'s raid on the Spanish West Indies, and in 1588 Frobisher distinguished himself in the English Channel fighting against the **armada**. He took part in other naval actions against **Spain** in the 1590s, dying in November 1594 of a wound received in an assault on a Spanish fort.

See also Joint-Stock Company; Merchant Adventurers; Spanish America

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Gallowglasses

The heavily armed bodies of infantry known as gallowglasses (from the Irish *galloglaigh*, “foreign warriors”) formed the core of most Irish armies during the Tudor period. Gallowglasses were armored foot soldiers who entered battle wielding battle-axes, spears, and two-handed swords. They were used to form a solid defensive wall capable of beating off cavalry charges and protecting the lighter-armed Irish horsemen as they formed and regrouped before and after their own charges of the enemy.

The gallowglasses originated in the thirteenth century when northern Irish chieftains, particularly in Ulster, recruited mercenaries from the Hebrides Islands and other parts of northwestern **Scotland** to serve as bodyguards. Paid for their services with grants of land from the Irish lords who employed them, the Scottish mercenaries settled in **Ireland** in large numbers in the later Middle Ages. By the Tudor period, such families as the MacSweenys, the MacDonalds, and the MacLeods had become part of the hereditary nobility of Ireland, supplying the elite mercenary core of the military forces fielded by Irish leaders to fight English armies and menace English settlements.

All parties involved in the wars and rebellions of the Tudor period, including **Anglo-Irish** nobles and even the English government in **Dublin** itself, employed gallowglasses during their campaigns. The turmoil of the period even stimulated a new wave of mercenaries, nicknamed the **redshanks** by the English, to enter Ireland from the western isles of Scotland. Hugh **O’Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, made effective use of gallowglasses in his victories over the English in the 1590s during the **Nine Years War**. However, when the defeat of Tyrone and his Spanish allies at the siege of **Kinsale** in 1601 led to more effective English government and heavier English settlement, especially in Ulster in the north, the use of gallowglasses gradually faded away.

See also Kern; Plantations, Irish; Yellow Ford, Battle of

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Gardens

Although the Renaissance garden would not reach its height until the seventeenth century, the Tudor era witnessed a number of important developments. Information about gardens is not plentiful for the sixteenth century, and much of what exists is indirect—gardens in the background of family portraits or brief mentions of gardens by visitors to large homes and castles. There are some drawings and documents, but there is no consistent detailed body of source material as there is for later times.

Medieval gardens, with some exceptions, had been practical places meant to supply cooking and medicinal needs. Ornamental or pleasure gardens reflect the availability of both time and money, so they are generally peacetime creations. As **Henry VII's** policies began to bring civil stability to Britain, resources became more available, and there was an influx of new ideas coming from **France** and **Italy** about gardens and their relationship to houses.

The monarchy and the very wealthy were the first to embrace formal gardens as yet another means to demonstrate power and prestige. We know that **Henry VII** had a garden; however, it was really under Henry VIII that gardens began to develop. There were gardens at **Richmond Palace** and York Place (which became **Whitehall Palace**), although we have virtually no details about them. More is known about the gardens at **Hampton Court Palace** (especially after Henry bought it from Cardinal **Wolsey**); Thornbury Castle (home of the third Duke of Buckingham); and **Nonsuch Palace**.

Renaissance gardens incorporated medieval features such as walls and hedges used to enclose specific areas combined with walkways, arbors, and mounts (small hills), but they added heraldry features, beast sculptures, sundials, fishponds, knots, mazes, fountains, and topiary. At Hampton Court, heraldic beast sculptures in stone or wood, the latter gilded and painted in Tudor green and white, were found throughout the gardens. Whitehall's gardens, although much like those at Hampton Court, boasted two new features: a fountain and a large sundial.

Most of the time a garden was actually multiple gardens, including at least one privy garden for just the owner's use. Gardens often incorporated places from which to look down on them, allowing an appreciation of the overall design that could not be had by simply walking through at ground level. Vantage points could be created inside the garden using mounts or other raised features, or gardens could be constructed just below windows or balconies in the living quarters.



Formal pleasure gardens became more prevalent in the sixteenth century and knot gardens were their most striking feature; vantage points were often created so as to view them from above. (John Gollop/iStockphoto)

One element best viewed from above was the square knot garden. Knot gardens were the most striking feature of Tudor gardens, and they remained in favor throughout the sixteenth century. A knot garden was typically a square composed of four knots—patterns created with plants and resembling a stylized knot—divided by paths and surrounded by an enclosing feature such as a railing, hedge, or wall. Multiple groups of four knots each might be grouped together and then enclosed. Knots could be simple or intricate, and there is some evidence of crafts people who made a living designing them.

Gardens continued to be important throughout the sixteenth century, but political instability at midcentury diverted attention from such pastimes, and England's ultimate turn to Protestantism combined with Europe's religious wars disrupted the flow of new ideas from the Continent. As the country stabilized once more under **Elizabeth I**, royal gardens remained important, but garden expansion and development was really taken up by wealthy nobles, especially those with estates on the route of royal **progresses**. One of these was Theobalds, home to William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Theobalds is one of only five great houses for which detailed written garden descriptions exist, but no contemporary drawings survived. From the description, we know that Theobalds' gardens were the largest at the time and included a two-level privy garden with cherry trees, an enclosed square knot, and flowers of many kinds. The public garden covered seven acres and was surrounded

by a wall. It enclosed nine knots created with grass or flowers, each one representing some element of the symbolism associated with Elizabeth; and in the garden's center was a white marble fountain.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Gardiner, Stephen (c. 1483–1555)

Although an agent for the royal **divorce** in the 1520s, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was a leading conservative at the Henrician **court** in the 1540s. Imprisoned for his opposition to Protestant reform under **Edward VI**, Gardiner in 1553 became lord chancellor and chief minister in the Catholic regime of **Mary I**.

Gardiner's origins are obscure. Born at Bury Saint Edmunds in Suffolk, possibly as early as 1483 or as late as 1497, he may have been the illegitimate son of a cloth merchant. In 1511, he entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he was exposed to Greek and other humanistic studies before taking doctorates in **civil** and **canon law** in 1521 and 1522, respectively. Elected master of Trinity Hall in 1525, Gardiner soon after became private secretary to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**. Between 1527 and 1529, Gardiner made several trips to Rome as part of the English effort to persuade **Clement VII** to annul **Henry VIII**'s marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Gardiner served as king's counsel at the divorce trial conducted before Wolsey and Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** in the summer of 1529, and was shortly thereafter named the king's principal secretary. In 1531, Henry VIII nominated Gardiner for the wealthy see of Winchester.

The bishop lost royal favor in 1532 by drafting the *Answer of the Ordinaries*, the bishops' defiant reply to the *Supplication against the Ordinaries*, a parliamentary petition to the king complaining of ecclesiastical abuses. Gardiner partially redeemed himself with the king in 1535 with the publication of *De Vera Obedientia* (On True Obedience), a vigorous defense of the **royal supremacy**. After serving as ambassador to **France** from 1535 to 1538, Gardiner retired to his diocese, where he worked against the reformist policies advocated by Thomas **Cromwell**. By 1540, Gardiner was a leader of the conservative party, which in the previous two years had used Henry's religious conservatism and his disastrous marriage to **Anne of Cleves** to secure passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** (1539) and the execution of Cromwell (1540).

Although the bishop was one of his chief ministers after 1542, Henry excluded Gardiner from the regency **council** of Edward VI. Gardiner's adherence to

Catholic doctrine, openly declared at a **Paul's Cross** sermon in **London** in June 1548, led to his imprisonment in the **Tower of London** and his deprivation from office. Released and restored to his bishopric upon the accession of Mary I in 1553, Gardiner was also named lord chancellor. He supported the restoration of papal authority, shepherding through **Parliament** the repeal of Henrician and Edwardian religious legislation. He initially opposed the queen's desire to marry Prince **Philip of Spain**, preferring an English husband, such as Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, but eventually accepted the queen's will and married her to Philip in 1554. He also tried unsuccessfully to remove Princess Elizabeth from the succession. Although Gardiner initially supported the burning of heretics, he turned against the policy when he realized that the persecution was creating martyrs and invigorating Protestantism. Gardiner died in London on 12 November 1555.

See also Elizabeth I; Marian Martyrs

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Garnet, Henry (1555–1606)

Henry Garnet was leader of the English **Jesuit mission** from 1587 to 1606. Born into a **gentry** family in Derbyshire, Garnet was raised a Protestant. In the early 1570s, he moved to **London**, where he worked as a proofreader for a printer of legal materials. After two years in this position, Garnet abandoned his **Protestantism** and resolved to join the Catholic priesthood. He traveled to **Italy** in 1575 and entered the Jesuit college in Rome. Garnet eventually became professor of Hebrew at the college and for a time also served as professor of mathematics.

In 1586, he joined the Jesuit mission to England, landing safely with fellow priest Robert **Southwell** on 7 July. In 1587, he became superior of the Jesuit province of England, a position he held until his death. Sheltering in the country homes of Catholic gentry, Garnet traveled around the kingdom ministering to Catholics. He occasionally smuggled himself into London prisons to comfort Catholic prisoners, and in 1593 he successfully reconciled his dying mother to Catholicism. Under Garnet's leadership, both the number of Jesuits working in the country and the number of English Catholics slipping overseas to join the Jesuit order greatly increased.

In 1605, Garnet and fellow Jesuit John **Gerard** were implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, a conspiracy of Catholic gentlemen to blow up the king, the House of

Lords, and the House of Commons when **James I** came to open **Parliament**. The government tracked Garnet to a country house near Worcester where he concealed himself in one of the mansion's **priest holes**. After four days, cramped quarters and lack of air forced Garnet to surrender. Lodged in the **Tower of London** and examined by the Privy **Council**, Garnet was threatened with torture but spared its application by order of the king. Garnet was not involved in devising the plot but learned of it through the confessional and tried to dissuade the conspirators from going forward. His knowledge of the conspiracy was enough to convict him at his trial. He was executed at St. Paul's Churchyard in London on 3 May 1606.

See also Catholicism, English; Printing

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Gascoigne, George (c. 1525–1577)

George Gascoigne was a prominent poet and dramatist of the early Elizabethan period. Born into a Bedfordshire **gentry** family, Gascoigne entered Cambridge but left without a degree. He attended the **Inns of Court** in the 1550s and was a member of the Parliaments of 1557 and 1559. A failed romance sent Gascoigne traveling in Europe, where he lived so extravagantly and amassed so many debts that his father disowned him. At that point, he turned to writing **poetry**. In 1566, two of his dramatic works were staged—*The Supposes*, the first English play adapted from an Italian comedy, and *Jocasta*, the first English adaptation from a classical Greek tragedy of Sophocles.

Although elected to **Parliament** again in 1568, Gascoigne fled the country when his stepchildren sued him for misuse of their inheritance and a group of his creditors asked the Commons to deny him his seat for his failure to pay debts. Gascoigne spent three years as a soldier in the **Netherlands**, first under **William, Prince of Orange**, and then with Sir Humphrey **Gilbert**. He was captured by the Spanish and imprisoned for several months, an experience that produced *The Fruits of War* and *Gascoigne's Voyage into Holland*. Back in England by 1573, he discovered that an anonymous edition of his early poetry, *A Hundred Sundry Flowers*, had been published without his permission. In 1575, he issued a revised authorized edition of his work under the title *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, which was notable for including "Certain Notes of Instruction Concerning the Making of Verse," the first critical essay on poetry in English.

Gascoigne next wrote verses for the extravagant **entertainment** presented to **Elizabeth I** at Kenilworth during the summer progress of 1575 by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. During the next year, Gascoigne wrote his only original play, a tragedy titled *The Glass of Government*; a blank verse satire titled *The Steel Glass*, for which Walter **Raleigh** wrote some laudatory verses; and *The Spoil of Antwerp*, an eyewitness account of the Spanish sack of Antwerp in 1576. Gascoigne died in October 1577. His work was highly praised by his contemporaries, including Edmund **Spenser**, and his innovative use of verse narrative was later adopted by William **Shakespeare**, who also drew upon Gascoigne's *The Supposes* for part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

See also Drama; Progresses, Royal

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George Gascoigne was a well-known Elizabethan poet and dramatist whose works were often influenced by his travels and adventures. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

General Surveyors, Court of

The Court of General Surveyors audited and administered revenues derived from certain Crown lands. In the 1470s, **Edward IV** removed various royal estates, including those that fell to the Crown through failure of heirs or forfeiture for **treason**, from the control of the **Exchequer** and placed them under the administration of certain members of the royal **council**. Following a survey of royal lands conducted early in the reign by his treasurer, John **Dinham**, Lord Dinham, **Henry VII** continued council oversight of the royal demesne. The receivers of land revenues rendered their accounts to the king's general surveyors, royal councillors charged with adjudicating all matters pertaining to royal lands and with maintaining a

consolidated annual summary of all accounts. Although the general surveyors were empowered to act as a revenue court after 1493, they had no statutory authority and were not a formal court of record. However, by the end of Henry's reign, the general surveyors had acquired the oversight of the financial accounts of various other departments, including those of **Calais**. Because Henry VII was less apt than his predecessors to restore estates that escheated to him through **attainder**, the annual revenue administered by the general surveyors reached £42,000 by 1509, over four times the amount that Edward IV had received from Crown lands.

Because the general surveyors were not a court of record, and their records were thus not definitive evidence in royal courts, Robert Southwell, the former principal general surveyor, was made an auditor for land revenues within the Exchequer in 1510, with additional auditors appointed in subsequent years. By the 1520s, the general surveyors of land revenue constituted an independent department within the Exchequer. In 1523, **Parliament** reorganized the office, placing oversight of the general surveyors under various other royal financial officers. This arrangement ended in 1531 with the repeal of the 1523 statute, and the office reverted to its former organization until formally established as an independent government agency by parliamentary statute in 1536. The general surveyors now divided administration of royal lands with the new Court of **Augmentations**. The general surveyors continued to oversee lands falling to the Crown by attainder, including monasteries confiscated for the treason of their abbots, while Augmentations oversaw properties that fell to the Crown through the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the abolition of **chantries**. In 1542, Parliament finally declared the Court of General Surveyors a court of record, and new offices were built for the court at Westminster. In 1547, the Court of General Surveyors was combined with Augmentations to form the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown, which continued to function as the office of land revenue administration until 1554, when a further reorganization abolished the court and transferred its functions to the Exchequer.

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Gentry

As a social class, the Tudor gentry comprised those landowners who lacked titles of nobility but exercised extensive political and social influence in their localities. Standing below the royal family and the titled **peerage** in the English **social**

structure, the gentry formed the bulk of the country's political, social, and economic elite.

By the end of **Mary I's** reign in 1558, gentlemen and their families made up about 2 percent of the English **population**, while the actual number of gentlemen in midcentury England was probably under 5,000, although the class would grow to over three times that number by the death of **Elizabeth I** in 1603. Despite these small numbers, the gentry, by the end of the sixteenth century, owned about half the land in the country, held most of the seats in the House of Commons and on the royal **council**, filled the **universities**, and monopolized offices in both the local and royal governments. The **dissolution of the monasteries** and the increasing importance of **Parliament** greatly enhanced the wealth and political sophistication of the Tudor gentry.

The gentry class was subdivided into knights, esquires, and mere gentry—categories based roughly on wealth and social status, with the parameters for each subdivision varying by locality. The status of knighthood had originally been conferred by the Crown for military service, but by the Tudor period was reserved for gentlemen holding land that generated an income of at least £40–50 per year. The Crown also regularly awarded knighthoods to its most able servants and officials. The untitled eldest sons of the titled nobility also carried the knighthood designation of “Sir” as a courtesy title. Officially, esquires were the untitled male heirs of the younger sons of the nobility, local officeholders such as sheriffs and **justices of the peace**, and the descendants of long-standing landholding families who could prove that ancestors once held the rank. Unofficially, esquires in Tudor England required an appropriate level of landed wealth, a leisurely lifestyle free from the need for manual labor, participation in local government, and a certain degree of respect from the local community. Mere gentlemen, who were originally the younger brothers and sons of knights and esquires, had become by Tudor times anyone who could to some degree fulfill the informal requirements of esquire status.

All categories of gentlemen were entitled to a coat of arms, which served as a formal recognition of their social status. Heralds from the **College of Arms** periodically toured the countryside to determine who was and was not entitled to gentry status. Heralds could enlarge the gentry ranks by granting coats of arms to lawyers, university instructors, and civil and military officers who possessed the required wealth and lifestyle. Although the economic criteria for membership in the gentry varied by county, historians estimate that by the Elizabethan period one required an income of at least £10 per year or the holding of at least £300 in goods to live as a gentleman.

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Geraldine League

The Geraldine League was a loose but unprecedented alliance of Irish and **Anglo-Irish** lords formed in the late 1530s to oppose the military and religious policies of the English Crown. The league derived its name from its demand that the Anglo-Irish Fitzgerald family (the Geraldines) be restored to the earldom of Kildare.

With the collapse of the **Kildare Rebellion** in 1535, and the execution of Thomas **Fitzgerald**, 10th Earl of Kildare, in 1537, the heir to the earldom was Kildare's 12-year-old half brother, Gerald Fitzgerald (1525–1585). Called to England in 1536, Fitzgerald was too ill with smallpox to go and was afterward hidden away by his aunt, Eleanor Fitzgerald. Through Eleanor's energetic advocacy, an alliance of normally antagonistic Irish lords adopted Fitzgerald's cause as their own. However, the unlikely grouping was motivated by far more than the fate of the Geraldines; the allies also disliked the new **royal supremacy** over the Irish Church and the aggressive actions of the English lord deputy Leonard **Grey**. To strengthen royal authority and his own position, Grey had used military force to impose harsher tributes and stricter pledges of homage on the Irish lords. Fearing that Grey's actions and the religious changes foreshadowed complete English domination of **Ireland**, many Gaelic noblemen joined the league to preserve their independence.

Claiming the adherence of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells in the north, the O'Connors and the O'Briens in the west, and the Fitzgeralds of Desmond in the south, the alliance assumed the dimensions of a national movement and presented a serious threat to continued English rule in Ireland. Denouncing the royal supremacy, the league sought Catholic allies by dispatching envoys to **Charles V** in **Spain** and **Francis I** in **France** and by eventually offering the sovereignty of Ireland to **James V** of **Scotland**. Within Ireland, Catholic priests traveled the country condemning **Henry VIII** as a heretic and urging resistance to the English regime in **Dublin**. In August 1539, the leaguers invaded the **Pale** (the district of English rule around Dublin), sacking towns and stealing cattle.

Grey gave pursuit, catching the raiders at Bellahoe, where he routed them and ended the immediate threat. Although militarily neutralized, the league did not break up; it merely became more Gaelic in composition after most of its Anglo-Irish members submitted to the king. In 1540, the leaguers smuggled Fitzgerald into France, from where he eventually traveled to the court of Cosimo de Medici, Duke of Florence. In 1554, **Mary I** restored Fitzgerald's lands and titles, making him the 11th Earl of Kildare. After the recall of Grey in 1540 and the appointment as deputy of Sir Anthony St. Leger, a less martial governor who pursued a more conciliatory policy (made possible by the execution of Thomas **Cromwell** in 1540), the league gradually dissolved.

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Gerard, John (1563–1637)

John Gerard was a prominent member of the **Jesuit mission** to England. Born into a Lancashire **gentry** family, Gerard spent several years as a student at various English Catholic seminaries in Europe. In 1579, he entered Oxford, but withdrew for religious reasons in 1580. In 1581, he entered Clermont College, a Jesuit institution in Paris, but was soon forced by ill health to return to England. After a brief imprisonment for attempting to leave England without license, Gerard entered the English College at Rome, where he was ordained a priest and admitted to the Jesuit order in 1588.

Immediately assigned to the English mission, Gerard traveled about the country ministering to English Catholics and successfully eluding all attempts to capture him. He was finally arrested on a trip to **London** when a servant betrayed him to the government. He was lodged eventually in the **Tower of London** and was subjected to torture by order of the Privy **Council**. According to his Latin autobiography, which provides a remarkable account of Jesuit activity in Elizabethan England, Gerard was suspended for hours by his wrists, a method of torture that nearly crippled him for life. In October 1597, Gerard engineered a daring escape, crossing the Tower moat by swinging himself out on a rope. Despite the danger, he stayed in England, returning to his missionary work.

On the accession of **James I** in 1603, Gerard withdrew his support from various ongoing Catholic plots to overthrow the Protestant monarch in the belief that the new king could be persuaded to suspend the **penal laws** against Catholics. However, James proved a disappointment, and Gerard was (probably unfairly) implicated in the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605, a Catholic attempt to blow up the king and **Parliament**. Unable to remain in England, Gerard slipped out of the country in the entourage of the Spanish ambassador, leaving on 3 May 1606, the day his Jesuit colleague Henry **Garnet** was executed for his part in the Gunpowder conspiracy. Gerard spent most of the rest of his life in Rome, where he became spiritual director of the English College in 1627; he died there in July 1637.

See also Catholicism, English; Universities

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Gifford, Gilbert (1560–1590)

A Catholic seminary student and Catholic agent who also acted as an agent in Sir Francis **Walsingham**'s secret service network, Gilbert Gifford was instrumental in establishing the supposedly clandestine system by which Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, communicated with the **Babington Plot** conspirators. By means of this system, which Walsingham, through Gifford, initiated and controlled, the government was able to prove Mary's involvement in a plot to murder **Elizabeth I** and thereby bring about her execution.

The son of a recusant **gentry** family in Staffordshire, Gifford traveled to **France** in about 1577 to enter the English Catholic college for training missionary priests established in Douai by William **Allen**. After a series of violent incidents, including a near duel with another student, Gifford transferred to the English College in Rome, but was expelled in 1580 for his involvement in the ongoing feud between the secular priests and the Jesuits. Allen allowed him to return to Douai College, which was now in Reims, but by September 1582 Gifford was back in England. A year later, after another trip to Rome, he appeared again in Reims, where Allen, taking pity on the impoverished young man and accepting his promises of reform, readmitted him to Douai College. During this stay in Reims, which included Gifford's admission to the diaconate, he met fellow student and future Babington conspirator John Savage, with whom he discussed a plan to murder Elizabeth. In October 1585, he traveled to Paris, where he met Thomas Morgan, Mary's chief agent in France. In December, Gifford sailed again to England, but was taken into custody upon landing and sent immediately to Walsingham in **London**.

Gifford may have been in Walsingham's pay even before his return to England, but he certainly acted as a double agent from this point forward. Gifford later claimed that Morgan had recruited him to reestablish communication with Mary, who was now being held in strict confinement at Chartley in Staffordshire by Sir Amias **Paulet**. Walsingham also wanted Gifford to carry out this plan, but under the secretary's supervision. The scheme that eventually went into operation in January 1586 had Gifford collecting letters to Mary at the French embassy and then taking them to Walsingham, whose assistant, Thomas Phelippes, decoded and copied them. The originals were then sent to Paulet, who gave them to Gifford to give to the local brewer, who was to deliver them to Chartley hidden in the bung

holes of his beer barrels. It was a measure of how little Gifford was trusted that Walsingham had the brewer, unbeknownst to Gifford, send them again to Paulet to ensure nothing had been added before inserting them into the barrels for delivery. Letters from Mary followed the same convoluted course in reverse, with Gifford finally delivering them to the French ambassador.

In June, Gifford slipped into France, where he assisted in the publication of an anti-Jesuit tract, perhaps simply as a means of maintaining his credibility in Catholic circles. He returned to England in July, when the Babington Plot broke, but, fearing the consequences should his name emerge from the resulting interrogations and trials, he fled again to the Continent without informing Walsingham. In Paris, he told the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, who had been expelled from England in 1584 for involvement in the **Throckmorton Plot**, the details of the Babington conspiracy, but also kept in touch with Phelippes, perhaps largely to ensure payment of the £100 annual pension granted him by Walsingham.

He was ordained a Catholic priest in Paris in March 1587, but in December was arrested in a brothel and sent to an ecclesiastical prison. Although other Catholic exiles suspected that he had betrayed the Babington conspirators, Walsingham suppressed his name in the proceedings against them and nothing could be proven. Nonetheless, feeling against him was so strong that he remained in prison until his death in November 1590. Although it cannot be said with certainty where Gifford's true loyalties lay, it is clear that he was utterly unreliable and willing to betray anyone to serve his own interests. Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, who reviewed Gifford's papers after his arrest in 1587, called him "the most notable double treble villain that ever lived" (Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 126).

John A. Wagner

See also Recusants; Seminary Priests

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Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (c. 1539–1583)

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the maternal half brother of Sir Walter **Raleigh**, was one of the first Elizabethans to advocate the colonization of North America. Gilbert

attended Oxford and was briefly a page in the household of Princess Elizabeth. He was at the siege of Le Havre in 1563 and campaigned for the Crown in **Ireland** in the late 1560s. Convinced of the existence of a **Northwest Passage** that would allow England to compete with the Iberian states for the Asian silk and spice trades, Gilbert wrote a treatise titled *Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cathaia* (i.e., China), which he presented to **Elizabeth I** in 1566. The queen was uninterested in seeking a Northwest Passage, but she did authorize Gilbert and others to plant English settlers in Ireland. In 1570, Gilbert won a knighthood for ruthlessly crushing Irish rebels, and in 1572 he wrote his *Discourse on Ireland*, which described the benefits to England of further colonization in Ireland. Later in 1572, he led a company of English volunteers to the **Netherlands** to assist the Dutch rebels but accomplished little militarily. On his return, Gilbert helped organize Martin **Frobisher's** American voyages of exploration, and also bombarded the government with proposals for seizing the Newfoundland fishing fleets of **Spain** and **France**, for attacking the Spanish silver fleet, and for capturing Cuba.

In June 1578, Elizabeth granted Gilbert a six-year license to “inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands” not actually held by a Christian ruler. With financial assistance from Raleigh and others, Gilbert launched a fleet of seven ships in November, but by February 1579 he was back in England, the fleet having been dispersed by storms and poor discipline. Gilbert spent several years raising money from various sources, and in June 1583 he launched a second expedition of five ships from Plymouth. By August, the fleet reached Newfoundland, which Gilbert claimed for England and where he intended to establish a colony. Gilbert's explorations of the coastline were cut short by the wreck of one of his ships, and unrest among his men forced him to agree to return home. On 9 September 1583, a sudden storm swamped his vessel, and Gilbert and all aboard were lost. Shortly before this disaster, Gilbert, sitting at the stern of the ship with a book in his hand, had called out to his companions on the other ship, “We are as near to heaven by sea as by land,” an indication that the book he was reading was Sir Thomas **More's** *Utopia*.

See also Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Le Havre Expedition; Newfoundland Fishery; Universities

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Gilbert, William (1540–1603)

William Gilbert was both an eminent physician and one of the leading men of science of the Elizabethan Age. Born in Essex, Gilbert was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, completing a degree in **medicine** in 1569. From his university days, when he began making meteorological observations, Gilbert was interested in scientific research and experimentation. After traveling for some years in Europe, Gilbert settled in **London** in 1573, where he developed a flourishing medical practice. He also began conducting extensive research into magnetism, performing more than 300 different experiments on magnetic and electrical attractions. His work led in 1600 to the publication of *De Magnete*, a scientific treatise that criticized much previous work in the field and rejected outright many of the long-cherished theories of Aristotle.

In 1599, Gilbert was elected president of the Royal College of Physicians. He won appointment as personal physician to **Elizabeth I** in 1601 and attended the queen during her last illness in 1603. At the accession of **James I**, Gilbert retained his post as royal physician, but he died on 10 December 1603, only a few months into the new reign. Gilbert's other great scientific work, *De Mundo*, was published posthumously in 1651. A combination of two manuscripts describing Gilbert's views on the structure of the universe, *De Mundo* agreed with Nicolaus Copernicus's theory that the earth rotated on its axis, and suggested that some form of magnetism kept the planets in their fixed orbits.

See also Universities

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Globe Theatre

Because it is closely associated with William **Shakespeare**, the Globe Theatre has become the best-known theater of Elizabethan **London**. In 1596, James **Burbage** sought unsuccessfully to renew his lease on the land where he had built The Theatre, his London playhouse. When Burbage died in 1597, negotiations with the landowner remained at a standstill, prompting his sons Cuthbert and Richard **Burbage** to take a novel approach to solving the problem. On 28 December 1598, only days before the lease was due to expire, the Burbages commissioned a carpenter named Peter Street to dismantle the entire theater and move it across the Thames to the southern suburb of Southwark. By autumn 1599, the new Globe Theatre was open for performances. Because the move was a costly undertaking, the Burbage



The Globe Theatre in London could hold over 2,000 spectators but only 12 actors at a time on stage. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 167)

brothers gathered a group of investors to finance the project. These new co-owners of the theater included five members of the **Chamberlain's Men** acting company, one of whom was William Shakespeare.

The Globe was a round wooden structure rising about 40 feet in height to accommodate three tiers of galleries that took up roughly 13 feet of the theater's 80-foot diameter. Thrusting into the uncovered central auditorium, which was about 65 feet in diameter, was a raised rectangular stage, approximately 40 feet wide and partially covered by a thatched roof supported by two pillars. The stage could hold no more than 12 actors at a time, although the building, despite its cramped dimensions, could accommodate audiences of over 2,000. Actors' dressing rooms lay behind the stage, and rising above it were a gallery, which could be

used for the audience or as part of the stage (e.g., the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*), and a balcony, from which elaborate machinery caused gods and angels to descend to the stage. A trapdoor in the stage floor allowed the appearance of demons and the staging of burials.

Adorned with a globe on its roof, the theater had carved on its front a Latin quotation that translated roughly into Shakespeare's line, "All the world's a stage." When a play was in progress, the Globe flew a flag bearing its emblem. On 29 June 1613, a blank volley fired as part of a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* set the Globe's thatch roof on fire. No one died in the flames, and Richard Burbage opened a rebuilt Globe in 1614.

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Golden Speech

On 30 November 1601, a deputation of the House of Commons came to **Whitehall Palace** to thank **Elizabeth I** for her **proclamation** promising to reform the abuse of **monopolies**. The speech she delivered that day, made poignant by the unspoken belief of her hearers that it was the last time the aging queen would address her people, was to be cherished for generations as the Golden Speech, for, said one member, it was worthy “to be written in gold.”

The **Parliament** of 1601, Elizabeth’s last, had angrily demanded that the queen keep her promise to the previous Parliament to reform monopolies. Because Parliament’s demands touched the royal **prerogative**, constituting, in effect, an attempt to limit or modify the powers inherent in the Crown, the issue precipitated one of the few serious political breeches to occur between queen and Parliament during the reign. Realizing from the intensity of Parliament’s anger how great was the outrage over monopolies throughout the kingdom, Elizabeth issued a proclamation promising remedy. This action transformed the angry mood of the Commons to joy; when the Speaker tried to name a deputation to deliver the Commons’ thanks to the queen, he was met by cries of “All! All! All!” The queen responded that all were welcome, and the Speaker and 140 members came to Whitehall to hear Elizabeth give the following address:

Mr. Speaker. We have heard your declaration and perceive your care of our estate, by falling into the consideration of a grateful acknowledgment of such benefits as you have received; and that your coming is to present thanks unto us, which I accept with no less joy than your loves can have desire to offer such a present.

I do assure you that there is no prince that loves his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a prize, which I prefer before this jewel, I mean your love, for I do more esteem it than any treasure or riches, for that we know how to prize, but love and thanks I count inestimable. And though God has raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God has made me to be a queen as to be a queen over so thankful a people. Therefore I have cause to wish nothing more than to content the subject, and that is a duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer days than that I may see your prosperity, and that is my only desire. And as I am that person that still, yet under God, has delivered you, so I trust, by the almighty power of God, that I still shall be His instrument to preserve you from envy, peril, dishonor, shame, tyranny, and oppression, partly by means of your intended helps, which we take very acceptably, because it manifests the largeness of your loves and

loyalties unto your sovereign. Of myself I must say this: I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I count yours, to be expended for your good. Therefore render unto them, I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such thanks as you imagine my heart yields, but my tongue cannot express.

[Up to this point the entire assemblage had knelt before the queen.]

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.

Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me I have more cause to thank you all than you me; and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me, for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error only for lack of true information. Since I was queen yet never did I put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants who had deserved well. But the contrary being found by experience, I am exceedingly beholding to such subjects as would move the same at first. And I am not so simple to suppose but that there be some of the Lower House whom these grievances never touched, and for them I think they speak of our zeal to their countries and not out of spleen or malevolent affection, as being parties grieved. And I take it exceedingly grateful from them because it gives us to know that no respects or interests had moved them, other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honor and our subjects' love unto us. The zeal of which affection, tending to ease my people and knit their hearts unto me, I embrace with a princely care. Far above all earthly treasure I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit.

That my grants should be grievous to my people and oppressions to be privileges under color of our patents, our kingly dignity shall not suffer it. Yea, when I heard it, I could give no rest to my thoughts until I had reformed it. Shall they think to escape unpunished that have thus oppressed you and have been disrespectful of their duty and regardless of our honor? No, Mr. Speaker, I assure you, were it more for conscience' sake than for any glory or increase of love that I desire these errors, troubles, vexations, and oppressions done by these varlets and lewd persons, not worthy the name of subjects, should not escape without condign punishment. But I perceive they dealt with me like physicians who, ministering a drug, make it more acceptable by giving it a good aromatical savour, or when they give pills, do gild them all over.

I have ever used to set the last judgment day before mine eyes and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge. To Whose judgment seat

I do appeal that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And if my kingly bounty have been abused and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning, if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offenses to my charge. And though there were danger in repealing our grants, yet what danger would not I rather incur for your own good, than I would suffer them still to continue?

I know the title of king is a glorious title, but assure yourself that the shining glory of princely authority has not so dazzled the eyes of our understanding but that we well know and remember that we also are to yield an account of our actions before the Great Judge. To be a king and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that bear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king or royal authority of a queen as delighted that God has made me this instrument to maintain His truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom, as I said, from peril, dishonor, tyranny, and oppression. There will never queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country or care to my subjects, and that will sooner with willingness yield and venture her life for your good and safety than myself. And though you have had and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more careful and loving.

Should I ascribe anything to myself and my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live then, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, Who has ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemies? I speak it to give God the praise as a testimony before you, and not to attribute anything unto myself. For I, O Lord, what am I, whom practices and perils past should not fear? O what can I do that I should speak for any glory? God forbid. This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you deliver unto the House, to whom heartily recommend me. And so I commit you all to your best fortunes and further counsels. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my council, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand.

Several versions of the speech are extant. The one reproduced above is from *The Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth . . .*, edited by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and published in London in 1682. An official version of the speech, somewhat edited and elaborated by the queen, was issued shortly after it was delivered by the royal printer. But an unofficial version, closer to the speech as delivered on 30 November because it was drawn from the rough notes the queen handed that day to Henry Saville, provost of Eton, was soon circulating under the title "The Golden Speech of Queen Elizabeth." This version was to be reprinted many times over the next century.

See also Printing

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Goodrich, Thomas (d. 1554)

Thomas Goodrich (or Goodricke), bishop of Ely, was an Edwardian councillor and lord chancellor. Born into a Lincolnshire **gentry** family, Goodrich was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1510. In the same year, he was elected fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, taking his master's degree in 1514 and becoming a university proctor in 1515. Through the appointment of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, Goodrich, who now held his doctorate of divinity, became rector of a **London** parish in 1529. In 1530, Goodrich was one of the divines consulted by the government on the legality of **Henry VIII's** marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. His favorable stance on that question led to his appointment as royal chaplain and as canon at St. Stephen's, Westminster. In 1534, the king named Goodrich bishop of Ely.

As bishop, Goodrich upheld the **royal supremacy** and encouraged reform, ordering all priests in his diocese to proclaim the king's title and denounce the pope, and directing masters and fellows of Cambridge colleges to preach more frequently in local parishes. Goodrich also sat on the commission created by **Parliament** to reform ecclesiastical law, which eventually produced the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. In 1537, Goodrich helped prepare the *Bishops' Book*, the second Henrician formulary of faith. Upon the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Goodrich was sworn of the **council** and appointed to a royal commission charged with conducting a visitation of Cambridge University. He assisted Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** with compilation of the first **Book of Common Prayer**, and, after the book's issuance in 1549, commissioned the reformer Martin **Bucer**, with Cranmer's approval, to prepare a critique of the work for future revision. In October 1549, Goodrich supported the coup that overthrew Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and was thus retained on the council by Somerset's supplanter, John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick. In 1550, Goodrich tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to induce the Anabaptist Joan **Bocher** to save herself and recant. In late 1550 he sat upon the commission that tried conservative bishop Stephen **Gardiner** and in May 1551 was, with William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, a leader of the embassy sent to **France** to confer the Order of the Garter on **Henri II**.

Goodrich succeeded Richard **Rich**, Lord Rich, as chancellor of England in December 1551. Although apparently not involved in its planning, Goodrich supported **Northumberland's Coup** in 1553, authenticating, as chancellor, Edward's *Devise* for the succession and serving on the council of Queen Jane **Grey**. Upon winning the throne, **Mary I** deprived Goodrich of the chancellorship, but, after briefly imprisoning him, refused to try him for **treason** or strip him of his bishopric. Goodrich submitted to the queen and thereafter retired to his see, where he died on 10 May 1554.

See also Anabaptism

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Gosson, Stephen (1554–1625)

A playwright and Anglican cleric, Stephen Gosson was a leading Elizabethan critic of English theater. Denouncing play-going as immoral and corrupting, Gosson published polemics that initiated a pamphlet war over the nature of English theater and became the basis of English antitheatrical writing for generations. Born in Canterbury, the son of a craftsman, Gosson entered the local cathedral school in about 1568. In about 1572, he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with the financial support of Archbishop Matthew **Parker**. Although he applied for graduation at the end of 1576, he appears to have never completed his degree, and in his later work, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, he wrote of having been “pulled from the University before I was ripe” (Pollard, *Shakespeare's Theater*, 111).

Gosson then moved to **London**, where he began writing **poetry** and **drama**, but drew little attention and achieved no success. None of his plays are extant, and we only know of some from mentions in his later polemical works or in the writings of others. Several had moral purposes, such as *Catalins Conspiracies*, which denounced tyranny, and *Praise of Parting*, which offered a now uncertain moral point. We also know of a play titled *The Comedy of Captain Mario* and another described by Thomas **Lodge** in his *A Defense of Plays*.

In 1579, Gosson, writing in the euphuistic style popularized by John **Lyly**, published *The School of Abuse*, which attacked plays, poetry, and music that did not model virtuous actions or present moral lessons. In a famous passage, he described Elizabethan theaters as a “general market of bawdry” (Wagner, *Voices of Shakespeare's England*, 104), where thieves and prostitutes congregated to ply their trades. Gosson also urged limitations on the presentation of public plays and denounced the presence of woman in theater audiences. *The School of Abuse*

launched a prolonged pamphlet war, as various Elizabethan poets and playwrights promptly responded to Gosson's attacks. Although Gosson dedicated *The School of Abuse* to Sir Philip **Sidney**, that famous courtier-poet repudiated the work and likely wrote his "An Apology for Poetry" (1581) as a response to it. Gosson later published two more antitheater tracts, *An Apology of "The School of Abuse,"* which was appended to his romance work *Ephemerides of Phialo* (1579), and *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582). By citing the biblical prohibition of cross-dressing in Deuteronomy, he also became the first Elizabethan writer to criticize male players dressing as women to play feminine roles. Among the best known of the numerous published refutations of Gosson was Thomas Lodge's *Defence of Plays* (1580), which prompted Gosson's counter-response in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*. Gosson's works also prompted many mocking revivals of his own plays, which were used to attack and embarrass him.

In the 1580s, Gosson acquired a series of ecclesiastical livings. First, however, came an odd incident in 1584 in which he registered as a student at the English College in Rome, a Jesuit institution for the training of English **seminary priests**. Given his subsequent career, this brief episode (he left after two months) probably means Gosson was an agent for Sir Francis **Walsingham**, the head of an extensive Elizabethan intelligence network. Upon his return to England, Gosson became a lecturer at St. Martin's Ludgate in London. In 1586, he became lecturer at St. Dunstan's and All Saints in Stepney, east of London, and in 1586 he was named vicar of St. Alban's Church in Sandridge, Hertfordshire. Despite the **Puritan** leanings revealed in his antitheatrical writings, Gosson seems to have conformed fully to the usages and practices of the **Anglican Church** in all his **benefices**. The queen presented him to the parish of Great Wigborough in Essex in 1591, and in 1596 he preached a sermon titled *The Trumpet of War* at **Paul's Cross** in London. In 1600, he took up the rectorship of the wealthy London parish of St. Botolph, which he held until his death on 13 February 1625.

John A. Wagner

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Gower, George (c. 1540–1596)

As serjeant-painter to Elizabeth I, George **Gower** was one of the most successful portrait painters in Elizabethan England. By the early 1570s, Gower, who began life as a Yorkshire gentleman, was one of the most sought-after portraitists in London. The queen appointed Gower her serjeant-painter in 1581, thus increasing the demand for his services among members of her **court**. In 1584, Gower and the famous miniaturist Nicholas **Hilliard** tried unsuccessfully to obtain a monopoly on the production of royal portraits, a commodity that commanded a lucrative and growing market. In 1593, however, Gower became the official painter to the English **navy**.

Although only a few extant works, including a self-portrait from 1579, are known for certain to be Gower's, many portraits of Elizabethan nobles and courtiers, all painted between about 1570 and 1586, are attributed to Gower. The 1588 *Armada Portrait* is perhaps Gower's best-known surviving work. This portrait shows a richly gowned Elizabeth standing before a depiction of the English victory over the Spanish Armada. Gower died in August 1596.

See also Art; Elizabeth I, Portraits of; Limning; Monopolies

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Gowrie Conspiracy

In August 1600, attendants of James VI of **Scotland** killed the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, allegedly to prevent the two men from carrying out a plot to kidnap or assassinate the king. The Gowrie Conspiracy is one of the most mysterious episodes in Scottish history. John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, was a son of a leader of the 1582 **Ruthven Raid**, in which Protestant noblemen kidnapped and confined James to prevent him from embracing Catholicism, and a grandson of one of the murderers of David **Rizzio**, the hated Catholic **favorite** of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots.

A strong Presbyterian like his father and grandfather, Gowrie was 22 in 1600 when he traveled from Italy to England, where he was well received by **Elizabeth I**. After returning to Scotland, Gowrie made himself conspicuous by opposing the king's demand for money in the current **Parliament**. On 5 August 1600, James and a small following left the **court** and rode with Gowrie's 19-year-old brother, the master of Gowrie, to Gowrie House, the Ruthven family home in Perth. There, according to the king, the two brothers attempted to kidnap him, as their father had

done 18 years earlier. The king was somehow able to alert his attendants, who burst into the house and slew both brothers in the ensuing fight.

James immediately ordered public rejoicing at his narrow escape, but many, both within the Scottish Church and throughout the kingdom, doubted the king's version of events. Rumors suggested that James had concocted the story to destroy the Ruthvens. The king's reasons were variously described as his jealousy over the favor Gowrie had found with James's wife, Queen Anne, his desire to avoid repaying a large debt he owed to the earl, and his desire to avenge the humiliation of the Ruthven raid and to prevent Gowrie from leading presbyterian opposition to his efforts to strengthen royal control of the Scottish Church. Whatever happened, the episode showed how fragile relations were between the king and the Scottish Church and how unsure James was of his support in Scotland as he waited for the aging Elizabeth to leave him the Crown of England.

See also James I

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Grafton, Richard (1513–c. 1572)

The London grocer Richard Grafton is best known for his publication of the first English **Bibles** and for his work as a writer and printer of chronicles. Little is known of Grafton's life before 1537, when he and fellow merchant John Whitchurch arranged the publication in Antwerp of a revised translation of Miles **Coverdale's** English Bible. Known as the Matthew Bible because its title page named the translator as "Thomas Matthew," a pseudonym for the volume's annotator John **Rogers**, the book was licensed for distribution by Thomas **Cromwell**, who required each parish to purchase a copy. Cromwell also commissioned Grafton and Whitchurch to produce a new edition at a press in Paris. Although **Francis I** had initially granted permission for the work, officers of the French Inquisition seized the press and the printed sheets in late 1538 before the volume was complete. Grafton fled to London, where Cromwell reassembled the press, allowing the printers to issue the first copies of the Great Bible in April 1539. The frontispiece, which was supposedly created by Hans **Holbein**, shows **Henry VIII** bestowing the Word of God on Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, who, in turn, distribute it to the people. Later editions appeared in the early 1540s, with Grafton publishing the last version of the Great Bible in 1553.

After Cromwell's fall in 1540, Grafton was briefly imprisoned for printing English Bibles solely upon the disgraced minister's approval and for distributing a ballad praising Cromwell. Grafton was back in favor by 1543, when he and Whitchurch were granted the exclusive right to print church service books. By 1545, Grafton was official printer to Prince Edward. After **Edward VI**'s accession in 1547, Grafton became the king's printer, with the sole right of publishing all acts of **Parliament**. As royal printer, Grafton also prepared the first and second **Book of Common Prayer** and the *Book of Homilies*. Grafton lost his royal patent in 1553, when **Mary I** briefly imprisoned him for printing the proclamation that declared Jane **Grey** queen. Grafton sat for **London** in the Marian Parliaments of 1553 and 1556 and in the Elizabethan Parliament of 1562; he also served as warden of the Grocer's Company from 1555 to 1557.

Grafton began his work as a chronicler in 1543 with his publication of a revised and extended version of John Harding's *Chronicle*; the edition continued the work from the early 1460s until 1543. In 1548, Grafton provided the same service for Edward **Hall**'s *Chronicle*, which was continued from 1532 to the death of Henry VIII in 1547. Grafton also published several original chronicles, including *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1562) and *Chronicle at Large and Mere History of the Affairs of England* (1568), although both were criticized by John **Stow** for relying too heavily on other writers. Grafton died in about 1572.

See also Northumberland's Coup; Printing

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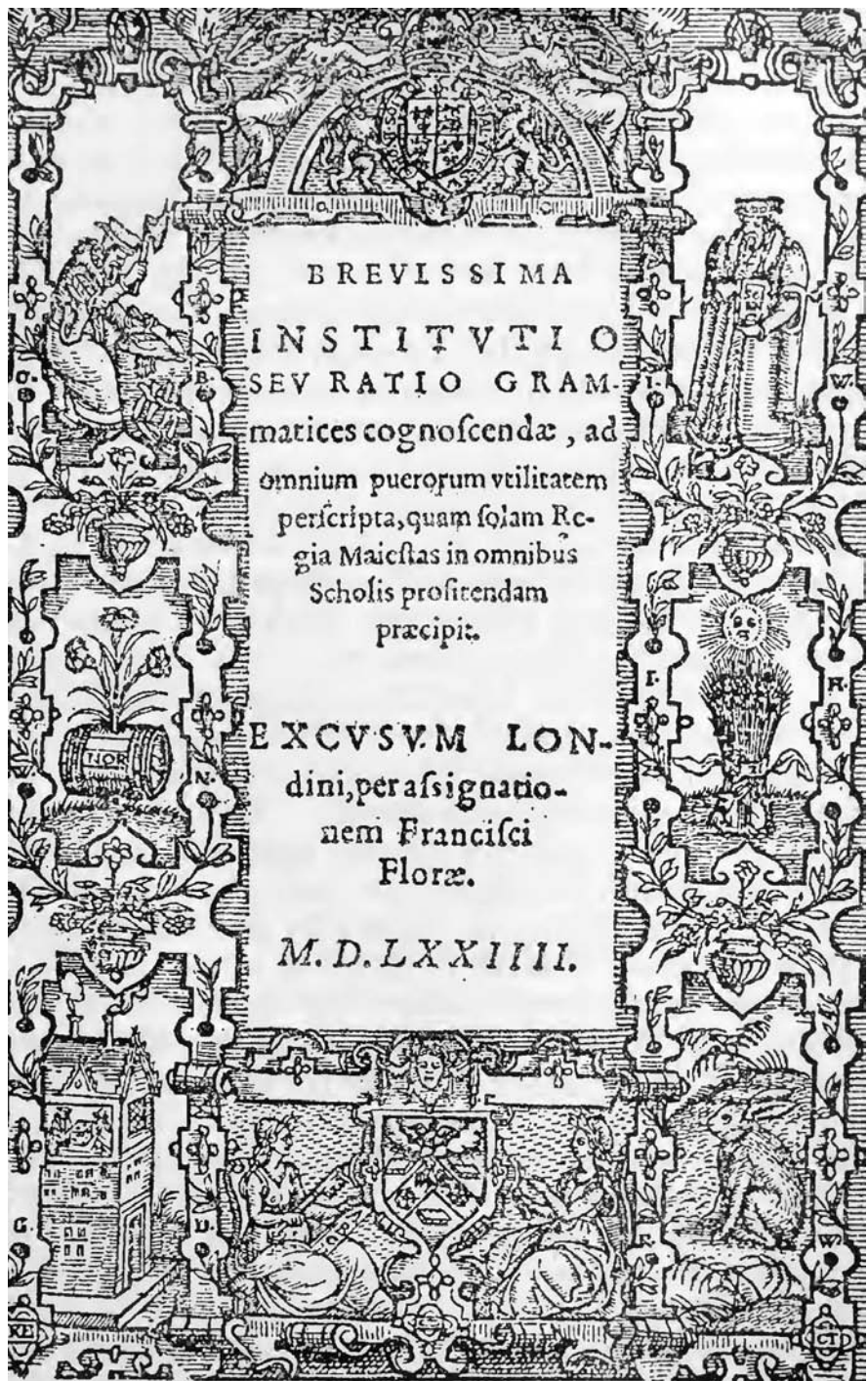
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Grammar School

A grammar school was a school for boys that focused on mastering reading, writing, and speaking of Latin and sometimes Greek. The statutes of some schools also prescribe elementary Hebrew. The curriculum for English grammar schools was similar to that laid down by Desiderius **Erasmus** in *De ratione studii* (*On the Method of Study*) with some variations from other influences.

The Tudor grammar school developed from medieval cathedral schools. The first school to show elements of the Renaissance curriculum was Magdalen College



In Elizabethan grammar schools, boys received a thorough grounding in Latin and would have used books like *Lily's Latin Grammar*. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

School in Oxford, founded in 1480. John **Colet** refounded St. Paul's School in 1510 with the help of Erasmus, and other schools seem to have followed this example.

A boy began grammar school at about the age of eight. In principle, boys should already have mastered the alphabet and basic English reading. The curriculum was arranged in five to seven forms. Students first read Aesop in Latin and the "Distichs" of Cato, then the letters of Cicero and Erasmus's *Colloquia* (*Colloquies*) or parallel works such as the *Colloquia* of Mathurin Cordier (Corderius). Later, students read Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Terence, the speeches and philosophical treatises of Cicero, and other classical works, often with modern commentaries such as those of Philipp Melanchthon. All schools used a grammar based on that of William **Lily**, which was written for St. Paul's School and known as the *Accidence* or "The Queen's Grammar." Students wrote Latin letters, verse, and declamations. For about the last two years of school, students studied rhetoric and put principles into practice by delivering declamations. Standard textbooks for rhetoric were the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Rhetoric to Herennius*), Erasmus's *De copia* (*Foundations of the Abundant Style*) and *De conscribendis epistolis* (*On the Writing of Letters*), Joannes Susenbrotus's *Epitome troporum ac schematum* (*Epitome of Tropes and Schemes*), and Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* (*Preparatory Exercises*). Some schools used works of Juan Luis **Vives**, and an ambitious school might prescribe Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*).

Life at grammar school was demanding. Students were at work from six in the morning until five, or even seven or eight o'clock at night. Methods involved considerable rote memorization, especially in early years. Students spoke Latin while at school and were punished for speaking English. Boys examined each piece of reading in much detail. Double translation was widely used: boys translated works into English and back into Latin. Students marked examples of particular figures, and surviving books show evidence of the technique.

Dramatic productions in Latin were also performed. The plays were a mix of the classical—Terence, Plautus, and Seneca—and modern plays such as Gulielmus Gapheus's *Acolastus* (1529). Schools offered performances for **Christmas** and sometimes Shrove Tuesday. Some modern scholars claim that at least 136 new schools were founded during **Elizabeth I**'s reign, and the access to education expanded during the Tudor period, but other historians suggest that the expansion was more modest because the extent of late medieval and early Renaissance education had been underestimated due to lack of documentation.

Besides the dominant influence of Erasmus, we see influence in some schools of Roger **Ascham** and his correspondent Johann Sturm. Their approach resulted in a greater emphasis on Cicero in Latin style and more extensive treatment of Greek. In 1588, William Kempe published *The Education of Children in Learning*, reorganizing the curriculum according to the principles of Pierre de la Ramée (Peter Ramus). The choice of texts was similar to that of earlier schools influenced

by Sturm, but there was a change in the understanding of rhetoric: it had become the study and use of figures and tropes more than an effort to change the soul of the reader or listener.

Matthew DeCoursey

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Grand Tour

The term "Grand Tour" refers to the practice arising in **Elizabeth I**'s reign of young English gentlemen and noblemen spending an extended period of time traveling in Europe to broaden their experience and complete their educations. Specific reasons for undertaking such a tour varied greatly and included learning foreign languages, meeting important European figures, viewing famous historical sites, or undertaking a specific course of study, such as art or **civil law** in Italy, astrology or gardening in Paris, or **medicine** or **music** in **France** or the **Netherlands**. Some young men took to touring for less exalted motives—to flee debt or scandal at home or simply for love of adventure and travel.

Most modern governments and societies accept the principle that certain aspects of a citizen's private life are beyond state concern, but in the Elizabethan era the government made no such distinction, especially when its citizens were residing in Catholic lands. France, **Italy**, and **Spain**, the most common destinations, were all Catholic societies. Through resident ambassadors and other travelers, the Elizabethan government kept careful watch on Englishmen traveling in those countries, both for fear that the travelers might be seduced by Catholicism and in hopes that they might become useful sources of intelligence. Sir Robert **Cecil**, secretary of state for Elizabeth in the 1590s and chief minister for **James I** thereafter, closely followed the European activities of many traveling Englishmen, including his Cecil and Bacon relatives. His cousin Anthony **Bacon**, elder brother of Sir Francis **Bacon**, was a particular concern, being given to extravagant living in France with homosexual and Catholic friends.

Travel to Spain was severely reduced by the start of hostilities in 1585, but English travel to the rest of western Europe continued unabated even during the war years of the 1590s. Although the government was wary of the possible consequences of travel on some young men, it also encouraged such tours for many others, seeing the experience as excellent training for future statesmen, diplomats, and civil servants. After the end of the Spanish war in 1604, travel to Spain revived, government restrictions and surveillance eased, and the Grand Tour developed into a standard component of the education of many young English gentlemen and noblemen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also Gentry; Peerage

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Gravelines, Battle of

Fought on 8 August 1588, the naval Battle of Gravelines was the final English Channel encounter between the Spanish **Armada** and the English fleet. The battle began about 7:00 a.m. off the Flemish village of Gravelines. The night before, the armada had anchored in its tight crescent formation off **Calais** to the southwest. By launching fireships, the English forced the Spanish commander Alonso Perez de **Guzman el Bueno**, Duke of Medina Sidonia, to break formation. The next morning, when the English found the wind in their favor and the armada scattered along the Flanders shore, the English admiral Charles **Howard**, Lord Howard of Effingham, ordered his fleet to attack. The ensuing battle, which reached its greatest intensity by midmorning but lasted until late afternoon, was a confused melee fought in a haze of gun smoke.

Although 260 vessels were present in the Channel, only some 30 Spanish ships and about 40 English ships were ever seriously engaged. Many Spanish vessels struggled to keep the unfavorable wind from driving them onto the Flanders coast, while the wind and the close quarters kept many English ships out of action. Howard did not get his squadron into the fight for some hours because he stopped to attack and loot a damaged Spanish warship. Sir Francis **Drake** led the initial attack, taking the English ships to extremely close range before pouring shot into the Spanish rearguard, which had formed around Medina Sidonia's flagship. With smaller, quicker vessels, and more and better shot, the English inflicted serious damage on the Spanish while suffering surprisingly little themselves. Only two

Spanish ships were sunk, but many others were shot full of holes and brought close to sinking. The Spanish also took heavy casualties—over 600 dead and more than 800 injured. The English dead numbered well under 100.

Lack of shot and an afternoon squall ended the fighting; the English withdrew and the Spanish drifted, still pinned on shore by the wind. The English did not believe the fighting had ended, but the Spanish wanted no more. When the wind changed, Medina Sidonia sailed the armada, which was still largely intact, into the North Sea, where storms completed the work begun by the English guns. Gravelines thus became the culmination of the armada campaign.

See also Navy

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Gravelines, Treaty of

See Calais, Treaty of

Great Debasement

See Coinage, Debasement of

Greene, Robert (1558–1592)

Robert Greene was one of the most popular prose writers in Elizabethan England. Greene entered Cambridge in 1575 as a sizar, a student who waited tables in return for his education. After 1578, he traveled several years in **Spain** and **Italy** before returning to Cambridge to complete a master's degree in 1583. He was granted another MA by Oxford in 1588 but was less interested in academic life than in the idle pleasures available in a university town. In the late 1580s, he abandoned his wife and child in Norwich and moved to **London** to become a writer. Heavily influenced by John **Lyly**'s *Euphues*, Greene started writing romantic tales that he called "love pamphlets"; among the best known were *Menaphon* (1589) and *Pandosto* (1588), which may have inspired the plot used by William **Shakespeare** in *The Winter's Tale*.

Greene also wrote romantic comedies for the stage, including *The Comical History of Alphonsus King of Aragon* (1588), which imitated the style of his friend Christopher **Marlowe**. Greene also wrote *The Scottish History of James the Fourth, Slain at Flodden* (1590), which employed the kinds of fairy characters used later by Shakespeare in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Greene's most successful play, *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1591), was a comedy in prose and verse that was not performed until 1594, two years after his death. Greene attracted many wealthy patrons, including Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, but he squandered most of his income on dissolute living, being a regular drinking companion of fellow writers Thomas **Nashe**, Thomas **Kyd**, Thomas **Lodge**, and Marlowe.

In about 1590, Greene began drawing on his own experiences to write a number of serious prose works on the theme of the prodigal son, such as *Never Too Late* (1590) and *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592). He also wrote a series of pamphlets describing the seamier side of London life, a topic for which his intimate acquaintance with the city's taverns and brothels proved invaluable. Modern social historians now rely on Greene for details about the seedier side of life in Elizabethan London. In 1592, Greene wrote an autobiographical piece titled *A Groatsworth of Wit*, which criticized Shakespeare as an "upstart crow," perhaps for copying or rewriting some of Greene's work. According to Gabriel **Harvey**, one of Greene's literary opponents, Greene died of a "fatal banquet of pickle herring" in September 1592.

See also Drama; Universities

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Greenwich, Treaty of

Concluded on 1 July 1543, the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Greenwich comprised two separate agreements, one ending the state of war existing between the realms since the previous year and the other betrothing Mary **Stuart**, the infant Queen of Scots, to five-year-old Prince Edward. Conceived by the English as an instrument for neutralizing **Scotland** and thereby freeing **Henry VIII** to make unfettered war in **France**, the treaty, thanks to Henry's overbearing behavior, did neither. The Scots

repudiated the agreement within six months of its signing, and subsequent English efforts to revive the compact by force initiated the period of Anglo-Scottish conflict known as the **Rough Wooing**.

Negotiated for Henry by Sir Ralph **Sadler**, the treaty made peace between the two kingdoms, but did not, despite English demands to the contrary, commit the Scots to a renunciation of the Auld Alliance with France. The agreement did commit the Scots to the marriage, but it avoided Henry's demand for immediate custody of the young queen. Hostages for Mary's eventual delivery were to be dispatched to England at once, but the queen would not follow for 10 years. Any heir of the marriage would rule both kingdoms, but Scotland would retain its ancient laws and customs and the union of Crowns would cease if Edward had no heirs by Mary, who was to return to Scotland should Edward die.

Completion of the treaty was made possible by the cooperation of James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, whom the Scottish **Parliament** named governor of the queen and heir to the throne in January 1543. Arran was initially hostile to the pro-French party lead by Cardinal David **Beaton** and the queen mother, Marie de **Guise**. He confined Beaton, while Henry released the noblemen captured at the Battle of **Solway Moss** to act as promoters of the marriage. Many of these so-called assured Scots received English pensions and 10 signed a secret undertaking to support Henry's succession to the Scottish throne should Mary predecease him.

Although some returnees were sympathetic to **Protestantism**, which Henry was eager to promote as a counterweight to the French Catholic faction, religion was never an important factor and the assured Scots proved too small and unstable a group to significantly assist the English cause. Arran, meanwhile, harbored his own ambitions; he hoped to delay implementation of the treaty until after Henry's death and saw his own son as an alternative husband for the queen. For this reason, he ignored Henry's offer of the Princess Elizabeth as a daughter-in-law.

In September, Arran allied himself with Beaton, Henry having outraged all factions by renewing his demand for immediate custody of the queen and by generally behaving as if he were already Scotland's overlord. On 11 December, the Scottish Parliament annulled the Greenwich agreements and four days later extended all past agreements with France. Although the Treaty of Greenwich was now dead, Henry spent the remaining years of his reign unsuccessfully seeking to force the marriage upon the Scots.

See also Edward VI; Elizabeth I

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Greenwich Palace

The birthplace of both **Henry VIII** and **Elizabeth I**, Greenwich Palace was a favorite residence of the Tudor monarchs. Acquired in the 1440s by Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, Greenwich Palace was a minor royal residence until the 1480s, when **Henry VII** enlarged and modernized the structure, making it one of the most important English palaces. Situated in Kent on the south side of the Thames River east of **London**, Greenwich was a short barge ride from the capital.

Faced in red brick, the palace was laid out around a courtyard 100 feet square. The royal apartments ran in two stories along the riverfront, connecting on the east with the royal chapel and on the west with the grand gatehouse that formed the main entrance to the palace from the river. Henry VIII, who was born at Greenwich in June 1491, was fond of the palace and spent considerable time and money upgrading its appearance and appointments. He constructed some of the finest **gardens** in Europe at Greenwich and engaged a host of foreign artists and craftsmen to decorate the palace in the Renaissance styles in vogue in **Italy** and elsewhere in Europe. The German painter Hans **Holbein**, who settled in England in 1532, worked on Greenwich.

Elizabeth I was born at Greenwich between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. on Sunday, 7 September 1533. Like her father, Elizabeth was partial to her birthplace and spent much time at Greenwich, but there, as elsewhere, she made few material changes to the palace. After the queen's death in 1603, Greenwich was used less frequently by **James I** and his successors, and the building was severely damaged by parliamentary forces during the civil war in the 1640s. Charles II demolished most of the Tudor palace in the 1660s, but his attempts at rebuilding were stymied by lack of funds. In 1692, the Crown converted the partially renovated structure into the Royal Naval Hospital.

See also Architecture

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Gregory XIII (1502–1585)

Ugo Buoncompagni, who served as Pope Gregory XIII from 1572 to 1585, sought to regain England for Roman Catholicism by training and dispatching English Catholic missionaries. Born in Bologna, where he taught law at the university from 1531 to 1539, Buoncompagni was ordained and made a bishop in 1558. Until

1563, he attended sessions of the reform **Council of Trent** and in 1565 was named a cardinal.

In 1572, on the death of **Pius V**—the pope who issued the bull ***Regnans in Excelsis*** excommunicating **Elizabeth I**—Buoncompagni was elected pope as Gregory XIII. Although 70 years old, the new pope immediately implemented reforms decreed by the Council of Trent and initiated an aggressive missionary policy to regain Protestant Europe for Catholicism. He also attacked clerical abuses and established a list of forbidden books, the ***Index Librorum Prohibitorum***. An ardent foe of **Protestantism**, Gregory ordered celebrations when he heard of the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** of **Huguenots** in **France** in August 1572. To restore Catholicism in the British Isles, Gregory encouraged Irish rebels to resist the Elizabethan government of **Ireland**, thereby fostering the growing identification of Catholicism with Irish resistance to English rule. Gregory also strongly endorsed the **Jesuit mission** to England begun by Edmund **Campion** and Robert **Parsons** in 1580. To support this missionary effort, Gregory endowed an English college in Rome to train English priests for missionary work. He also encouraged **Philip II** of **Spain** to continue his military campaigns to restore Spanish, Catholic rule in the **Netherlands**, a policy that was of continuing concern to the English government and that led in 1585 to war between England and Spain.

Gregory is best known for his 1582 reform of the calendar. The more accurate Gregorian calendar was quickly adopted by most of Catholic Europe, but it was not accepted by Protestant England until 1752. At his death in April 1585, Gregory had begun the successful restoration of Roman Catholicism to parts of Europe, but had made little progress in the British Isles.

See also Catholicism, English; Catholic Reformation; Netherlands Revolt

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Grenville, Sir Richard (1542–1591)

Sir Richard Grenville was one of the most colorful seamen of the Elizabethan Age. Born into a Devon **gentry** family, Richard was the son of Roger Grenville, who died in 1545 when the ship ***Mary Rose*** capsized in Portsmouth Harbor, one of the most famous naval disasters in Tudor history. Except for a brief stay at the **Inns of Court** after 1559, little is known about Grenville's education. Restless and impulsive, Grenville was pardoned in 1562 for killing a man during a **London** street riot. He served in **Parliament** in 1563, but by 1566 he was in Hungary fighting Turks.

Two years later, he took his growing family to **Ireland** to participate in a plantation in the Munster region, but **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion** ended the scheme. After helping to suppress the rebellion, Grenville returned to England and sat for Cornwall in the Parliament of 1571.

Grenville next proposed an expedition to the Pacific to search for the **Northwest Passage** and the continent of “Terra Australis,” which John **Dee** believed existed in the Southern Hemisphere. That project never materialized, but Grenville's plans were used by Sir Francis **Drake** for his voyage of circumnavigation in 1577. In 1585, Grenville commanded the fleet his kinsman Walter **Raleigh** had gathered to transport Ralph **Lane** and a group of colonists to Roanoke Island on the Virginia coast. When he returned to Roanoke with supplies in 1586, the colonists were gone; they had, unbeknownst to Grenville, returned to England with Drake.

During the **Armada** Crisis in 1588, Grenville served with Drake and later kept watch with Raleigh on the sea approaches to Ireland. In 1591, Grenville was named second-in-command to Lord Thomas **Howard** of a squadron sent to the **Azores** to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet from **America**. Surprised by the main Spanish fleet, Howard withdrew, but Grenville in the *Revenge* was trapped and surrounded. For two days in September, the *Revenge* fought off Spanish attacks, inflicting damage on 15 galleons. Severely wounded, Grenville ordered the ship destroyed, but his crew refused and surrendered. Grenville died shortly thereafter, and the *Revenge* sank during a hurricane. The fight of the *Revenge* was later described by Raleigh and celebrated in a poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson.

See also Azores Expedition; Plantations, Irish; Roanoke Colony (1585)

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Gresham, Sir Thomas (c. 1518–1579)

Sir Thomas Gresham was the Crown's chief financial agent and the founder of London's **Royal Exchange**. The son of a wealthy merchant and former mayor of **London**, Gresham was educated at Cambridge and soon followed his father into trade and finance. In 1551, he was named the king's financial agent in Antwerp, the center of the European money market. In Antwerp, Gresham sought to alleviate the Crown's worsening financial situation by negotiating loans at lower interest and working to improve the exchange rate. So successful and important was Gresham's work in Antwerp that he was retained in his post after **Edward VI**'s death both by **Mary I** (even though he was a Protestant) and later by **Elizabeth I**.



Sir Thomas Gresham's financial, political, and military acumen was critical to Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth, and he founded the Royal Exchange. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

Besides his financial work, Gresham provided the government with valuable military and political intelligence, especially during his period as Elizabeth's ambassador to the **Netherlands** from 1560 to 1563. He devised ingenious ways to evade the ban placed on the export of coin by the Netherlands government, smuggling it to England in consignments of pepper and armor. He strongly advised the Elizabethan government to reform the debased coinage of England, and Gresham himself had a large role in withdrawing the bad coin from the market and distributing the new minting. Indeed, the adage "bad coin drives out good"—that is, people will pass on debased coins and hoard coins of full value—is attributed to Gresham and is known as "Gresham's law." He also worked as a munitions agent for the Crown, securing weapons, gunpowder, and armor in Europe and smuggling it to England.

While improving the Crown's financial position, Gresham was also enriching himself, making sure that he obtained sizable commissions on most of the transactions he negotiated for the government.

When the death of his son in 1564 left him without an heir, Gresham used his fortune to build the Royal Exchange in London, a meeting place for merchants and bankers to conduct business. Modeled on the Bourse in Antwerp, the exchange opened for business in 1567. In 1575, he also founded London's Gresham College as a place where free lectures could be delivered. Ill health caused Gresham to resign from the royal service in 1574. He died suddenly in London in November 1579.

See also Coinage, Debasement of; Universities

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Greville, Fulke, Lord Brooke (1554–1628)

Fulke Greville was a prominent Elizabethan poet and courtier and the biographer of Sir Philip **Sidney**. Born into a Warwickshire **gentry** family, Greville was educated with Philip Sidney, with whom he became a lifelong friend. In 1568, Greville entered Jesus College, Cambridge, but left before taking a degree to pursue a career at **court**. He became a member of the Areopagus, a group of court poets and writers that included, among others, Sidney, Edmund **Spenser**, and Gabriel **Harvey**. The group sought through their works to elevate the level of English poetry. Greville, who never married, wrote mainly love **poetry**, developing thereby a probably exaggerated reputation as a womanizer. Under the **patronage** of Philip Sidney's father, Sir Henry **Sidney**, Greville supported himself with income derived from a number of small offices attached to the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, of which the elder Sidney was president.

In 1577, Greville accompanied Philip Sidney to Germany and in 1578 traveled to the **Netherlands** with Sir Francis **Walsingham**. In 1588, two years after Sidney's death, Greville served with the army at Tilbury during the **Armada** Crisis and shortly thereafter was sent by **Elizabeth I** to Ostend to quell a mutiny among the English troops in the Netherlands. He served in all the Elizabethan **Parliaments** after 1580, mostly as member for Warwickshire, and was appointed treasurer of the **navy** in 1598.

James I knighted Greville in 1603, but political disagreements with Sir Robert **Cecil**, the king's chief minister, forced Greville to retire from public office. He then started writing his biography of Sir Philip Sidney (published 1652), having already supervised the publication of Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1590. He resumed his political career after Cecil's death in 1612, becoming chancellor of the **Exchequer** in 1614. He held various other official posts before resigning for ill health in 1621, the year the king created him Baron Brooke. Greville died in September 1628 of stab wounds inflicted by a servant who had attacked him for no apparent reason. *Caelica*, a collection of Greville's poetry, was published after his death.

See also Universities

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Grey, Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk (1517–1559)

Frances Brandon Grey was the niece of **Henry VIII** and the mother of Jane **Grey**. The eldest daughter of Mary **Tudor**, sister of Henry VIII, and her husband Charles

Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Frances married her father's ward, Henry **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, in 1533. After her first two children died in infancy, the marchioness gave birth to three daughters—Jane in 1537, Katherine in 1540, and Mary in 1545. In 1547, Henry VIII's will declared Frances and her heirs next in line of succession after Henry's own children, the king having excluded the heirs (principally Mary **Stuart**, Queen of **Scotland**) of his elder sister, Margaret **Tudor**. In 1551, upon the deaths of her half brothers, the marchioness became sole surviving heir to her father's estate, thereby allowing her husband to become Duke of Suffolk by right of his wife.

The duchess is traditionally portrayed as a harsh, strong-willed woman who dominated her husband and bullied her daughters. How accurate this depiction might be is now difficult to determine. There seems to have been little love between Frances and her daughters—Jane was happy to live with Queen Katherine **Parr** in 1548—although it is unclear whether the duchess's relationship with her children was in any way atypical of her time and class. The duchess was certainly a more forceful personality than her husband, and her intimate involvement in the various schemes to arrange a politically and financially advantageous marriage for Jane depict Frances as both ambitious and rapacious.

In 1553, as his health deteriorated and the prospect of a Catholic succession loomed, **Edward VI**, in collaboration with his chief minister John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, drafted a document known as the *Devise* of the Crown, which excluded the king's sisters Mary and Elizabeth from the succession and passed the Crown directly to the (as yet nonexistent) male heirs of Frances and her daughters. To promote male heirs, Jane was married to Northumberland's son, a match the duchess allegedly browbeat her daughter into accepting. When it became clear that the king's death was imminent, the *Devise* was altered to pass the Crown directly to Jane, a change that entirely bypassed Frances.

When **Northumberland's Coup** collapsed, **Mary I** committed Suffolk and Jane to the **Tower of London**. The duchess obtained an audience with her cousin, with whom she was on good terms, and secured the duke's release, although Jane remained a prisoner. In the autumn of 1553, Frances was in favor at **court**, where she was occasionally given precedence even over Princess Elizabeth. In early 1554, only weeks after the executions of her daughter and husband for the latter's involvement in **Wyatt's Rebellion**, the duchess married her steward, Adrian Stokes, a man 15 years her junior. However, the mésalliance did not hurt her standing at court, where the duchess remained in favor until her death in November 1559.

See also Elizabeth I

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Grey, Henry, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1517–1554)

The father of Lady Jane **Grey**, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, was a principal figure in both **Northumberland's Coup** and **Wyatt's Rebellion**. Grey succeeded his father, Thomas **Grey**, as Marquis of Dorset in 1530. In 1533, he married Frances Brandon **Grey**, eldest daughter of Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Mary **Tudor**, the sister of **Henry VIII**. Although his wealth and title gave him entrée to the **court**, Dorset seems to have been a man of little judgment or ability, and he received few honors or offices from Henry VIII. Because Dorset was a sincere Protestant, the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547 improved his political prospects. Dorset was somehow involved in the questionable activities of Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Seymour, but supported the overthrow of Seymour's brother, Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and thus suffered no harm from the association. In November 1549 Dorset was admitted to the Royal **Council**, and in February 1551 he was appointed warden of the Scottish marches (borders). In October 1551 Dorset was created Duke of Suffolk at the same ceremony that saw John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, become Duke of Northumberland. In January 1552 Suffolk was a judge at Somerset's trial and the following May became lord lieutenant of Leicestershire and Rutland.

Having been disappointed in his desire to see his eldest daughter Jane married to her cousin the king, Suffolk readily agreed to her union with Northumberland's son, Guildford Dudley, in May 1553. The match was part of the plan, devised by the king and Northumberland, to ensure a Protestant succession. On 9 July, three days after Edward's death, Suffolk informed his daughter of her accession. When Northumberland rode north to seize Princess Mary—Jane having tearfully demanded that her father remain with her—Suffolk assumed leadership of the council at the **Tower of London**. However, as the success of the coup became increasingly unlikely, Suffolk was unable to stop the council from deserting and proclaiming the princess queen as **Mary I**. When the council dispatched a band of armed men to the Tower on 19 July, Suffolk yielded the fortress and told his daughter she was no longer queen. Although imprisoned on 27 July, the duke was soon released; he received his pardon on 27 November.

In December, Suffolk became the only peer to involve himself in the growing conspiracy against the queen's forthcoming marriage to **Philip of Spain**. Charged with raising Leicestershire, Suffolk and his brothers fled to that county in late January 1554 when the government learned of the plot. Unable to rouse support, the duke was arrested on 2 February when his hiding place was revealed by a servant. Conveyed to the Tower, Suffolk was tried and condemned for **treason** at Westminster on 17 February. He was beheaded at the Tower on 23 February. Because the government interpreted his involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion as a further attempt to enthrone his daughter, Jane and her husband, still in the Tower under sentence of death, were executed on 12 February.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; *Devise* (of the Crown)

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Grey, Jane (1537–1554)

For nine days in July 1553, Jane Grey was queen of England. Jane was the eldest daughter of Henry **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, and Frances Brandon **Grey**, daughter of **Henry VIII**'s sister Mary **Tudor**. Under the terms of Henry VIII's will, Jane was fifth in line of succession behind Henry's three children and her mother. Given a classical humanist education, Jane learned Latin and Greek and developed strong Protestant opinions, which were reinforced when she entered the household of the former queen, Katherine **Parr**, in 1547. Because Jane was the same age as **Edward VI** and held her own claim to the throne, Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, took her into his household in 1548 and planned to marry her to the king. However, Somerset was overthrown and deprived of the protectorship in 1549, and Somerset's supplanter, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, elevated Jane's father to the dukedom of Suffolk in 1551.

In May 1553, when the death of Edward VI was imminent, the king and Northumberland devised a scheme to exclude the princesses Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. The duke also persuaded Jane's mother to renounce her claim to the throne in favor of her daughter, who was then married to Northumberland's youngest son Guildford. Embodied in a document known as the *Devise* of the Crown, the altered succession plan was accepted with reluctance by the royal judges and by Jane, who was informed of her accession to the throne on 9 July, three days after Edward's death. The next day, Northumberland instructed the Royal **Council** to recognize Guildford as king, but Jane refused her husband the title until the grant could be approved by **Parliament**. On 12 July, Princess Mary was proclaimed queen in Suffolk, and public opinion began turning in her favor.

Northumberland marched north on 14 July to confront the forces gathering around Mary. Without his leadership, the council abandoned Jane and proclaimed Mary queen; the reign of Queen Jane ended on 19 July, only nine days after it had begun. Arriving in **London** on 3 August, Mary confined Jane and her husband in the **Tower of London**. Northumberland was executed on 22 August, and Jane and Guildford were tried and condemned for **treason** in November, but Mary, believing that her cousin had been an innocent pawn in the hands of Northumberland, refused **Charles V**'s demands for Jane's execution. However, with the eruption of

Wyatt's Rebellion in January 1554, Charles refused to allow his son Prince **Philip** to come to England and wed Mary until Jane had been eliminated. Accordingly, Jane and Guildford were beheaded at the Tower on 12 February 1554.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Elizabeth I; Grey Claim (to the Throne); Humanism; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup

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Grey, Katherine (1540–1568)

As a descendant of the younger sister of **Henry VIII**, Katherine Grey was a possible successor to her cousin **Elizabeth I**. Katherine was the second daughter of Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Frances Brandon **Grey**, a niece of Henry VIII. In his will, Henry placed the Protestant Grey sisters next in line for the throne after his own children. In May 1553, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, chief minister of the dying **Edward VI**, arranged a series of marriages with the Greys to strengthen his political position on the king's death. Katherine was married to Henry **Herbert**, the heir of the Earl of Pembroke. After Edward's death on 6 July, when the Privy **Council**, led by Northumberland, proclaimed Katherine's older sister Jane **Grey** queen, Katherine stayed with Jane in the royal apartments at the **Tower of London**. Jane's reign ended on 19 July with Northumberland's arrest and the proclamation of **Mary I** as rightful queen. Katherine was allowed to leave **London** with Pembroke, her husband's father, who promptly repudiated his heir's marriage and turned Katherine out of his house.

In February 1554, Katherine's sister and father were executed as a result of the duke's participation in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. That summer, Katherine fell in love with Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the son of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the late lord protector to Edward VI. Because of her royal blood and her position in the succession, Katherine's marriage was a matter of state policy, not personal preference, and her relationship with Seymour had to be hidden. Nonetheless, the lovers married secretly in 1560, and by 1561 Katherine was pregnant. Terrified of Elizabeth's reaction to her condition, Katherine begged Robert **Dudley**, the queen's **favorite**, to intercede on her behalf. Elizabeth sent the lovers to the Tower and ordered their marriage invalidated, thereby illegitimizing their newborn son and removing him from the succession.

Although sentenced to life in prison, Katherine and Hertford were allowed by sympathetic Tower jailers to sleep together occasionally. This kindness resulted in

the birth of a second son in 1563. An infuriated Elizabeth sent husband and wife to separate places of confinement, and they never saw each other again. Katherine died of consumption in 1568. Her brief life had been made difficult by her nearness in blood to the throne and by her scandalous behavior (for the times) of choosing her own husband rather than allowing the Crown to choose for her.

See also Devise (of the Crown); *Grey Claim* (to the Throne); *Northumberland's Coup*

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Grey, Leonard, Lord Grey (d. 1541)

As lord deputy of **Ireland** from 1536 to 1540, Lord Leonard Grey presided over the legislative enactment of the Irish **Reformation**. Grey also sought to strengthen royal authority in Ireland through military means, a policy that aroused great opposition and led eventually to his recall and execution.

The son of Thomas **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, a stepson of **Edward IV**, Grey was appointed marshal of the English army in Ireland in July 1535. The **Kildare Rebellion**, led by Thomas **Fitzgerald**, the son of Grey's late brother-in-law Gerald **Fitzgerald**, ninth Earl of Kildare, was still in progress when Grey arrived in **Dublin**. On 24 August, Grey convinced Fitzgerald to surrender, promising him his life if he did so. Although the king and his chief minister Thomas **Cromwell** were infuriated by Grey's unauthorized promise, they honored it, holding Fitzgerald in the **Tower of London**, while Grey, now lord deputy, presided over passage of the government's religious program through the Irish **Parliament**. In February 1537, after the Irish legislature had abolished papal authority, established the **royal supremacy**, and dissolved the Irish monasteries, Fitzgerald was executed at Tyburn.

Grey, meanwhile, used his small army to compel Irish recognition of royal authority. Following the pattern established by Kildare during his long deputyship, Grey undertook a series of military progresses, using royal artillery to batter into submission the castles of recalcitrant Irish chieftains. However, rather than extracting promises of good behavior from the defeated lords, Grey demanded formal acceptance of English overlordship, with payment of homage and heavy tribute. These actions convinced the Irish that **Henry VIII** planned a thoroughgoing conquest of the island, and angered the Irish Council, whose members complained to **London** of Grey's useless and costly expeditions. When Grey also attempted to

cultivate a following among the leaderless Geraldines (Fitzgeralds), the rival Butler family complained to the king that Grey was “the earl of Kildare newly born again” (Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 136).

By 1539, Grey’s severity provoked a number of Irish chieftains to form an unprecedented antigovernment alliance known as the **Geraldine League**. The allies launched raids on the **Pale**, the area of English authority around Dublin; denounced the royal supremacy; and offered the government of Ireland to **James V of Scotland**. Although Grey decisively defeated the leaguers at Bellahoe in August 1539, the threat they posed to royal authority and the cost of suppressing them, as well as continuing complaints against his leadership, led to Grey’s recall in April 1540. When the Butlers and other Grey opponents were summoned to London to inform Henry of recent events, they presented a list of 90 charges against the former deputy. After examination by the council, Grey admitted his guilt and was condemned for **treason**. He was beheaded at the Tower on 28 July 1541.

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Grey, Mary (c. 1545–1578)

As the youngest daughter of Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Frances Brandon **Grey**, the daughter of Mary **Tudor**, younger sister of **Henry VIII**, Mary Grey, like her sisters Jane **Grey** and Katherine **Grey**, was of royal blood. Because Henry VIII’s will placed the Protestant Grey sisters next in line for the throne after the king’s own children, any marriage they contracted affected the succession to the Crown and thus was a matter of state concern. In May 1553, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, chief minister of **Edward VI**, arranged a series of marriages for the Grey sisters that were designed to strengthen his position upon Edward’s death and to promote the success of Edward’s plan to be succeeded by his eldest Grey cousin, Jane, rather than by his Catholic sister Mary. Jane was thus married to Northumberland’s son, Guildford Dudley, while Katherine and Mary were betrothed to sons of the duke’s allies—Katherine to Henry **Herbert**, the son of the Earl of Pembroke, and Mary to her cousin Arthur Grey, the son of Lord Grey de Wilton.

The failure of the attempt to enthrone Jane Grey, which resulted in the executions of Northumberland, Suffolk, and Jane herself, also led to both Katherine and Mary being repudiated by their husbands. Upon their mother’s death in 1559, the surviving Grey sisters jointly inherited a small portion of her estates, the bulk of which went to their stepfather Adrian Stokes. To supplement her income, Mary



Hans Eworth portrait of Mary Grey, the youngest sister of Lady Jane Grey. (By Kind Permission of the Chequers Trust/Mark Fiennes/The Bridgeman Art Library)

was made maid of honor to **Elizabeth I**, with a pension of £80 per year. In August 1565, Mary secretly married Thomas Keys, who was the queen's serjeant porter, an official charged with securing access to the **court**. When discovered a week later, the marriage immediately aroused the queen's wrath. Not only was Keys, a widower with several children, twice Mary's age, he was also socially inappropriate as a spouse, being only a member of the minor **gentry**. After interrogation, Keys was committed to prison, and Mary was placed in the custody of a Buckinghamshire gentleman named William Hawtrey. Although Keys offered to renounce his wife, Bishop Edmund **Grindal** of **London** refused to dissolve the union, and Mary was sent first to live in the household of her step-grandmother, Katherine Willoughby, dowager Duchess of Suffolk, and then in the household of Sir Thomas **Gresham**.

Gresham apparently had little liking for his guest, since he petitioned the queen repeatedly for Mary's removal elsewhere. Keys was released from confinement in 1568, but Elizabeth refused to allow the couple to cohabit, and Mary did not see him again before his death in 1571. In 1572, the queen restored Mary to favor and declared her free to live where she wished. However, she had few friends and little money and thus remained an unwelcome presence in Gresham's household until 1573, when she lived briefly with her stepfather Adrian Stokes. In about 1574, she established her own household in London and began again to attend court. She died in London on 20 April 1578. Described by contemporaries as a small, deformed, and unattractive woman, Mary, like her sister Katherine, lived a sad life made difficult by something over which she had no control, her nearness in blood to the throne.

John A. Wagner

See also Devise (of the Crown); Mary I

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Grey, Thomas, [First] Marquis of Dorset (1451–1501)

A maternal half brother of **Edward V**, Thomas Grey, first Marquis of Dorset, abandoned the House of **York** after the usurpation of **Richard III** and became an adherent of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and the House of **Tudor**. The eldest son of John Grey and Elizabeth **Woodville**, Grey became the stepson of **Edward IV** when his widowed mother married the king in 1464. Although his father had died fighting for the House of Lancaster in 1461, Grey fought for his Yorkist stepfather in 1471 and was raised to the **peerage** as Earl of Huntingdon three months later. In 1475,

only weeks before accompanying Edward to **France**, Huntingdon was created Marquis of Dorset. Although he had acquired a reputation as a licentious courtier, Dorset, by the 1480s, was also a royal councillor and an emerging political figure.

On Edward V's accession in April 1483, Dorset became constable of the **Tower of London** and sought to secure the royal **navy** for the Woodville interest. When Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Edward's paternal uncle, seized custody of the young king and arrested Lord Richard Grey, Dorset's brother, the marquis fled to sanctuary at Westminster with his mother. He escaped from sanctuary in June, only weeks before Gloucester took the Crown as Richard III. In October 1483, with a price on his head and with rumors claiming that Edward V and his brother were dead, Dorset joined Buckingham's Rebellion. When this uprising on Richmond's behalf failed, Dorset joined the earl in exile in **Brittany**. In early 1484, Richard III reconciled with Dorset's mother, who left sanctuary and convinced her son by letter to abandon Richmond and submit to the king. Dorset quit Paris secretly, but Richmond sent two of his men to retrieve the marquis, who was privy to all Richmond's plans. Overtaken near Compiègne, Dorset was either persuaded or compelled to return to Paris, where a mistrustful Richmond left him when he embarked for England in August 1485.

After his victory at **Bosworth Field**, Richmond, now **Henry VII**, recalled Dorset to England and confirmed him in his titles and offices. However, in 1487, the king committed Dorset to the Tower of London. Henry's reasons for this action are uncertain. Perhaps he still distrusted Dorset for his attempted defection in 1485, but more likely he believed Dorset was somehow involved with Lambert **Simnel** or with some other Yorkist conspiracy. Dorset was released and restored to favor shortly after Simnel's uprising collapsed at **Stoke** in June 1487. In 1492, Dorset participated in the French campaign that resulted in the Treaty of **Etaples**, and in 1497, he aided in the suppression of the **Cornish Rebellion**. The marquis was also an early patron of Thomas **Wolsey**, who tutored three of Dorset's sons at Oxford. The marquis also secured Wolsey a clerical living in Somerset. Dorset died on 20 September 1501.

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Grey, Thomas, [Second] Marquis of Dorset (1477–1530)

Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, was a prominent Henrician soldier who commanded the English expedition against Aquitaine in 1512. The son of Thomas **Grey**, first Marquis of Dorset, Grey accompanied his father to **Brittany** in 1484

when Dorset joined the future **Henry VII** in exile. Tutored by Thomas **Wolsey** at Oxford, Grey succeeded his father as marquis in 1501. He attended most of the major **court** ceremonies of Henry VII's reign, including the baptisms of Prince Arthur **Tudor** and Prince Henry and the marriage of the former to **Catherine of Aragon**. He was also present at the king's meeting with Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1506. By 1507, Dorset was in the **Tower of London** under suspicion of **treason** for causes unknown; in 1508, he was transferred to **Calais** and nearly executed. Released upon the accession of **Henry VIII** in 1509, Dorset used his talent as a jousting to regain royal favor.

In 1512, the king gave Dorset command of a force of 12,000 men that was to cooperate with the armies of Ferdinand of **Spain**, Henry's father-in-law, in wresting Aquitaine, the former English duchy in southwestern **France**, from **Louis XII**. Landing in June, Dorset marched his army as agreed to Fuenterrabia, but soon discovered that the Spanish had made none of the promised preparations. What's more, Ferdinand insisted on a joint attack on the kingdom of Navarre, which was the Spanish king's true objective, with the English army intended only to distract the French. When Dorset refused to disobey orders and join the invasion of Navarre, Ferdinand attacked alone, and the English army remained in Fuenterrabia, where it soon succumbed to disease. In August, the gravely ill marquis embarked his mutinous and dispirited troops and returned to England. Although Ferdinand blamed Dorset for the failure of the expedition, and Henry considered trying the marquis for dereliction of duty, the matter was dropped and by 1513 Dorset was in sufficient favor to accompany the king on his invasion of France.

In 1514, Dorset was present at the marriage of Princess Mary **Tudor** to Louis XII, and in 1518, he was one of the signatories of the Treaty of **London**. In 1520, Dorset accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and to the subsequent meeting with **Charles V** at Gravelines. After serving under Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, in the 1523 Scottish campaign, the marquis held no more significant military commands, although he was still favored at court. In 1526, Dorset was appointed to the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, and in 1529 he signed the articles against his old tutor Wolsey. In 1530, he signed the letter to **Clement VII** demanding that the pope dissolve Henry's marriage. Dorset died on 10 October 1530; he was succeeded by his son Henry **Grey**, future Duke of Suffolk. His granddaughter, Jane **Grey**, briefly became queen in 1553.

See also Ferdinand and Isabella

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Grey Claim (to the Throne)

The Grey family's claim to the English Crown derived from the 1515 marriage of Mary **Tudor**, younger sister of **Henry VIII**, to Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk. Although the couple married without his permission, Henry eventually forgave his best friend and favorite sister, and the match was allowed to stand. Born in 1517, Frances Brandon **Grey**, the couple's eldest child, had three cousins standing before her in the succession—Henry's daughter Mary and Margaret **Tudor**'s two children, **James V** of **Scotland** and Margaret **Douglas**. In the 1530s, the births of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Edward pushed Frances Brandon further from the throne, while at the same time, Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church made Frances, a Protestant, a more acceptable royal heir than the Catholic children of Henry's elder sister Margaret.

When empowered by the 1544 Act of **Succession** to name in his will further heirs to the throne beyond his own children, Henry excluded Margaret's heirs from the succession and willed the Crown to pass, should his own children fail to produce heirs, to his Brandon niece and her heirs. By 1553, Frances Brandon, who had married Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, was mother to three daughters—Jane, Katherine, and Mary **Grey**. To prevent the accession of his Catholic sister, Mary, the dying **Edward VI** conspired with his chief minister, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, to alter the succession as ordained by Henry VIII. They forced the royal judges to accept a document, the *Devise* for the succession, that excluded Edward's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and passed the Crown directly to Jane **Grey**.

After Edward's death on 6 July 1553, Jane was recognized as queen for nine days. The country, however, rallied to **Mary I**, and by the end of July she was firmly on the throne and Jane was in the **Tower of London**. Jane was executed in February 1554 after **Wyatt's Rebellion**. Jane's death passed the Grey claim to her sister Katherine **Grey**. The marriage of Katherine, who was the most prominent Protestant heir to **Elizabeth I**, was an important matter of state policy. Thus, when Katherine secretly married Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, in 1560, a furious Elizabeth committed her to the Tower. Katherine died in prison in 1568, the Grey claim to the throne lingering on in her two sons.

See also Northumberland's Coup

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Grindal, Edmund (1519–1583)

Edmund Grindal was **Elizabeth I**'s second archbishop of Canterbury. Born into a Cumberland peasant family, Grindal was educated at Cambridge, where he was

tutored by Nicholas **Ridley**, the future bishop of **London** under **Edward VI** and a Protestant martyr under **Mary I**. By 1549, Grindal was a Protestant, for in that year he argued vigorously and successfully against the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the **Eucharist** during a debate at Cambridge. He became Ridley's chaplain in 1551 and soon after became chaplain to Edward VI. In 1553, when Mary's accession ended his chances for a bishopric, Grindal fled to Germany and lived among the English exile community in Frankfurt until January 1559.

Under Elizabeth, Grindal became bishop of London, the most prestigious and difficult of English bishoprics. Grindal dealt harshly with Catholics, but leniently with **Puritans** who refused to wear the required vestments. In 1566, Archbishop Matthew **Parker** forced Grindal to dismiss 37 Puritan clergymen with whom Grindal strongly sympathized. In 1570, the queen, at Parker's recommendation, appointed Grindal archbishop of York, an archdiocese where the main problem was Catholic recusancy, not Puritanism.

On Parker's death in 1575, Elizabeth translated Grindal to Canterbury, but in 1576, within a few months of his appointment, Grindal fell into disfavor for his support of **prophesyings**, unauthorized conferences of Puritan ministers that Elizabeth wanted suppressed. When the queen commanded Grindal to halt the prophesyings, the archbishop wrote a firm but polite letter explaining his reasons for refusing to do so. When Elizabeth repeated her order, and Grindal repeated his refusal, the queen suspended him from office and ordered his deputies to suppress the meetings without his cooperation. Although his expulsion was discussed, it was never carried out, and Grindal remained in office, but without the ability to exercise its powers, until his death in July 1583.

See also Marian Exiles; Marian Martyrs; Recusants; Universities; Vestiarian Controversy

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Grocyn, William (1446–1519)

William Grocyn was one of the earliest humanist scholars in Tudor England and the first to publicly advocate humanist study at Oxford. His circle of friends and colleagues included John **Colet**, Thomas **Linacre**, Sir Thomas **More**, William **Lily**, and Desiderius **Erasmus**.

Born into a yeoman family near Bath, Grocyn in 1465 entered the New College, Oxford, where he earned admittance as a fellow in 1467. Having been ordained, Grocyn resigned his fellowship in 1481 to take up a clerical living in

Buckinghamshire and to become reader in divinity at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1483, he distinguished himself in a learned disputation before **Richard III**. In 1488, Grocyn resigned his readership and left Oxford for **Italy**, where he undertook to learn Greek, a language he had studied only in a rudimentary way at Oxford. Returning to Oxford in 1491, Grocyn soon resigned his Buckinghamshire living and devoted himself to the delivery of public lectures in Greek. By 1499, when Erasmus made his first visit to England, Grocyn's reputation for learning was such that the Dutch scholar sought him out and quickly became part of Grocyn's circle of humanist friends, which by this time included More, Colet, and Linacre.

The rest of Grocyn's career at Oxford is obscure. He may have moved to **London** in about 1505, the year in which Colet became dean of St. Paul's. After that date, Colet frequently invited Grocyn to preach at the cathedral. Grocyn also acquired various new clerical livings, especially after his former student William **Warham** became archbishop of Canterbury in 1504. Grocyn's **pluralism** was extensive; he may have held as many as four livings at a time without being resident in any of them. His numerous **benefices** provided him with a sizable income and allowed him to support other poor scholars—he bequeathed 40 shillings to Lily to purchase and distribute Greek books at Oxford—and to provide hospitality to visiting scholars, such as Erasmus, who stayed with Grocyn in London in 1514. Besides his advocacy of humanist studies, Grocyn is also noted for convincing Colet that the much-studied writings of Dionysius the Areopagite were spurious, a conclusion upheld by modern research. Grocyn died in 1519.

See also Humanism

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Guilds, Religious

Religious guilds (lay fraternities, confraternities, brotherhoods)—as opposed to craft guilds—were religious and social groups whose main function was to provide decorous funerals and subsequent intercessory masses for members. Guild members were mostly laypeople, but a guild was usually established under the

patronage of a saint or other religious figure. Guilds had a number of notable characteristics: they were lay-controlled (some clergy were members, but almost never officers); women could be members in their own right, and even theoretically officers; and one could be made a member posthumously because living members could enroll parents, children, friends, or servants who had died.

Guilds held annual meetings on their patron's feast day. The meeting began with a special Mass said for all members, past and present, at the fraternity's altar or chapel. Many candles would be lit, and if the guild owned "sacred plate and vestments," these would be used. If the guild had livery (special clothing for ceremonial occasions), it would be worn. The Mass was followed by a general meeting at which accounts and statutes were reviewed, officers elected, subscriptions collected, and any other necessary business conducted. After the meeting a dinner was usually held. Very large and prosperous guilds might use two or three days for an annual meeting that included processions, livery displays, additional ceremonies, and plays, pageants, or other entertainment.

Religious guilds varied widely in size and means. The humblest have been called "poor men's chantries" (Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*, 20) because their purpose was directly connected to the belief in **purgatory** and the need for intercession on behalf of souls waiting there, and those guilds could do little more than collect pennies for Masses to be said. Other guilds had substantial resources and provided many benefits to members beyond seemly funerals. These might include bringing the body of a member home for burial regardless of where they died or rescuing any member who was the victim of a natural or business disaster. Guilds might also provide for the old and infirm, assist widows and orphans with goods or loans, or run schools. Many assisted with infrastructure maintenance in their communities, taking responsibility for the upkeep of bridges, highways, or seawalls. One fraternity in the town of Birmingham paid the midwife's fees and maintained the town's chiming clock. The very largest guilds had significant income, owned buildings and land, distributed considerable amounts of charity, and employed their own clergy.

In the early sixteenth century, there were many guilds all over England, reflecting considerable lay support for them in both rural and urban areas. As the **Reformation** evolved and the Church of England became more and more Protestant, the belief in purgatory was systematically devalued and guild membership and bequests declined. In 1545 the Chantries Act was passed with the intent to abolish badly managed **chantries**, guilds, and other similar organizations. The motive was mainly economic with the goal of garnering assets for the Crown, but little was done because **Henry VIII** died not long after the act was passed. However, when it was renewed in 1547 at the beginning of **Edward VI**'s reign, the motive had become doctrinal—since belief in purgatory had been fully abolished along with

any value in prayers and Masses for the dead, and there was no need for organizations predicated on those beliefs. Virtually all the chantries, guilds, and similar entities were dissolved at that time.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Guinea Company

The Guinea (or Africa) Company was a **regulated company** chartered by **Elizabeth I** in 1588 to conduct trade in the area between the Senegal and Gambia rivers in West Africa. The English had been interested in African commerce since 1536, when William **Hawkins** had sailed to the area to trade for ivory and slaves. Interest became even more intense in the 1560s, when John **Hawkins**, son of William, made West Africa the first stop in a profitable triangular trade that brought African slaves to **Spanish America** and American gold, hides, and agricultural produce to England.

Elizabeth's 1588 charter gave certain merchants of **London** and Exeter the exclusive right to trade in the area. The war with **Spain** limited English opportunities to enter the American slave trade in the 1580s and 1590s, but the Guinea Company made a reasonable profit by exchanging cloth and small trade goods with the local natives for gold and ivory. The company suffered from fierce opposition by the Portuguese, who had several factories (trading posts) on the West African coast and considered the area their exclusive preserve. English interlopers also frequently encroached on the company's monopoly.

The Guinea Company was rechartered in 1618 and 1630; after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the company was reconstituted as the Royal African Company. The company preserved its monopoly until 1752 when its African forts and trading posts were taken over by the Crown to become the beginning of a British colonial presence in West Africa.

See also Monopolies

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Guise, Marie de (1515–1560)

The daughter of a powerful French Catholic family, Marie de Guise, the mother of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, ruled **Scotland** as her daughter's regent. In July 1538, Marie de Guise married **James V**. She had little political influence and was not even crowned until May 1540. The deaths of her two infant sons in 1541 and of her husband in December 1542 passed the Crown to Marie's infant daughter Mary, who was born six days before her father's death. Marie won custody of her child, but an attempt by the queen mother and Cardinal David **Beaton** to prevent a pro-English regency failed. Beaton was confined and James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, the parliamentary-appointed governor of the realm, concluded the Treaty of **Greenwich** with **Henry VIII**. The agreement arranged a marriage between Mary and Prince Edward and promised an eventual union of the Crowns and promotion of reformist religion.

Upon Beaton's release in July 1543, Marie and the cardinal convinced Arran to abandon the English alliance, which he did in September. When the Scottish Parliament repudiated the Greenwich agreement in December, Beaton, the queen's ally, became the leading figure in the Scottish government until his murder by vengeful Protestants in 1546. Beaton's death and the Scottish defeat at the Battle of **Pinkie** in September 1547 allowed Marie to gradually assume leadership of the pro-French party. The English attempt to restore the marriage agreement through military force, the so-called **Rough Wooing**, compelled the Scots to seek French assistance. Marie helped broker the 1548 Haddington agreement, whereby **Henri II** agreed to send French troops to Scotland in return for Mary's betrothal to his eldest son. As part of this compact, Marie sent five-year-old Mary into **France** in late July 1548, thereby ensuring that her daughter would be raised a Catholic with French tastes.

With the Anglo-Scottish war ended and French influence ascendant in Scotland, Marie spent most of 1550 in France with her daughter. After her return to Scotland, her influence on government increased, and in April 1554, Marie replaced Arran as regent. Believing her daughter's interests were best served by a Catholic Scotland



Marie de Guise was the wife of James V of Scotland and mother of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. (The Print Collector/StockphotoPro)

closely allied with France, the new regent sought to strengthen the French connection and to suppress a growing Protestant movement. However, the regime's reliance on French troops and French officials created a backlash that allowed Protestants to oppose the government for nationalistic rather than religious reasons. After her daughter's marriage in 1558 to the future **Francis II** of France, Marie increased her pressure on Scottish Protestants.

In 1559, a rebellion led by the Protestant nobility drove the regent from **Edinburgh** and forced her to call for the assistance of French troops. Edinburgh was retaken, but in 1560 the reluctant intervention of **Elizabeth I** of England on the side of the Protestant lords frustrated Marie's attempts to regain control of the country. Marie de Guise died in Edinburgh Castle on 11 June 1560. Her death made possible the negotiations that led to the Treaty of **Edinburgh**, which removed all foreign troops from Scotland and gave the Catholic Queen of Scots a Protestant country to rule. Marie's body was transported to France, where her daughter saw it buried in March 1561.

See also Edward VI

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Guise Family

On her mother's side, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, was a member of the French aristocratic family of Guise, leaders of the Catholic party during the French civil wars of religion. Claude **Guise**, first Duke of Guise (1496–1550), Mary Stuart's grandfather, fought in Italy under **Francis I** and served as regent of France during Francis's captivity in **Spain** (1525–1526). Marie de **Guise** (1515–1560), daughter of the first duke, married **James V** of **Scotland** in 1538. In December 1542, only days before her husband's death, Marie gave birth to Mary, the next monarch of Scotland. Sent to France in 1548, Mary came under the influence and protection of her uncles, Francis Guise, second Duke of Guise (1519–1563), and Cardinal Charles Guise (1525–1574). The second duke fought against **Henry VIII** at Boulogne in 1545 and captured **Calais** from **Mary I** in 1558. Cardinal Guise introduced the Inquisition into **France** and was a powerful force at the reforming **Council of Trent**, the body that initiated the **Catholic Reformation**.

Influential advisers of **Henri II**, the Guise brothers ruled France during the brief reign (1559–1560) of Henri's son **Francis II**, to whom they had married their

niece Mary Stuart in 1558. During the 1560s, the brothers sternly repressed the **Huguenots** and worked to strengthen French influence and Catholicism in Scotland, where their sister had been regent until 1560 and their niece ruled in her own right after 1561. They encouraged Mary to press her claim to the throne of England against **Elizabeth I**, whom they considered a Protestant usurper. The second duke was assassinated by a Huguenot in 1563, and the ducal title passed to his son Henri Guise, the third duke (1550–1588).

Along with the French queen mother, Catherine de **Medici**, the third duke was a contriver of the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** of **Huguenots** in 1572. He led the **Catholic League** against the Protestants in the religious civil wars of the 1570s and 1580s and sought an alliance with **Philip II** of Spain to prevent Henri Bourbon, the Protestant heir to the throne, from assuming the Crown. His own ambition for the Crown aroused the suspicion of **Henri III**, who had the duke assassinated in 1588, a year after his cousin Mary Stuart was executed in England.

See also Henri IV

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Guzman el Bueno, Alonso Perez de, Duke of Medina Sidonia (1550–1619)

Alonso Perez de Guzman el Bueno, the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia, commanded the Spanish **Armada** against England in 1588. Born into an ancient aristocratic family of Castile, Medina Sidonia was one of the wealthiest and most influential noblemen in **Spain**. He served as hereditary captain-general of Andalusia, a nominally military position that usually required more administrative than military skill. He was unusual among the Spanish (or any other) aristocracy in being a peace-loving man who cared little for military life. A good administrator and a fair scholar, Medina Sidonia had served loyally during the Spanish conquest of Portugal in 1580.

In February 1588, upon the death of Alvaro de **Bázan**, Marquis of Santa Cruz, **Philip II** appointed Medina Sidonia admiral of the ocean sea and commander of the armada. The duke strongly protested his fitness for the position, claiming that he was inexperienced in sea warfare, ignorant of Santa Cruz's plans, and even given to seasickness. Philip ignored the duke's protests, seeing the duke's piety as a necessary quality for the leader of a holy crusade against heretic England. Philip also believed the duke's ancient Castilian lineage would guarantee that ambitious

ship captains would accept his right to command so exalted an enterprise. Although he believed the armada was likely to fail, Medina Sidonia seems to have done his best to ensure success, following his detailed instructions as closely as possible and taking advice from his more experienced subordinates. However, the failure of Alessandro **Farnese**, Duke of Parma, Philip's nephew and governor-general of the **Netherlands**, to rendezvous with the armada combined with the tenacity of the English fleet and the strength of North Sea gales to defeat the enterprise.

Although the duke was blamed for the failure of the armada by many contemporaries in Spain and by later historians, Philip accepted that Medina Sidonia had done his best, and he relieved the duke of his post with thanks. Medina Sidonia returned to his vast estates in southern Spain where he lived quietly until his death in 1619.

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Habsburg, House of

In the sixteenth century, the Habsburg (or Hapsburg) family of Austria also ruled Germany, the **Netherlands**, **Spain** and its American empire, much of **Italy**, and, for a time, England. In 1478, over a decade before his election as Holy Roman Emperor, **Maximilian I** of Habsburg married Mary of Burgundy, only child of the last Duke of Burgundy. This union combined Mary's inheritance—the Netherlands—with the imperial Crown, the election to which had become virtually hereditary in the Habsburg family. In 1496, the couple's eldest son Philip married Joanna, daughter of **Ferdinand and Isabella** of Spain, thereby combining, on Isabella's death in 1504, his mother's Netherlands with his mother-in-law's Crown of Castile. On Philip's death in 1506, his eldest son, Charles Habsburg, was heir to the Crowns of Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Succeeding his father immediately in the Netherlands, Charles had to wait until the death of his maternal grandfather (Ferdinand) in 1516 to become Charles I of Spain, and until the death of his paternal grandfather (Maximilian) in 1519 to become Emperor **Charles V** in Germany. Because he also controlled the growing Spanish empire in **America** and the Spanish possessions in Italy, Charles was a great threat to the French monarchy, and much of his reign was spent at war with **France**. Friendship with Charles was important to England because the emperor's maternal aunt, **Catherine of Aragon**, was married to **Henry VIII**, and because Charles controlled the Netherlands, England's important trading partner. When Henry sought to marry Anne **Boleyn**, Charles's control of Italy prevented the pope from acting against the interests of Charles's aunt, which forced Henry to withdraw England from obedience to Rome to achieve annulment of his marriage. Charles continued a firm friend to his cousin Mary, Catherine's daughter.

When she ascended the English throne as **Mary I** in 1553, Charles arranged her marriage to his son **Philip**, who assumed the Spanish Crown in 1556. The marriage made Philip coruler of England, and any child of the union would have become the future Habsburg ruler of both England and the Netherlands. But Mary died childless in 1558, and when Philip proposed marriage to his former sister-in-law **Elizabeth I**, the new queen politely declined. Elizabeth's **Protestantism**, English

privateering in **Spanish America**, and English assistance to Dutch rebels against Philip led to war between Spain and England in 1585. In 1588, Philip, hopeful of ending English interference in the Netherlands, sent the **armada** to England to dethrone Elizabeth and restore **Catholicism**. Although the armada failed, war continued until 1604, when Philip's son, Philip III, and Elizabeth's successor, **James I**, made peace. The Habsburgs continued to rule in Spain until 1700, in Germany until 1806, and in Austria until 1918.

See also Cloth Industry; Netherlands Revolt; Valois, House of

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Haddon, Walter (c. 1514–1571)

A civil lawyer and noted Latinist, Walter Haddon was one of the guiding spirits of the Edwardian **Reformation** at Cambridge University. Born into a Buckinghamshire **gentry** family, Haddon studied at Eton under Richard **Cox**. In 1533, Haddon entered King's College, Cambridge, where he gained a reputation as a writer of elegant Latin prose. He earned his BA degree in 1538, his MA in 1541, and his doctorate of **civil law** in 1549. At Cambridge, where he served as vice-chancellor from 1549 to 1550, Haddon was associated with some of the leading protestant scholars of **Edward VI**'s reign, including Martin **Bucer**, Matthew **Parker**, Sir John **Cheke**, and Roger **Ascham**. In 1551, the king, acting upon a petition from the university, appointed Haddon Regius professor of civil law, a position he held until September 1552.

In February 1552, Haddon was appointed master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in succession to Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, who was then imprisoned for his opposition to the Crown's religious policies. In the following September, Haddon became president of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he replaced Owen Oglethorpe, another scholar dismissed for his religious conservatism. Although there was some opposition to Haddon's appointment at Oxford, his impact on the college during a tenure of less than a year was significant, for a 1553 visitation of the university conducted by the Marian government found Magdalen to be the most Protestant of Oxford's colleges.

Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Haddon wrote the queen some congratulatory Latin verses and then prudently withdrew from his presidency at Magdalen, where Oglethorpe was restored in October. In 1555, Haddon represented Reigate in **Parliament**, having secured the seat through the influence of William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, a kinsman of Princess Elizabeth. He also sat in the

1558 Parliament for the **borough** of Thetford in Norfolk, a seat gained through the influence of Richard Fulmerston, a kinsman of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk. Despite his **Protestantism**, Haddon did not oppose the Marian religious program, either within or without Parliament.

Within days of her accession in November 1558, **Elizabeth I** named Haddon one of the masters of the Court of **Requests**. In 1559, the queen appointed Haddon to a visitation commission for Cambridge University and Eton College and also awarded him an annual pension of £50. He sat in the Parliament of 1559 for Poole, a borough seat secured for him by Francis **Russell**, the Protestant Earl of Bedford. He also sat in the Parliament of 1563, having been selected as representative for Warwick through the influence of Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, the brother of the royal **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. In 1560, Haddon supervised the preparation of a new Latin prayer book, which was based on an earlier translation by Alexander **Alesius**; the queen authorized use of Haddon's translation for the **universities** and Eton and Winchester colleges.

In 1563, the government ordered Haddon to draft a response to a letter urging the queen to return to **Catholicism**, which was published by a Portuguese priest named Jerome Osorio da Fonseca. Sir Thomas **Smith**, the English ambassador in Paris, oversaw the printing of Haddon's reply, which in turn elicited a response from Osorio. Haddon was working on his second reply to Osorio when he died in **London** on 21 January 1571; Haddon's unfinished pamphlet was eventually completed and published by the martyrologist John **Foxe**.

John A. Wagner

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Hakluyt, Richard (c. 1552–1616)

Through his writings, Richard Hakluyt was instrumental in stimulating Elizabethan exploration of **America**. Born in **London**, Hakluyt was educated at Oxford, completing a master's degree in 1577 and eventually entering the ministry. He was raised from the age of five by a cousin, a London attorney who knew and introduced his ward to many prominent figures, including the mathematician John **Dee** and the cartographers Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius.

Tremendously interested in geography, Hakluyt read widely on the subject in several languages and sought the acquaintance of such seafarers as Sir Humphrey

Gilbert, Sir Francis **Drake**, and Sir Martin **Frobisher**. Determined to promote English overseas expansion, Hakluyt gave a series of public lectures on geography at Oxford in the late 1570s, the first person ever to lecture on that subject at the university. In 1580, in *Discourse on the Strait of Magellan*, Hakluyt urged the fitting-out of an English expedition to find the **Northwest Passage**—a secure route to Asia that would allow England to trade wool for spices. Hakluyt also advocated the establishment of a permanent English colony in the East to facilitate Asian trade.

In his preface to an English account of Frenchman Jacques Cartier's American explorations, Hakluyt based English claims to North America on John **Cabot**'s English-sponsored voyages in the 1490s. In 1582, Hakluyt published *Divers Voyages to America*, a collection of documents relating to various North American voyages of discovery. This popular work helped Hakluyt win a post as chaplain to the English ambassador in Paris, an appointment that allowed him to meet continental geographers and seafarers. In 1584, Hakluyt wrote *Discourse on Western Planting*, an argument for establishing English colonies that was shown to **Elizabeth I** to support Sir Walter **Raleigh**'s colonization of Virginia.

In 1589, fired with patriotism born of the **armada** victory, Hakluyt published the first edition of his monumental work, the *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, a collection of documents covering all English voyages of **exploration** undertaken up to that time. Between 1598 and 1600, Hakluyt published a revised and enlarged three-volume edition of *Principal Navigations*. Although Hakluyt held various ecclesiastical appointments in his last years, his geographic interests continued—he made maps for the **East India Company** in 1600, helped organize the Virginia Company in 1606, and helped found the North-West Passage Company in 1612. Hakluyt died in November 1616.

See also Universities

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Hales, Sir Christopher (d. 1541)

As attorney general of England under **Henry VIII**, Sir Christopher Hales was involved in the state prosecutions of various important figures, including Sir Thomas **More** and Queen Anne **Boleyn**. Born into a prominent **gentry** family of Kent, Hales, like his father and several other kinsmen who were legal servants of the Crown, attended Gray's Inn in **London**, where he was chosen as reader (a senior member selected to deliver lectures on a specific legal topic) for autumn

1524. By the 1520s, he had established a thriving legal practice, with such regular clients as the corporation of Canterbury, the Cinque Ports, and Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham. He sat in the **Parliament** of 1523 for Canterbury, and in 1525 he won appointment to the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, which was then nominally under the leadership of Princess Mary. He was a member of two commissions to survey **Calais** and Guines in 1525 and 1528–1529 and served as **justice of the peace** for Kent from 1526.

Appointed attorney general in June 1525, Hales, as one of the duties of his office, served as justice of assize for the home circuit (the counties around London) until 1536. A close political ally of Thomas **Cromwell**, Hales played key roles in most of the high-profile state prosecutions of the 1530s. His first major assignment as attorney general was preferring an indictment against Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** in October 1529 on charges of abusing his legatine authority. He also pursued various other prosecutions against clerics for **praemunire** between 1530 and the **Submission of the Clergy** in Convocation in 1532. In 1533, Hales was active in the prosecution of Elizabeth **Barton**, the so-called Holy Maid of Kent, and the monk Edward **Bocking**, as well as other supporters of the Maid, for speaking out against the king's attempt to annul his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. In 1534, Hales assisted in the prosecution of William Dacre, Lord Dacre of Gilsland—the only peer found not guilty of **treason** during Henry VIII's reign—for allegedly making private treaties with the Scots during time of war. In 1535, Hales was active in the prosecution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop John **Fisher**, sitting on a panel with Cromwell, Richard **Rich**, and others that questioned both men on 7 May.

In 1536, Hales played a prominent part in the prosecution of Anne Boleyn, being present at her trial at the **Tower of London** on 15 May. On 10 July 1536, Hales succeeded Cromwell as master of the rolls (a senior judge of the Crown in the Court of Chancery). In this office, he participated in the treason trials that arose from investigation of the **Exeter Conspiracy** in 1538–1539. Knighted by 1538, Hales served in 1540 as a commissioner for the remodeling of Canterbury Cathedral, which involved replacing the cathedral monks with secular clergy. Hales greatly profited from the Crown's **dissolution of the monasteries**, acquiring many former monastic properties in Kent. He died on 20 April 1541; his son John being but nine, he left his house at Hackington outside Canterbury to his wife.

John A. Wagner

See also Inns of Court; Mary I

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Hales, John (c. 1516–1572)

Known for his interest in social and economic issues, John Hales is the figure most closely identified with the Edwardian reform movement associated with the **Commonwealth Men**. Born into a prominent **gentry** family of Kent, Hales spent his early years serving in the household of his kinsman Sir Christopher **Hales**, a Henrician attorney general. Hales entered the service of Thomas **Cromwell** in about 1534, becoming deputy to John Gostwick, the new treasurer of **First Fruits and Tenths**. Hales also became assistant to Ralph **Sadler**, the clerk of the hanaper (the official who collected fees for authenticating documents under the Great Seal). After 1541, Hales began to acquire former monastic property, including the Whitefriars house in Coventry, where he built a residence called Hales Place and established a free school for local boys. License for the Coventry school was obtained from **Henry VIII** through the influence of Sir Anthony **Denny**, who commended Hales as a scholar and lover of learning. For use by his foundation, Hales wrote a Latin grammar titled *Introductiones ad Grammaticam*.

Thanks to his **Protestantism** and the influence of Sadler, Hales found favor with the reformist government of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset and lord protector for **Edward VI**. Returned for the Lancashire borough of Preston, Hales sat in the **Parliament** of 1547, where, in the second session of 1548–1549, he introduced three measures for the economic benefit of the poor: a bill discouraging sheep farming, a measure for the encouragement of husbandry, and a bill outlawing regrating (buying up goods wholesale to hold and then sell at inflated prices). All three measures eventually failed of passage. In 1548, Somerset appointed Hales one of six commissioners for the investigation of **enclosures** in the Midlands. Hales's aggressive pursuit of the enclosure inquiry made him a scapegoat for Somerset's opponents, who blamed **Kett's Rebellion** and the other 1549 uprisings on the duke's policies, and especially on his support of the enclosure commissions. Upon Somerset's overthrow in October 1549, Hales was committed to the **Tower of London**. Although freed in 1550, Hales deemed it wise to go abroad and in February 1551 obtained license to accompany Sir Richard Morison on embassy to **Charles V**.

Hales remained on the Continent until after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. In the 1550s, he lived among the **Marian exile** communities in Germany, even involving himself in the doctrinal disputes that split the Frankfurt community. In 1557, the Marian government confiscated his property. Hales sat in the Parliament of 1563, but in the following year fell into disfavor and suffered brief imprisonment for writing a pamphlet upholding the secret marriage of Katherine **Grey**, who, as Jane **Grey's** sister, had a claim to the throne. Because of his interest in economic reform, Hales was once thought to have written the *Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England*, but Sir Thomas **Smith's** authorship of the treatise has now been established. Hales died on 26 December 1572.

See also Dissolution of the Monasteries

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Hall, Edward (1497–1547)

Edward Hall, a prominent Tudor chronicler, is best known for his history of fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century England, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York*. Born into a **London** merchant family, Hall was a Cambridge-educated lawyer who served in the **Reformation Parliament** and in most subsequent Henrician **Parliaments**. In 1533, he was appointed a common serjeant of London (a senior advocate in the **common law** courts), and in 1535, he was named undersheriff of London, a post he held until his death. Reformist-minded and anticlerical, Hall fully supported the break with Rome and the **royal supremacy**. In 1541, he subordinated his Protestant opinions to his obedience to the Crown and took the post of commissioner for the enforcement of the Act of **Six Articles**, which reaffirmed many Catholic practices.

Hall's chronicle, which was published in 1548, covers the period from the deposition of Richard II in 1399 to the death of **Henry VIII** in 1547. Hall himself carried the narrative to 1532, with fellow chronicler Richard **Grafton** using Hall's notes to complete the work. Like most Tudor historians, Hall saw history as an instrument for teaching moral lessons, for presenting both edifying and cautionary examples of the past behavior of princes. Beset by religious strife and dynastic uncertainty, Tudor England projected its fears onto the history of the fifteenth century, which Hall portrayed as a horrible time of civil strife. Drawing upon Sir Thomas **More**'s *History of King Richard III*, Polydore **Vergil**'s *Anglica Historia*, and various London chronicles, Hall fully developed the idea that the Lancastrian usurpation of 1399 was the root cause of civil strife in the fifteenth century, for in this way God punished the Houses of **Lancaster** and **York** for their ambition and tyranny (particularly that of **Richard III**). The accession of **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor** in 1485 and the reign of Henry VIII, who was a descendant of both warring houses, represented the return of divine favor and a restoration of peace and order.

Hall's chronicle is also an important source for the reign of Henry VIII, especially the beginning of the break with Rome in the early 1530s, which Hall himself witnessed as a member of Parliament. Hall was also a careful recorder of ceremonial events such as processions, tournaments, and grand occasions like the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520. Hall's prominence in London legal circles, and his possible

acquaintance with London chronicler Robert **Fabyan**, gave him access to the city archives and led him to collect information on current happenings, making his chronicle a valuable source for events and opinions in Henrician London. Hall's work also influenced all later Tudor historians and became a source for William **Shakespeare's** two tetralogies (four-play cycles) on the history of fifteenth-century England. Writing under the early Tudors when stories of Richard III's crimes were current, Hall further blackened the already critical portrayal of Richard and bequeathed it to Raphael **Holinshed** and other Elizabethan chroniclers, who, in turn, became sources for Shakespeare's shocking villain in the play *Richard III*.

See also Anticlericalism

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Hamilton, James, Earl of Arran (c. 1517–1575)

James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran, was regent of **Scotland** from 1543 to 1554. Although condemned by later historians as weak, irresolute, and greedy, Arran survived internal revolts and military defeats to serve the longest regency in sixteenth-century Scotland. He was also instrumental in preventing English domination of Scotland during the **Rough Wooing** of the 1540s, and he played a leading role in the expulsion of the French in 1560.

Succeeding to his father's earldom in 1529, Arran accompanied **James V** to **France** in 1536 for his marriage to Marie de **Guise**. Upon James's death in December 1542, Arran, who was descended from a sister of James III, stood next in line to the Scottish throne after James's week-old daughter, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Recognized as heir and appointed governor of Scotland by **Parliament** in January 1543, Arran faced a daunting task. Both the English and French were determined to control Scottish affairs, while the Scots nobility was divided into French and English factions that were increasingly becoming Catholic and Protestant groupings. Facing military pressure from **Henry VIII**, Arran concluded the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Greenwich** in July 1543, an agreement that arranged a marriage between Queen Mary and Prince Edward of England. However, by September, Henry's increasingly arrogant behavior toward Scotland allowed Arran

to repudiate the treaty and ally himself with Marie de Guise and Cardinal David **Beaton**, the leaders of the pro-French faction.

Despite defeat at the Battle of **Pinkie** in 1547, Arran was able, with French assistance, to resist English demands for implementation of the marriage. In the 1548 Treaty of Haddington, Arran's government betrothed Mary to the French dauphin, and shortly thereafter sent the queen to France to be raised at the court of **Henri II**. With the 1551 Treaty of **Norham**, Arran secured the dismantling of the last English garrisons in Scotland and achieved a settlement of the long-standing Anglo-Scottish border dispute. However, the expulsion of the English significantly strengthened the pro-French party led by the queen mother. Bribed by Henri with elevation to the French duchy of Chatelherault, Arran bowed to French pressure and resigned the regency to Marie de Guise in 1554.

Upon the regent's death in 1560, Arran emerged as a leader of the Protestant, pro-English party, which, through its control of Parliament, achieved the Treaty of **Edinburgh**, whereby Scotland was freed of all foreign influence. Although Arran initially supported Queen Mary upon her return in 1561, he was exiled in 1565 for opposing her marriage to Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. Returning in 1569, Arran was refused appointment as regent for Mary's son James VI and subsequently led the Marian forces during the ensuing civil war. Briefly imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, Arran won release by recognizing James as rightful king. The earl died shortly thereafter on 22 January 1575.

See also Edward VI; James I

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James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, served the longest regency in sixteenth-century Scotland despite a reputation as weak, irresolute, and greedy. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

Hamilton, Patrick (c. 1504–1528)

Patrick Hamilton, an early Scottish adherent of **Lutheranism** whose ideas influenced other Scottish and English reformers, was the first Protestant executed for heresy in sixteenth-century **Scotland**. Although Hamilton was born into one of Scotland's most powerful magnate families, little is known about his early life. In 1517, while still in his teens, Hamilton was made abbot of Ferne in Ross. While studying at the University of Paris, where he took an MA in 1520, Hamilton first came into contact with the teachings of Martin Luther. By 1523, Hamilton was at the University of Louvain, where he fell under the influence of the reformist **humanism** of Desiderius **Erasmus**. Returning to Scotland later in the year, Hamilton joined the faculty of arts at the University of St. Andrews. By 1526, Hamilton had openly associated himself with the doctrines of Luther, causing James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, to examine the abbot and formally charge him with heresy.

Hamilton fled to Germany in early 1527, where he traveled to Wittenberg to meet Luther and his associate Philipp Melancthon. Entering the University of Marburg, Hamilton met the English reformer and **Bible** translator William **Tyndale**, as well as other leading humanist reformers from around Europe. While at Marburg, Hamilton devised his *Loci Communes*, a series of theses that examined how human beings were justified before God. Known as *Patrick's Places* and later translated into English, these theses asserted the basic tenets of the Protestant **Reformation**, including the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone as opposed to the orthodox view of justification through faith and good works. *Patrick's Places* was a seminal document in the formation of early **Protestantism** in both Scotland and England.

In late 1527, Hamilton returned to Scotland, where his open espousal of Lutheran views brought him once again before Beaton and the bishops on charges of heresy. He was given a month to recant his opinions, during which time such Scottish divines as Alexander **Alesius** attempted to return him to orthodoxy. However, Hamilton was so strong and eloquent in his convictions and so steadfast in the face of death that he influenced Alesius to also embrace reform. Condemned for heresy, Hamilton was burned at the stake at St. Andrews on 29 February 1528.

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Hampton Court, Treaty of

The Treaty of Hampton Court (also known as the Treaty of Richmond) represented **Elizabeth I's** first formal commitment to the cause of European **Protestantism** and her first military involvement outside the British Isles. In 1562, representatives of the French **Huguenots** requested Elizabeth's assistance in their fight against the extremist Catholic forces led by the **Guise family**. Although she disliked war, Elizabeth was driven to intervene by her fear that a united, Catholic **France** would invade England should the Guise forces win the civil war. She also believed that the war and the Huguenots' desperate need for her help offered England an excellent opportunity to regain **Calais** and perhaps to acquire several other French towns. Protestants in the English government—especially Sir William **Cecil**, the principal secretary; Robert **Dudley**, the royal **favorite**; and Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**, the English ambassador in France—were also eager to assist their French coreligionists and to strike a blow against militant Catholicism.

Signed on 19 September 1562, the agreement reached at **Richmond Palace** by Cecil and the Huguenot negotiators called for the queen to supply the French Protestants with 100,000 crowns (about £25,000) and 3,000 troops. In return for this aid, the Huguenots agreed to hand the port of Le Havre (known to the English as Newhaven) to the queen as a pledge for the future return of Calais. The English also agreed to assist the Huguenots in the defense of the towns of Rouen and Dieppe. If the Huguenots won the war with English help, Elizabeth hoped to take Calais as her reward; if the Huguenots lost, Elizabeth hoped at least to keep Le Havre, Dieppe, and Rouen to prevent them from becoming staging points for a Guise invasion of England.

Elizabeth's calculations went awry when Anthony of Navarre, the Huguenot leader, was killed and Francis, Duke of Guise, was assassinated. These deaths allowed the French queen mother, Catherine de **Medici**, to negotiate a settlement and unite all parties in an effort to drive out the English. As a result, Elizabeth obtained neither Calais nor Le Havre and lost most of her troops to disease during the long siege of Le Havre, an outcome that made Elizabeth unwilling to reinvolve herself in continental conflicts or on behalf of continental Protestantism for over 20 years. Peace was eventually restored between the two countries by the 1564 Treaty of Troyes.

See also Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick; Le Havre Expedition

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Hampton Court Palace

One of the largest royal palaces in sixteenth-century Europe, Hampton Court was one of the favorite residences of **Henry VIII**. Hampton Court was begun by Henry's chief minister, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, who constructed a large three-story residence along the Thames west of **London** between 1515 and 1526. Wolsey's red brick palace consisted of a progression of courts built along a central axis and leading into one another through a series of ornate gatehouses. Already containing a suite of apartments built especially for use by the king, Hampton Court Palace came into Henry's possession in 1529 when he dismissed Wolsey from office.

Encouraged by Anne **Boleyn**, Henry greatly enlarged and extended Hampton Court, building an entirely new set of lodgings for Anne. Henry also built new royal apartments for himself, a new kitchen, a tennis court, and a large great hall for the accommodation of the **court**. The king's apartments included the large Paradise Chamber, which was hung with jeweled tapestries and topped with a brilliantly painted and gilded ceiling. The palace also boasted a number of the ingenious mechanical devices that so fascinated the king, including the great astronomical clock made by Nicholas Oursian in 1540. Set in a gatehouse of one of the inner courts, the clock still tells the hour, day, and month, as well as the number of days since the start of the year, the phases of the moon, and the time of high tide at old London Bridge.



Hampton Court Palace was built by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey but became Henry VIII's in 1529, at which time it was greatly enlarged. (Kpics/Dreamstime.com)

Henry spent a great deal of time at Hampton Court Palace in his last years. Although **Elizabeth I** spent much time there in the last years of her father's reign, she fell seriously ill with smallpox and almost died there in October 1562. Thereafter, Hampton Court was one of Elizabeth's least favorite residences, the queen having come to believe that it was an unhealthful place. Although most of the royal apartments were demolished in the late seventeenth century by William III, who rebuilt the palace, much of the Tudor structure still exists, making Hampton Court one of the few Tudor palaces to survive into the twenty-first century. Hampton Court is now open to the public.

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Hardwick, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury (1520–1608)

Next to **Elizabeth I** herself, no woman in Elizabethan England exhibited the financial acumen and political sense of “Bess of Hardwick.” Married four times, Elizabeth Hardwick outlived each husband, inheriting considerable wealth from each one in turn. In about 1532, at the age of 12, Hardwick married Robert Barlow, who died a year later. In 1549, she wed Sir William Cavendish, with whom she had six children. After Cavendish's death in 1557, Hardwick, who had a passion for building, completed construction of Chatsworth House, a large country mansion that she had begun in the early 1550s. Hardwick's third husband was a wealthy Gloucestershire gentleman, Sir William St. Loe, whom she married in 1559. His death in the early 1560s made Hardwick one of the richest women in England. In 1567, she married George **Talbot**, Earl of



Elizabeth Hardwick, the shrewd and accomplished Countess of Shrewsbury, made the first of four advantageous marriages at the tender age of twelve. (Maud Stephney Rawson. *Bess of Hardwick and Her Circle*, 1910)

Shrewsbury, a wealthy and influential nobleman who became custodian of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, in 1569.

In the 1570s, Hardwick worked assiduously for the advancement of her Cavendish children, angering both the queen and her husband with her bold and ambitious schemes. By arranging a marriage between her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish and Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox (brother of Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, the murdered husband of Mary of **Scotland**), Hardwick incurred the wrath of the queen and earned a brief stay in the **Tower of London**. Elizabeth objected to the match because Lennox had a claim to the English throne. In the 1580s, Hardwick took advantage of that claim by trying unsuccessfully to persuade the queen to accept her granddaughter, Arabella **Stuart**, child of the Lennox marriage, as heir to the Crown.

Hardwick's own marriage to Shrewsbury deteriorated in the 1580s; she even accused her husband of plotting to release Mary Stuart, a charge she was unable to substantiate and had to retract. The couple considered divorce, but Elizabeth effected a reconciliation. After Shrewsbury's death in 1590, Hardwick used her great wealth and freedom from spousal constraint to again engage in building. The construction of Hardwick Hall, the magnificent Tudor mansion that can still be seen in Derbyshire, took up the last two decades of Elizabeth Hardwick's life. She died there at the age of 87 in February 1608.

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Harington, Sir John (1561–1612)

From the letters of Sir John Harington, **Elizabeth I**'s much-indulged godson, come some of the most vivid descriptions our age has of the queen and her **court**. During the reign of **Mary I**, Harington's father, also named John Harington, won the undying affection of Elizabeth by smuggling letters from a friend to the princess while she and Harington were both imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, an act of kindness that cost Harington a £1,000 fine. In gratitude, Elizabeth stood as godmother for Harington's son in 1561.

Young John Harington attended Eton and Cambridge but was an indifferent student. After his father's death in 1582, Harington was often at court except for brief periods when his wit and gift for satire angered his godmother and earned him banishment from her sight. The first such escapade involved his circulation among the queen's maids of honor of a decidedly improper tale that Harington had translated out of a long epic poem by the Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto. When the queen read

his work, she banished Harington from the court until he had translated the entire poem, a task he completed by 1592 when he presented a magnificently bound copy to Elizabeth. Harington's second banishment came in 1596 over a treatise titled *A New Discourse on a Stale Subject: The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, which Harington published under the pseudonym "Misacmos." The work was a detailed description, with diagrams, of Harington's latest invention—the water closet. (Ajax was a pun on "a jakes," an Elizabethan term for a privy or a toilet.) The treatise angered the queen, not for its subject, but for its many unflattering asides on prominent courtiers, including the queen's late **favorite** Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth ordered the "saucy poet" from the court until he had learned better manners, which he apparently had by 1598 when the queen forgave him and had one of his water closets installed at **Richmond Palace**.

In 1599, Elizabeth ordered Harington to accompany Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, to **Ireland**, commanding her godson to keep a secret journal of the expedition as a check for her on the ambitious earl. Harington revealed his affection for the queen at her death, writing that "I can not blot from my memory's table the goodness of our sovereign Lady to me." Well favored by **James I**, Harington continued at court until his death in November 1612.

See also Ladies-in-Waiting; Universities

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Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)

A Catholic religious polemicist and historian of the English **Reformation**, Nicholas Harpsfield was also an influential figure in the Marian Church and a biographer of Sir Thomas **More**. Through his close and detailed criticism of the first edition, Harpsfield also had a significant influence on the development and quality of John **Foxe's** "**Book of Martyrs**," the famous Elizabethan work of Protestant martyrology.

The son of a **London** cloth merchant, Harpsfield was admitted to Winchester College in 1529 and became a fellow of New College in 1535. A student of **civil** and **canon law**, he obtained his bachelor of civil law degree in 1543. At Oxford,

Harpsfield's religious conservatism brought him into the More family circle and won him the patronage of Sir Thomas More's son-in-law William **Roper**. At Roper's request, Harpsfield wrote a biography of More that was likely meant as a supplement to the edition of More's works published by William **Rastell** in 1557 during the reign of **Mary I**. The now-famous memoir of More's life written by Roper himself, which was the basis for the modern play and film *A Man for All Seasons*, is thought to have been written as source material for Harpsfield's use.

When the accession of **Edward VI** made Oxford uncongenial for Catholics, Harpsfield moved to the **Netherlands**, where he studied at the University of Louvain and lodged with the merchant Antonio Bonvisi, a close friend of More and of members of the More family. Harpsfield likely began the writing of his More biography while living with Bonvisi, who also may have brought Harpsfield to the attention of the future Marian archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Reginald **Pole**.

Harpsfield returned to England after Mary's accession in 1553 and quickly began a rapid rise through the ranks of the Marian Church. He became archdeacon of Canterbury in March 1554 and quickly became Pole's principal agent in the Canterbury diocese. As vicar-general of London, Harpsfield conducted a visitation of the capital that tried and punished over 400 individuals for various offenses between November 1554 and March 1558. Although none of the offenders was tried for **heresy**, many London Protestants were fined or given penances for their transgressions. In the Canterbury diocese, however, Harpsfield conducted numerous heresy trials. According to Foxe, Harpsfield was the "sorest and of least compassion" of the Marian prosecutors, and his interrogations led to the deaths of many. Not as harsh as portrayed by Foxe, Harpsfield, like his hero More, was zealous in his efforts to eradicate heresy.

During Mary's reign, Harpsfield wrote two other important Catholic polemics—*Cranmer's Recantations* and a *Treatise on the Pretended Divorce*. The former is an account of the imprisonment, trial, and execution of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, which Cardinal Pole ordered Harpsfield to write to provide a Catholic perspective on the most famous of the **Marian martyrs**. The *Treatise*, which refutes **Henry VIII's** canonical case for the annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** and repeats much of the criticism of Cranmer contained in *Cranmer's Recantations*, could not be published after the accession of **Elizabeth I** and thus remained in manuscript form until 1878.

Under Elizabeth, Harpsfield became a high-profile opponent of the new regime's religious policies. He refused to subscribe to the restored **Book of Common Prayer** or the queen's religious injunctions and was thus stripped of all his ecclesiastical offices in late 1559. In 1562, he was incarcerated in the Fleet Prison for refusing to swear to the **royal supremacy** and remained in confinement until 1574, when both he and his brother, John Harpsfield, were released for health reasons. In 1566, a huge Latin work titled *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae*,

sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores, et pseudomartyres was published in Antwerp. Apparently written during his imprisonment, this book, published under the name Alan Cope, is Harpsfield's rebuttal of the great Protestant works of the period, including Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (i.e., "Book of Martyrs"). The *Dialogi sex* was important because it provided the basic arguments used by later Catholic controversialists and because it forced Foxe to significantly revise, expand, and improve his "Book of Martyrs" to address Harpsfield's criticisms. *Historia Anglicana ecclesiastica*, Harpsfield's last work, was not published until 1622; it is a history of the dioceses of England and of the development of English **Lollardy**. Harpsfield died in London on 18 December 1575.

John A. Wagner

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Harriot, Thomas (1560–1621)

Thomas Harriot (or Hariot) was an important Elizabethan mathematician and scholar and the first person to write an account of English settlement in what was to become the United States. Harriot was born and educated at Oxford. He served as a cartographer and scientific adviser to Sir Walter **Raleigh**, and he sailed with Sir Richard **Grenville** on the first colonization voyage sent by Raleigh to Virginia in 1585. The hardships of the North American wilderness overcame the colonists, and they convinced Sir Francis **Drake** to return them to England when he passed by their settlement on Roanoke Island (off what is now North Carolina) in June 1586.

Harriot turned his year on Roanoke into a descriptive account of the island titled *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, which was published in 1588. A popular work, the *Report* was translated into French, German, and Latin within two years of its publication; it also contained reproductions of 23 drawings by fellow colonist John **White** of the plant, animal, and human life native to Virginia. Upon his return, Harriot also prepared a navigation manual and various charts and maps of **America** for Raleigh. Harriot is also said to have been the first

Englishman to have smoked tobacco, an American commodity Harriot thoroughly described in the *Report*.

From 1607 until his death, Harriot received a pension from Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and was briefly imprisoned after the Catholic Gunpowder Plot of 1605 for casting **James I**'s horoscope at the request of his patron, who was suspected of involvement in the plot. Harriot spent his last years engaged in astronomical research and mathematical study. By 1610, he was using a telescope similar to Galileo's to study sunspots and observe other celestial phenomena. He also invented a number of aids to navigation and devised and perfected various algebraic theories. This research resulted in the publication of Harriot's *Artis Analyticae Praxis* in 1631, 10 years after his death.

See also Roanoke Colony (1585); Universities

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Harrison, William (1534–1593)

A topographer, antiquary, and historian, William Harrison was the author of “**The Description of England**,” the most important surviving account of life in Elizabethan times. Born in **London**, Harrison was educated at St. Paul's School and Westminster School, where his schoolmaster was Alexander **Nowell**, the future dean of St. Paul's and author of the Anglican **catechism**. Harrison also attended Cambridge and Oxford, completing his studies at the latter in 1560. After his ordination in about 1556, Harrison served as chaplain to William Brooke, Lord Cobham, who, holding the **advowson** to the **benefice** of Radwinter in Essex, gave the parish to Harrison in 1559. Although Harrison also held another Essex benefice in the 1570s, he served Radwinter for the rest of his life.

Harrison was one of the team of writers, which also included Richard **Stanyhurst** and Edmund **Campion**, who were assembled by Raphael **Holinshed** to compile his *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, now popularly known as **Holinshed's Chronicles**. Harrison's contribution to the project was a treatise titled “An Historical Description of the Island of Britain,” which served as the introduction to the first edition of Holinshed in 1577. For the second edition, published by John **Hooker** and another team of editors in 1587, Harrison reordered some of the sections of his work, retaining the original title for the first part of

the treatise, but renaming the subsequent parts with the title “The Description of England.” Although the first part of the revised work concentrated on **Scotland** and on the topography and history of the whole island of Britain, “The Description of England” focused on the social organization and physical resources of England and **Wales**. Harrison’s detailed descriptions and lively writing style have today made “The Description of England” the most widely read and trusted source of information on Elizabethan social history.

Harrison also wrote two works that went unpublished in his lifetime. One is his great “Chronologie,” which painstakingly lists the important events in history from the Creation until February 1593, two months before Harrison’s death. The other is a treatise on weights and measures, which was written about 1587. Harrison died at Radwinter in April 1593.

See also Antiquarianism; Universities

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Harvey, Gabriel (c. 1550–1630)

Gabriel Harvey was a prominent university lecturer and literary critic. Born in Essex, Harvey was educated at Cambridge, where he was appointed professor of rhetoric in 1574. A quarrelsome man, Harvey embroiled himself in numerous academic controversies with his Cambridge colleagues. However, he also found a friend at Cambridge in Edmund **Spenser**, who placed Harvey in his *The Shepheardes Calendar* as the character “Habbinol.” Harvey’s lectures, which argued that content was more important than form in the writing of verse, were published in 1577. Harvey’s strongly held and expressed opinions on literature and individual poets and writers frequently caused him trouble and damaged his academic career. His election as master of Trinity Hall at Cambridge was blocked by the government in 1585 because of the offense given at court by his attack on the poetry of Edward de **Vere**, Earl of Oxford.

In the 1590s, Harvey engaged in a long and acrimonious pamphlet debate with the poets Robert **Greene** and Thomas **Nashe**. Harvey began the feud in 1592 by

attacking Greene's work in the pamphlet *Four Letters*. Harvey and Nashe quarreled over both literary and religious issues. As a **Puritan**, Harvey attacked the work Nashe did for the government in answering the Puritan criticisms of the **Marprelate Tracts**. In 1599 as Harvey and Nashe grew increasingly vehement in their denunciations of each other, the government intervened, banning both men from publishing anything new and confiscating all previous works.

By the late 1590s, Harvey declared himself weary of Elizabethan literary fashions and advised young poets to take up a more practical occupation. After his debate with Nashe was suppressed, Harvey published almost nothing else, although he did write a favorable opinion of some of the works of William **Shakespeare** in 1601. Failing to obtain any further academic preferment, Harvey spent the last 30 years of his life in retirement in Essex, where he devoted himself to medical and scientific studies. Harvey died at his Essex home in 1630.

See also Universities

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Hastings, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon (1536–1595)

Under **Elizabeth I**, Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was a leading Protestant claimant to the English throne. Through his mother, a daughter of Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, Hastings had a claim to the throne through the House of **York**. Hastings's great-grandmother was Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury and niece of **Edward IV**. **Henry VIII** executed the countess in 1541, and her son Henry, Hastings's grandfather, in 1538—officially for **treason**, but in fact for their Yorkist blood. **Edward VI**, with whom Hastings was raised, knighted him in 1548, and, in May 1553, Hastings married a daughter of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland.

Hastings succeeded to his father's earldom of Huntingdon in June 1560, and thereafter, often to the queen's annoyance, put himself forward as a better Protestant successor to Elizabeth than the surviving sisters of Jane **Grey**—Katherine **Grey** and Mary **Grey**. When Elizabeth almost died of smallpox in October 1562, political opinion in the country tended to support Huntingdon as the best successor. The earl was a zealous **Puritan** and a supporter of the **Huguenot** cause in France, even requesting in 1569 to be allowed to join the Huguenot armies. Both religion and his own dynastic interests made Huntingdon a strong opponent of the proposed marriage between Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, the Catholic heir to Elizabeth's throne. When Norfolk's schemes led to the **Northern Rebellion** in 1569, Elizabeth gave Huntingdon partial responsibility for

Mary's safekeeping. Huntingdon was later a member of the commission appointed to view the **Casket Letters** and other evidence of wrongdoing brought against Mary by her half brother, James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray. In 1572, Huntingdon sat as a judge for Norfolk's treason trial and was thereafter lord president of the **Council of the North**, with responsibility for defending England's Scottish frontier.

A patron of Puritan preachers, Huntingdon was also a strong opponent of **Spain**, and he quickly took up arms in 1588 to defend the queen from possible Catholic plots during the **armada** invasion. Huntingdon died childless in 1595.

See also Exeter Conspiracy; Grey Claim (to the Throne)

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Hathaway, Anne (c. 1556–1623)

It is popular knowledge that the life of William **Shakespeare** is shrouded in uncertainty, so it may not be surprising that even more uncertainty surrounds his wife, Anne Hathaway Shakespeare. The verifiable facts are few. Hathaway was born circa 1556, a date surmised from her grave, which reports that she was 67 when she died in 1623. Anne (Ann, Agnes) Hathaway was one of seven children of Richard Hathaway (her mother's name is unknown), a landowner in Shottery one mile from Stratford. She grew up in Hewlands, the home now commonly known as Anne Hathaway's Cottage—an interesting misnomer due to its substantial size and the fact she never owned it.

Her adult life is as uncertain as her youth. Hathaway married Shakespeare in 1582; their first child, Susanna, was christened on 26 May 1583. Hathaway then bore twins, Judith and Hamnet, who were christened on 5 February 1585. Shakespeare's will (1616) notoriously bequests to her his "second-best bed." And that is all that is known about Hathaway until her death in 1623, when she was buried to the left of Shakespeare's grave.

Everything else about her life is speculation. We do not know if Hathaway could read or write or whether she loved or did not love her absent husband—or indeed whether he loved her. We can only guess how she felt about her premarital pregnancy, how she reacted to her 11-year-old son's death in 1596, or whether she felt slighted by her husband. What follows is a consideration of some of the most speculated aspects of her life, drawn from what we know about her family and her social context.

Although we have no way of confirming how Hathaway and Shakespeare began their courtship, we do have evidence that the families were acquainted. It is often

thought that Anne wooed William simply because she was eight years his senior, but this is only conjecture. Certainly she did seem an independent woman who may have taken this course of action. Being orphaned in her mid-20s and having been left some money in her father's will, she was at liberty to determine the course of her life. Regardless of the circumstances, she became pregnant and was soon married. Often scholars and historians have attempted to make this occurrence less sensational by remarking that premarital pregnancy was not unusual and that there had likely already been a handfasting ritual (an exchange of rings and a promise to marry). However, others contend that there was something awkward about the entire affair, due to the haste with which the marriage was executed—the marriage bond reduced the reading of the banns from three to one.

Shakespeare spent most of his life in **London**, leaving Hathaway in Stratford with their children. Whether she felt abandoned, they wrote to each other, or Shakespeare financially supported his family can only be conjectured. There is no evidence of her reading and writing, and certainly illiteracy, particularly among women, was common in the period. However, there is sound evidence for her family being staunchly Protestant, which makes it possible that she was taught to read her **Bible**. Shakespeare did purchase a substantial home in Stratford—New Place—in 1597, where Anne lived quite possibly until her death, but she may have otherwise provided for herself, since there is no evidence of Shakespeare's provision. Based on the trades of some countrywomen, some scholars believe she may have been a malt-maker, a cheese-maker, or a haberdasher.

Finally, the bequest to Hathaway in Shakespeare's will of his "second-best bed" has often been used to promote the idea that their union was unhappy (also commonly believed because of the small number of children they had together in 34 years of marriage). This is possible, though it has often been refuted with the argument that this was the marital bed, the best bed being reserved for guests. It must also be added that Hathaway may have been automatically entitled to a share of Shakespeare's estate and thus may not have felt slighted at all.

In the end, it would seem the little we know is just enough to make Hathaway fascinating: independent in an oppressive time, an able mother who brought two of her three children through a perilous age for drought, harsh winters, and the **plague**, and a figure who lived under the shadow of her husband's fame, in the great gap of his absence, and in the light of his success.

Julie Sutherland

See also Women

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Hatton, Sir Christopher (1540–1591)

Sir Christopher Hatton, although only the second son of a Northamptonshire **gentry** family, became one of the most prominent figures in the Elizabethan **court** and a special **favorite** of **Elizabeth I**. Hatton attended Oxford in the mid-1550s but took no degree, and he was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1559, but he was not called to the bar—both common practices for a man seeking a career at court rather than in a profession. He was later criticized for having “danced his way” into royal favor, for Hatton seems to have first come to the queen’s attention when he performed before her in a **masque** given at the Inner Temple at **Christmas** 1561. By 1564, Hatton, having received several court appointments as well as grants of land and money, was in high favor and reputed to be the queen’s lover.

Although looks, charm, and courtly prowess may have begun Hatton’s career, the later positions of responsibility given him by Elizabeth indicated her recognition in him of higher abilities. In 1572, he became captain of the royal guard, and in 1577 he received a knighthood and appointment to the Privy **Council**. He sat for Northamptonshire in several **Parliaments**, becoming recognized as the queen’s spokesman in the Commons. In the 1580s, he opposed the queen’s proposed marriage to Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, and fell out of favor briefly for his rivalry with Sir Walter **Raleigh** and his support for the execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. A moderate Anglican, he opposed extreme measures against both Catholics and



Sir Christopher Hatton, one of Elizabeth’s favorites and a member of the Privy Council, may have first come to the queen’s attention because of his dancing abilities. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

Puritans and was suspected by the latter of being a secret Catholic. In 1573, he was the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt by a Puritan fanatic.

Hatton was a patron of several authors, including Edmund **Spenser** and Thomas **Churchyard**, and he was one of the courtiers who invested in Sir Francis **Drake**'s circumnavigation voyage in 1577. Drake renamed his flagship the *Golden Hind* after the markings on Hatton's coat of arms. In 1587, Hatton became lord chancellor, the most important legal position in the land, and in 1588 he followed Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, as chancellor of Oxford University and high steward of Cambridge. Hatton, who never married, died in London on 20 November 1591.

See also Catholicism, English; Inns of Court; Universities

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Hawkins, Sir John (1532–1595)

Sir John Hawkins was an English seaman who attempted in the 1560s to open the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and on the American mainland to English trade. The Spanish government forbade its American colonies from trading with any foreign power, even though Spain could not supply all its colonies' needs, especially the need for slave labor. In 1562, Hawkins sailed to West Africa, took on a cargo of slaves, and then sailed to **Spanish America** where he conducted a brisk trade with colonists willing to ignore Spanish trade law. His profits from the 1562 voyage stimulated interest in a second voyage, in which even **Elizabeth I**, Sir William **Cecil**, and Robert **Dudley** invested. This 1564 voyage was even more successful, paying huge dividends to its shareholders.

A third voyage, launched in 1567, ran into strong resistance from a Spanish colonial administration determined to stamp out the illegal trade. Hawkins lost all but two of his ships when ambushed by the Spanish at **San Juan d'Ulloa**, the main port for Mexico City on Mexico's Caribbean coast; Hawkins and Sir Francis **Drake**, a relative who had accompanied Hawkins on the voyage, barely survived the passage back to England in 1569. The outcome of this ill-fated third voyage aggravated hostility between England and Spain and launched the anti-Spanish **privateering** career of Drake.

In 1577, Hawkins became treasurer of the **navy**; in this office, and later as naval controller, he was instrumental in reorganizing the English fleet and in restructuring its procedures and tactics. As a rear admiral, he was third in command of the fleet in 1588 when it sailed against the Spanish **Armada**. Hawkins died in 1595 while with Drake on a raiding expedition to the Spanish West Indies.

See also Treasure Crisis of 1568

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Hawkins, William (c. 1490s–c. 1554)

In the 1530s, William Hawkins (or Hawkyins), a prominent merchant and sailor of Plymouth, organized and led several trading expeditions to Africa and Brazil that laid the foundations for England's later transatlantic commerce. Born in the 1490s in Devonshire, the son of John Hawkins of Tavistock, William Hawkins became a merchant of Plymouth, being named treasurer of the corporation of Plymouth in 1524. He became mayor of Plymouth in 1532 and again in 1538, and he represented the port in the **Parliaments** of 1539, 1547, and 1553. Hawkins exported English cloth and tin to Europe for wine, sugar, pepper, and other commodities. He also engaged in the importation of fish from the Grand Banks off northeastern North America.

In 1530, Hawkins fitted out the 250-ton *Paul* for a voyage to the Guinea coast of West Africa, where he traded for pepper and ivory. He then sailed to Brazil to take on a cargo of the local dyewood (the word “brazil” means “dyewood”), which was much prized by English clothiers. How Hawkins eluded the Portuguese, who controlled the Guinea trade and claimed Brazil, is unknown. To accomplish his voyage, he likely acquired the services of a Portuguese or French pilot who knew the African and Brazilian waters. During a second voyage in 1531, Hawkins persuaded a Brazilian chief to return with him to England, where the chief was presented to a delighted **Henry VIII**. Even though the chief died during the return voyage in 1532, the natives were so impressed with Hawkins that they readily released Martin Cockeram, the English seaman left in Brazil as a pledge for the chief's safe return.

The 1532 expedition may have been the last upon which Hawkins personally sailed, but he certainly remained involved in Atlantic trade. He even tried to interest the government in expanding the trade; in a 1536 letter to Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister, Hawkins asks the king for a loan of money, cannons, and powder. How the request was answered is uncertain, but the records of a 1540 voyage of the *Paul* prove that the Guinea-Brazil trade continued and illustrate how profitable it could be. Leaving Plymouth in February with about £24 worth of hatchets, combs, knives, copper, and lead, the *Paul* returned in October with a cargo of ivory and brazil wood worth £615.

Hawkins, who died in late 1553 or early 1554, was also the founder of a famous English seafaring family. His sons William Hawkins (c. 1519–1589) and Sir John **Hawkins** and his grandson Sir Richard Hawkins (1560–1622) were all famous Elizabethan seamen. Sir John was third in command of the English fleet that fought the Spanish **Armada** in 1588.

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Heath, Nicholas (c. 1501–1578)

Nicholas Heath was the Marian archbishop of York and lord chancellor of England. Despite his religious conservatism and association with the Marian regime, Heath cooperated with the Elizabethan government during the first weeks of the new reign.

Born in **London** and educated at St. Anthony's School, Heath later attended Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and took a master's degree at Christ College, Cambridge, in 1522. Elected fellow of Clare Hall in 1524, Heath acquired various ecclesiastical livings before completing his doctorate of divinity at Cambridge in 1535. In the same year, Heath traveled to Germany with Edward **Foxe** to negotiate an alliance with the Protestant princes of the empire. On his return in 1536, Heath became **Henry VIII's** almoner, and in 1539, the king appointed Heath to the see of Rochester. As bishop, Heath worked with Cuthbert **Tunstall** to oversee publication of the 1541 edition of the Great **Bible** printed by Richard **Grafton**. In 1543, Heath replaced Hugh **Latimer** as bishop of Worcester. Although conservative in matters of doctrine and ritual, Heath retained his bishopric under the Protestant regime of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, leader of **Edward VI's** first regency government. A moderate and conciliatory man, Heath largely conformed to the government's religious policies until 1550, when he refused to accept the new Protestant ritual of ordination. Examined by the **council**, Heath maintained his position and was committed to the Fleet Prison in March 1551. After a further refusal to replace altars in his diocese with Communion tables, Heath was deprived of office and given into the custody of Bishop Nicholas **Ridley**.

On the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Heath became president of the **Council in the Marches of Wales** and was restored to the see of Worcester, replacing the Edwardian incumbent John **Hooper**. In February 1555, Mary named Heath archbishop of York and in early 1556 appointed him lord chancellor. Although a

competent administrator and an assiduous attender of the council, Heath lacked the forceful character and political ability of the former Marian chancellor Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**. As chancellor, Heath neither helped nor hindered the ongoing persecution of the **Marian martyrs**, although his office required him to sign writs of execution, such as he did in 1555 to authorize the burning of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. On the queen's death in November 1558, Heath proclaimed **Elizabeth I** in the House of Lords, an act that helped ensure a peaceful succession. In 1559, Heath resigned as chancellor and refused to crown the new queen, whom he considered a heretic. Opposed to the abolition of papal supremacy, Heath spoke and voted against the Elizabethan Act of **Uniformity**. Upon refusing the oath enjoined by the new Act of **Supremacy**, Heath was deprived of his office in July 1559. Briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, Heath was allowed to retire to his Surrey estate upon agreeing not to meddle further in matters of religion or politics. Heath kept to this undertaking, living quietly in retirement until his death in late 1578.

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Heminges, John (d. 1630)

John Heminges (or Heminge), a **London** stage actor and colleague of William **Shakespeare**, was a coeditor of the first edition of Shakespeare's plays, known as the **First Folio**. Heminges probably started his acting career with the troupe known as the Queen's Men, but by 1594 was, with Shakespeare and Richard **Burbage**, a member of the **Chamberlain's Men**. In 1596, he became the official recipient of payment for the company's performances at **court**. Although listed in all the troupe's cast lists to 1629, Heminges probably ceased performing about 1611. He became trustee and overseer for the wills of company members, most of whom left him legacies. From Shakespeare's will, Heminges, along with fellow actors Henry **Condell** and Richard Burbage, received a small amount of money "to buy them rings." Heminges was also a trustee for some of Shakespeare's London property.

Along with Condell, Heminges edited and oversaw the printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays in 1623. In their preface to the volume, which they titled "To the Great Variety of Readers," Heminges and Condell stated their aim in undertaking the project to be "only to keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive." They were probably also interested in preventing others from laying claim

to Shakespeare's works and in presenting a good printed text for each play. Besides the preface, the two editors provided a list of players, including themselves, who had performed the works of Shakespeare at the company's two main performance venues—the **Globe Theatre** in Southwark and the Blackfriars Theatre in London. The editors also dedicated the First Folio to the earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, both noted patrons of the theater. Heminges died a wealthy man in 1630, owning one-quarter of the shares in both the Globe and the Blackfriars theaters.

See also Shakespeare, Works of

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Heneage, Sir Thomas (c. 1534–1595)

Sir Thomas Heneage was a prominent Elizabethan courtier, as well as a privy councillor and a royal **favorite**. Born into a Lincolnshire **gentry** family, Heneage was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1549. He came to **court** in the 1560s under the patronage of Sir William **Cecil**, who helped him secure seats in the **Parliaments** of 1563, 1571, and 1572. Cecil may have intended Heneage to act as a counterbalance to the court influence of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the queen's favorite and Cecil's frequent political rival. Heneage seems to have briefly eclipsed Leicester in the queen's favor in the mid-1560s, when perhaps the queen herself sought to tame Leicester's growing ambition by playing on his jealousy with Heneage.

Heneage was, for a time, much in the queen's company and received many rewards and favors, including a knighthood in 1577. He acquired enough wealth to build a new country home, Copt Hall in Essex, and to become a prominent figure in Essex politics and society. He also acquired the former **London** residence of the abbots of Bury Saint Edmunds, which he turned into a fine town house that allowed him to live in style in the capital. In the 1580s, he won political power as well as court position, becoming a member of the Privy **Council**. In 1587, being already treasurer of the royal chamber, he succeeded Sir Christopher **Hatton** as vice chamberlain, an important post in the royal household. In 1590, he was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, which made him chief legal officer of an important group of royal estates. He sat in Parliament for Essex between 1584 and 1593, serving as a spokesman for the Crown to the House of Commons. There is some evidence that the first performance of William **Shakespeare's** *A Midsummer Night's Dream* took place at the celebration of Heneage's second marriage in May 1594. Heneage died shortly afterward in 1595.

See also Universities

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Henri II (1519–1559)

Henri II, who was king of **France** during the reigns of **Edward VI** and **Mary I**, initiated the French monarchy's persecution of the **Huguenots** (i.e., French Protestants). In 1526, Henri's father, **Francis I**, won his release from captivity in **Spain** by agreeing to renounce claim to his Italian possessions. To ensure the French king's compliance with the agreement upon his release, **Charles V** demanded that Henri, then the seven-year-old Duke of Orleans, and his elder brother Francis be sent into Spain as hostages. When their father repudiated the agreement, Charles angrily ordered that the boys be straitly confined and deprived of their French attendants. Finally released in 1529, Henri's experience left him with a deep hatred of Spain and its **Habsburg** rulers. In 1533, Henri married Catherine de **Medici**, by whom he eventually had 10 children. In 1536, he became dauphin (heir to the throne) on the death of his brother. Upon succeeding his father in 1547, Henri shifted France's diplomatic and military focus from **Italy** to the northwest, where he regained Boulogne from Edward VI in 1550 and recaptured **Calais**, the last English possession on the Continent, from **Mary I** in 1558. He also intervened in **Scotland** on behalf of the French regent Marie de **Guise**, mother of Henri's daughter-in-law, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, who had been raised at the French **court** since 1548.

Strongly influenced by his mistress Diane de Poitiers and by the Duke and cardinal of Guise, uncles to Mary Stuart, Henri continued the war with Spain, winning successes on his eastern frontier but suffering a major defeat at Saint-Quentin in 1557. Financial exhaustion led both Henri and **Philip II** of Spain, the husband of the late Queen Mary of England, to seek peace in 1559. Negotiations for the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** included **Elizabeth I**, the new queen of England, who had inherited her sister's alliance with Spain and who unsuccessfully demanded the return of Calais. Henri was beginning to turn his attention to the rapid spread of **Protestantism** in France when he died unexpectedly in July 1559 of injuries suffered at a tournament celebrating the peace. During a joust, a splinter from his opponent's shattered lance entered the king's eye and pierced his brain; he died several days later and was succeeded by his eldest son **Francis II**, husband of the Queen of Scots.

See also Guise Family

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Henri III (1551–1589)

Marked by incessant civil war between Catholics and **Huguenots**, the reign of Henri III of **France** (1574–1589) covered the middle years of **Elizabeth I**'s reign and saw a weakened France withdraw from any effective role in the **Netherlands**, leaving the resolution of the **Netherlands Revolt** to England and **Spain**. The third son of **Henri II** and Catherine de **Medici**, Henri, as Duke of Anjou, led the French royal armies to victory over the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncouleur in 1569. In 1572, he, along with his mother and the **Guise family**, was an instigator of the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** of Huguenots.

At his mother's insistence, Henri sought election to the throne of Poland in 1573, but returned to Paris shortly after his coronation in 1574 to assume the Crown of France on the death of his brother, Charles IX. His Polish subjects deposed him in 1575. In France, his younger brother and heir, Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, supported the Huguenots in the civil war, forcing Henri to back the **Catholic League** led by Henri, Duke of Guise. To remove his troublesome brother from France, Henri encouraged him to pay suit to Elizabeth, and the duke seemed close to winning the queen's hand on several occasions. After Alençon's death in 1584, the heir-presumptive to the French throne was a Huguenot, Henri Bourbon, cousin and brother-in-law of Henri III. With a Protestant heir, the king supported the Huguenots, but was forced to capitulate to Catholic rebels in 1585.

In the resulting War of the Three Henris, Henri III was caught in the increasing rivalry between the Protestant Henri Bourbon, the legal heir, and Henri Guise, who saw himself as the proper Catholic heir. In 1588, during the Day of the Baricades, the king was besieged in Paris by the Catholic forces of Guise but managed to escape. In December 1588, the king arranged the assassination of Guise. In 1589, the year of his mother's death, Henri III was himself murdered by a fanatical Catholic friar. With the death of Henri III, the House of **Valois**, which had ruled France since 1328, came to an end, and the Crown passed to **Henri IV**, first king of the Bourbon dynasty.

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Henri IV (1553–1610)

Henri IV, known as Henri of Navarre, was a popular king of **France** and founder of the Bourbon dynasty. A symbol of the religious divisions that plagued the Europe of his era, Henri IV repeatedly converted from Catholicism to **Protestantism** as necessity demanded. Originally king of Navarre (as Henri III), Henri IV inherited the French throne in 1589 and ended the Wars of Religion that had undermined France since 1562.

Henri of Navarre was born in Pau, the capital of the French province of Béarn, in 1553. His father, Antoine of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, was a prominent member of a junior branch of the French royal family. After his father's death in 1562, Henri's mother, Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, raised him as a Protestant. In 1568, Henri made his debut in the Protestant armies during the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). Following his mother's death in June 1572, Henri became King Henri III of Navarre.

In August 1572, Henri of Navarre married Marguerite of Valois, Catholic sister of Charles IX of France, in the hopes that their union would end civil strife. Instead, it opened the door for the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre**, during which thousands of Protestants were slaughtered in Paris. Forced to convert to Catholicism to save his life, Henri was kept in confinement at the Louvre, the French royal palace, until 1576, when he successfully escaped to Navarre. Shortly thereafter, he returned to Protestantism, assuming leadership of the Protestant party from that point forward.

In 1574, Charles IX died and his brother, Henri of Valois, assumed the French throne as **Henri III**. In 1584, following the death of the French king's last brother, Francis Valois, Duke of Alençon, Henri of Navarre became heir presumptive to the French throne. Although Henri of Navarre was a distant cousin to the French king, French succession was guided by the Salic law, which meant that the throne could only be inherited through the male line and therefore all closer relatives descended from females within the French royal family were excluded. However, France was a Catholic country and Henri of Navarre's status as a leading Protestant monarch prompted the War of the Three Henris (1584–1598), which was the final conflict of the French Wars of Religion. The protagonists in the conflict were Henri of Navarre, Henri III of France, and Henri, Duke of Guise, who led the extreme **Catholic League**. In 1588, Henri III arranged the murder of the Duke of Guise.

The French king's own assassination by a fanatical monk in 1589 led to Henri of Navarre's accession to the French throne as Henri IV.

At first, Henri IV was largely king of France in name only. France's greatest cities, as well as a majority of the nobles who formed the Catholic League, refused to recognize a Protestant monarch. The league, which received support from Catholic **Spain**, confined Henri's authority to a part of southern France and acknowledged his Catholic uncle as the true French king. After the 1590 death of Henri's uncle, the league was divided on whom to support as an alternative monarch, although some supported the daughter of **Philip II** of Spain, whose mother was a daughter of **Henri II** of France. In his attempts to regain his French inheritance by force, Henri IV sought an alliance with **Elizabeth I** of England, who gave him money and troops. Yet, Henri IV still could not take Paris.

The king's religion remained for many an insurmountable obstacle. Henri IV understood this and, after receiving instruction from eminent prelates and theologians, is alleged to have said "Paris is worth a mass." He converted to Catholicism in 1593 and quickly earned the disdain of many Protestants and his former ally, Elizabeth I. In February 1594, Henri IV was consecrated at Chartres Cathedral. Despite the pope's refusal to grant Henri IV absolution, league members progressively joined his side. Paris, among other cities, opened its gates to him in March 1594. In 1595, a treaty ending the war with Spain was negotiated, and in 1598, **Brittany**, the last province held by the league, surrendered. Also in 1598, Henri IV promulgated the Edict of Nantes, which established a policy of tolerance toward Protestants.

Subsequently, Henri IV undertook the reconstruction of France, ravaged by years of civil war. His marriage to Marguerite of Valois was annulled in 1599, and he married Marie de Medici in 1600. She bore him a legitimate heir, the future Louis XIII. As superintendent of finances, the Duke of Sully reduced the state's debt and increased its resources by promoting an economic policy founded on mercantilism. Measures were put in place to rebuild agriculture. On the diplomatic front, alliances were formed with numerous European powers. However, Henri IV was preparing for war with the House of **Habsburg**, which ruled Austria, Spain, and other parts of Europe, when he was assassinated by league holdout François Ravaillac in 1610. Some have argued that Spain had armed Henri IV's assassin, while others have pointed to powerful lords dissatisfied with royal policies that were unfavorable to them. Yet, Henri IV had already achieved legendary status. He remained such a popular figure that nineteenth-century French literary icon Alexandre Dumas wrote a trilogy on him (*Queen Margot*, *La Dame de Monsoreau*, and *The 45 Guardsmen*) as part of his "Drama of France" series.

Eric Martone

See also Guise Family

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Henry VI (1421–1471)

Through his favoritism and inability to function effectively as king, Henry VI, third monarch of the House of **Lancaster**, became a chief cause of the **Wars of the Roses**. His death and that of his son in 1471 transmitted the Lancastrian claim to the Crown to his kinswoman Margaret **Beaufort**, and through her to her son Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the future **Henry VII**, first monarch of the House of **Tudor**.

Born at Windsor in December 1421, the only child of Henry V (r. 1413–1422) and **Catherine of Valois**, Henry was less than a year old when he succeeded his father as king of England and his maternal grandfather, Charles VI (r. 1380–1422), as king of **France**. Having reopened the Hundred Years War, Henry V had conquered large areas of northern France and had won official recognition as heir to the French throne. However, Henry VI's maternal uncle, Charles VII (r. 1422–1461), rejected this settlement and maintenance of England's French possessions required a continuous military effort. Henry's eldest paternal uncle, John, Duke of Bedford (1389–1435), directed the English administration in France, while the king's younger uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447), presided in England over a minority council composed of experienced noble and ecclesiastical councillors. Acting in the child king's name, though unable to make any permanent decisions affecting his Crowns, the minority administration preserved the French domain and provided generally effective government.

Crowned at Westminster in 1429 and at Paris in 1431, Henry was declared of full age in 1437. He was eager to exercise his office and to have his will in matters that interested him, such as the royal foundations of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, which the king planned in minute detail and to which he diverted funds urgently needed elsewhere. However, he had little understanding of the workings of government and was easily persuaded by self-interested courtiers to grant titles, lands, offices, pardons, and monetary rewards without any thought to the merits or consequences of the request. An exceptionally pious man, Henry had no interest in leading armies and in the 1440s allowed England's military position in France to



Henry VI, the last Lancastrian king of England, was deposed and murdered in 1471. The Tudors derived their claim to the Crown from the Lancastrians. (Corel)

deteriorate. He actively if ineffectively pursued a peace policy that led in 1445 to a truce with Charles VII and to his marriage with Charles's kinswoman, Margaret of Anjou. When the French overwhelmed a poorly defended Normandy in 1450, public dissatisfaction with government policy fell upon Henry's chief minister, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who was driven from office. Suffolk's fall was followed by Jack Cade's Rebellion, which protested military failure in France, and the breakdown of royal justice in England, which gave voice to the frustration of noblemen who felt themselves excluded from royal **patronage** by a clique of favored courtiers.

Chief among these disaffected magnates was Richard, Duke of York, who was heir presumptive to the childless king. The duke's disaffection increased

when Henry replaced Suffolk with Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who had his own claim to the throne. York made several abortive attempts to force his way into the royal counsels but did not succeed until 1453, when Henry suffered a serious mental breakdown that left him completely incapacitated. With Henry unable to communicate and even unaware of the birth of his son, Prince Edward, **Parliament** appointed York protector, and the duke committed Somerset to the **Tower of London**. Henry's recovery in early 1455 ended the First Protectorate and effected Somerset's release. Meanwhile, lack of an effective king had allowed noble quarrels to flourish, and these feuds began to merge into the growing national rivalry between York and Somerset. With Henry unable to play the traditional royal role of arbiter, factions developed around York and around Somerset and the queen, who entered politics out of fear that York's ambition might threaten her son. Violence erupted in May 1455, when York, fearing arrest, took up arms against the **court** with his new allies, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

At the Battle of St. Albans, Somerset died and York used custody of the king to establish a short-lived Second Protectorate. Soon after, Henry suffered a relapse from which he never fully recovered. For the rest of his life, Henry was a symbol of monarchy rather than a functioning monarch; political factions fought to

control his person, seeking to use custody of the king to legitimize their control of the royal government. In 1459, the queen drove York and the Nevilles from England. Warwick returned in 1460 and captured Henry at the Battle of Northampton, thereby allowing York to lay his claim to the Crown before Parliament, an act that transformed a political dispute into a dynastic war between the Houses of Lancaster and **York**. Henry made no protest and his deposition was prevented only by the unwillingness of Parliament, which imposed a settlement that disinherited Prince Edward in favor of York. Henry passively accepted this agreement, although the queen continued the war. Lancastrian victories at the Battles of Wakefield in December 1460 and St. Albans in February 1461 led to York's death and Henry's reunion with his wife and son.

Having lost control of Henry, the Yorkists needed a king of their own, and in March 1461 they elevated York's son to the throne as **Edward IV**. After the Battle of Towton in March, Henry fled into **Scotland** with his family. He spent the next four years there or, after his family left for France, in hiding in northern England, where he was captured in 1465. He remained in the Tower of London until October 1470, when Warwick's defection to Lancaster restored Henry to the throne. The restored Lancastrian government was directed by Warwick, and Henry served merely as a means for rallying Lancastrians to the new regime. When Edward IV reentered London in April 1471, he returned Henry to the Tower. Warwick's death at the Battle of Barnet in April and Prince Edward's death at the Battle of Tewkesbury in May ended any need to keep Henry alive, and the ex-king was murdered in the Tower on 21 May 1471.

John A. Wagner

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Henry VII (1457–1509)

Henry VII, the posthumous son of Edmund **Tudor**, Earl of Richmond, a half brother of **Henry VI**, was the founder of the **Tudor** dynasty. Born in **Wales**, the Tudor homeland, on 28 January 1457, Henry, Earl of Richmond, inherited a distant claim to the throne through his 13-year-old mother, Margaret **Beaufort**. Richmond's youth coincided with the **Wars of the Roses**, a dynastic conflict between the Houses of **Lancaster** and **York**. Because the Beaufort claim derived from

Lancaster, **Edward IV** of York entrusted Richmond to a loyal Yorkist nobleman. With Edward's temporary overthrow in 1470, Richmond came into the custody of his paternal uncle, Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke. In 1471, Edward regained the throne and extinguished the direct male line of Lancaster, leaving Richmond as heir to the Lancastrian claim. To protect his nephew, Pembroke fled with Richmond, and the two lived in semiconfinement in **Brittany**, where their ship was blown by storms. In exile, Richmond grew into a quiet young man with little formal **education** and French manners and preferences. He remained a diplomatic pawn of the Duke of Brittany until 1483, when **Richard III**, brother of Edward IV, usurped the throne of his nephew **Edward V**, thereby acquiring an unpopularity that allowed Richmond to seek the Crown. In August 1485, after defeating Richard at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, Richmond took the throne as Henry VII. He was crowned in October and married **Elizabeth of York**, daughter of Edward IV, in January 1486.

Although Richard III died childless at Bosworth, Henry was plagued for most of his reign by Yorkist challenges to his Crown. In 1487, Lambert **Simnel**, a youth posing as Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, the last male heir of York, became the focus of a plot involving John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, the nephew and presumed heir of Richard III; **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy and sister of Richard III; and Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Kildare and Yorkist deputy of **Ireland**. The conspirators raised an army and invaded England, but Henry defeated them at the Battle of Stoke.

In 1491, Perkin **Warbeck** initiated an even more dangerous Yorkist imposture by claiming to be Richard, Duke of York, the long missing son of Edward IV. Until his capture in 1497, Warbeck served as a diplomatic weapon for numerous foreign rulers, including **Charles VIII** of **France**, **James IV** of **Scotland**, and Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. Warbeck also attracted support from discontented Englishmen such as Sir William **Stanley**. Warbeck was executed with Warwick in 1499, but their deaths only prompted two more of Richard III's nephews, Edmund de la **Pole** and Richard de la **Pole**, to challenge the king from abroad. Although Henry neutralized their threat through diplomacy—the Burgundians surrendered Edmund in 1506—the death of Prince Arthur **Tudor** in 1502 and of the queen in 1503 left Henry with only one son and further heightened the need for dynastic security.

In pursuit of this objective, Henry had, through the Treaty of **Medina del Campo**, arranged Arthur's 1501 marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, daughter of **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain**. Through the Treaty of **Ayton**, Henry negotiated the 1503 marriage of his daughter Margaret **Tudor** to James IV of Scotland, a union that eventually brought the Scottish House of Stuart to the English throne. Besides creating links with established foreign dynasties, the marriages improved political and commercial relations and closed Spain and Scotland to Yorkist plots. Henry also tried to ally his family with the **Habsburg** rulers of Germany and the

Netherlands; he proposed himself as groom for the sister of Maximilian I and his daughter Mary **Tudor** as bride for Maximilian's grandson, the future **Charles V**. These proposals came to naught, as did a plan to marry Arthur's widow Catherine to Henry's remaining son, Prince Henry.

Henry otherwise limited his European entanglements, fighting only two wars during his reign. In the early 1490s, through the Treaty of **Redon**, he made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the French absorption of Brittany. Henry's 1492 invasion of France resulted in the Treaty of **Etaples**, which improved Anglo-French relations and closed France to Yorkist intrigues. In 1496–1497, a brief war with Scotland, begun in retaliation for Scottish support of Warbeck, led to conclusion of the Ayton agreement and a decade of improved Anglo-Scottish relations.

Henry's commercial agreements helped English merchants enter new markets and strengthen their position in old ones. A 1490 treaty with Denmark increased Baltic trade, while agreements with the Iberian states and negotiations with Florence and Venice helped develop English trade in the Mediterranean. With the Netherlands, England's most important trade partner, Henry concluded two important commercial treaties, the **Intercursus Magnus** (1496) and **Intercursus Malus** (1506), although he damaged the Netherlands trade in 1493 and 1505 by imposing embargoes to force expulsion of Yorkist pretenders.

Domestically, Henry continued the policies of Edward IV to restore royal authority and solvency. A parsimonious man who gave honors sparingly and immersed himself in the details of governing, Henry made his privy chamber the center of royal administration and finance. He increased revenues from Crown lands by making their assessment more exact and their collection more efficient and vigorously exploited the **prerogative** rights of the Crown to increase profits from wardship and other feudal sources. His demands for taxation to finance campaigns in France and Scotland led to the **Yorkshire Rebellion** of 1489 and the **Cornish Rebellion** of 1497.

Henry used his **council**, whose members sat on various special tribunals, such as the **Star Chamber** and the **Council Learned**, to maintain order and uphold royal authority. He also employed an unpopular system of bonds and recognizances whereby noblemen and gentlemen were forced to pledge large sums of money for good behavior, the sum being forfeit for nonperformance. In his last years, the increasingly harsh and avaricious tone of Henry's reign was symbolized by the activities of Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the king's ruthlessly efficient financial ministers, whose zealous pursuit of their master's policies led to their executions in 1510. Henry died on 21 April 1509 and was succeeded by his son **Henry VIII**.

See also Empson-Dudley Affair; Fiscal Feudalism; Princes in the Tower

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Henry VIII (1491–1547)

Henry VIII, the second son of **Henry VII** and **Elizabeth of York**, was the second monarch of the **Tudor** dynasty. Born at Greenwich on 28 June 1491, Henry became heir to the throne upon the death of his elder brother Arthur **Tudor** in April 1502. Little is known of Henry's **education**, although a claim that he was originally trained for an ecclesiastical career seems unfounded. Tutored for a time by the poet John **Skelton** and perhaps by other humanist educators supplied by his grandmother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond, Henry soon displayed an aptitude for **music** and languages. He also loved sports, dancing, and most physical activity, and was deeply interested in all things military. Favoring his grandfather, **Edward IV**, Henry grew into a tall, strong, and handsome young man with auburn hair, piercing eyes, and a finely proportioned body. Henry's personality, which also mirrored his grandfather's, was bluff, vigorous, and sensual; he was passionate about things that interested him but otherwise easily bored.

Having been sheltered at **court** by his father, Henry lacked training or experience in statecraft when he ascended the throne, at age 17, on 21 April 1509. In June 1509, Henry, acting upon his **council's** advice, married his brother's widow, the Spanish princess **Catherine of Aragon**. Although the two had been betrothed since 1503, fluctuations in Anglo-Spanish relations had delayed the marriage. Seeking popularity and displaying an aptitude for political calculation, Henry, only days after his accession, ordered the arrest of his father's hated financial ministers Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, who were executed for **treason** in 1510. Henry also largely abandoned the highly unpopular system of bonds and recognizances by which his father had ensured the loyalty of the nobility.

Anxious to emulate the military successes of his predecessors, Henry likewise abandoned his father's parsimony and avoidance of war. Allied with his father-in-law, Ferdinand of **Spain**, and with the Holy Roman Emperor **Maximilian I**, Henry invaded **France** in 1513. Although the king captured the towns of Tournai and Thérouanne and achieved a minor triumph at the Battle of the **Spurs**, the chief consequences of the war were the rise to prominence of Thomas **Wolsey**, who organized and supplied the king's campaigns, and the English victory at **Flodden Field**, where an army under Thomas **Howard**, future second Duke of Norfolk, defeated and killed **James IV** of **Scotland**, the husband of Henry's elder sister, Margaret



Henry VIII, well known for his amorous adventures, was important for his part in the bureaucratic, political, and religious changes of the sixteenth century. (Library of Congress)

Tudor. In 1514, Henry, stung by the faithlessness of his allies, made peace with France by arranging a marriage between his younger sister, **Mary Tudor**, and the aging **Louis XII**. Upon Louis's death in 1515, Mary wed her brother's friend, Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk. Because they married without royal permission, the couple fell temporarily out of favor.

Although often characterized as a supreme egotist who was uninterested in government and easily manipulated or as a ruthless tyrant who terrorized his court and

country, Henry was neither. He lacked his father's interest in the details of governing and left administration and the implementation of policy to able ministers such as Wolsey and Thomas **Cromwell**, and his vanity and sensuality sometimes allowed his manipulation by court factions. However, Henry formulated policy and his ministers functioned only with his confidence and support. The Henrician court took its tone from the king; festive, athletic, and active in the early years, when the young Henry jousted, hunted, and caroused with his **minions**, the court grew more dangerous in Henry's last decade as an ill and aging monarch, made sedentary by his corpulence, grew suspicious of plots and intolerant of opposition.

During the ascendancy of Wolsey from 1515 to 1529, Henry focused on foreign policy and military affairs. He fought two wars with France and attempted, with the Treaty of **London** in 1518 and the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520, to be a major figure in European diplomacy. Although England was inferior in **population** and resources to France and Spain, Henry saw himself as the equal of their rulers, **Francis I** and **Charles V**, and he and Wolsey sought to exploit the ongoing Franco-Imperial rivalry to England's advantage. As chancellor, papal legate, and archbishop of York, Wolsey acquired great influence in church and state, but his position depended on maintaining the king's trust and implementing the king's will.

By 1526, Henry and Catherine had only one child, Princess Mary, born in 1516. Henry's son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond, was illegitimate, having been born of the king's liaison with Elizabeth **Blount**. Fearful of the consequences of a female succession and tiring of a wife who was now past childbearing, Henry convinced himself that his marriage to Catherine lacked sons because the union contravened a biblical injunction against marrying a brother's widow. In 1527, Henry, who had fallen in love with another woman, Anne **Boleyn**, daughter of the courtier Thomas **Boleyn**, ordered Wolsey to obtain an annulment from Pope **Clement VII**. Unwilling to offend Catherine's nephew, Charles V, who controlled Italy, and unable to countenance the limitations on papal authority implicit in Henry's arguments against the validity of the marriage, Clement refused Henry's request. This refusal led to seven years of wrangling between king and pope, to the fall of Wolsey, and, ultimately, to the abolition of papal authority in England.

In 1530, Henry abandoned his attempt to obtain a papal annulment and focused instead on obtaining domestic recognition of the Crown's right to govern the English Church, and the church's right to determine English ecclesiastical issues without reference to Rome. In 1532, **Convocation**, through the **Submission of the Clergy**, recognized the **royal supremacy**, and, in 1533, **Parliament**, as part of a legislative program crafted by Cromwell, the new chief minister, passed the Act in **Restraint of Appeals**, effectively destroying papal authority in England and allowing the new archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas **Cranmer**, to invalidate Henry's marriage. Secretly married to Henry in January 1533, Anne gave birth to Princess Elizabeth the following September. Thereafter, the king embarked upon

the matrimonial adventures for which he is best known today. Failing to produce a male heir, Anne was executed for treason and adultery in May 1536. On 30 May, Henry married Jane **Seymour**, who may have been used by the anti-Boleyn faction at court to intensify the king's growing dissatisfaction with Anne. The new queen died giving birth to Prince Edward in October 1537. In 1540, Henry, for diplomatic reasons, married **Anne of Cleves**; however, the lady failed to incite the royal desire and the marriage was annulled by July, when the king contracted a new marriage with Katherine **Howard**, the niece of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, who likely used the young woman to enhance his political position. Katherine was executed in 1542 for committing adultery with Thomas **Culpepper**, a groom of the royal chamber. Although troubled by accusations of heresy against the queen, Henry's 1543 marriage to Katherine **Parr** lasted until the king's death and helped bring Henry's three children closer to their father and to one another.

Although an orthodox Catholic before 1530—Henry wrote the treatise *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* in 1521 to defend the **papacy** against Martin Luther—the king sanctioned numerous reforms in the 1530s, including the publication of an English Bible and the abolition of such Catholic practices as pilgrimages and prayers to saints. However, Henry remained conservative in doctrine, and the 1530s saw Catholics, like Sir Thomas **More** and Bishop John **Fisher**, die for opposing the royal supremacy, while reformers, like John **Frith** and Robert **Barnes**, died for opposing Catholic doctrine.

After the fall of Cromwell in 1540, Henry governed without a chief minister, balancing the conservative faction, led by Norfolk and Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, against the reformist faction, led by Cranmer and Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford. By 1543, Henry refocused his attention on foreign affairs, fighting a third war with France, and seeking, through the policy of **Rough Wooing**, to impose English overlordship on Scotland, which was now ruled by the infant Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Perhaps the most wasteful and capricious of Henry's foreign adventures, the wars of the 1540s achieved little militarily and forced the Crown to debase the **coinage** to pay for its campaigns. Having concluded the French war in 1546, the increasingly ill monarch turned his attention to the political and religious complexion of his son's minority. Henry destroyed the conservatives, whom he considered dangerously ambitious, by excluding Gardiner from the regency council and arresting Norfolk and his son, Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey. The latter was executed and the former was saved only by the intervention of Henry's own death. The regency council of the new king was thus dominated by men interested in achieving true Protestant **Reformation**. Dying on 28 January 1547, Henry was buried next to Jane Seymour at Windsor Castle.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Edward VI; Elizabeth I; Empson-Dudley Affair; Exeter Conspiracy; Ferdinand and Isabella; Mary I

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Henslowe, Philip (d. 1616)

Philip Henslowe was one of the most active and successful theater managers in Elizabethan **London**. Little is known of Henslowe's early life, although he apparently came to London from Sussex in about 1577. He settled in Southwark, across the Thames from London, and acquired property there through his marriage to a widow named Agnes Woodward. After a few years as a dyer of cloth, Henslowe became a real estate dealer, specializing in theater properties. In about 1588, he built the Rose Theatre on a site along the south bank of the Thames that he had acquired four years earlier. Under Henslowe's management after 1594, the Rose became the home of the Admiral's Men, led by the actor Edward **Alleyn**, but also witnessed some performances by William **Shakespeare's** company, the **Chamberlain's Men**.

Henslowe and Alleyn became business associates in 1592 when Alleyn married Henslowe's stepdaughter. The two men purchased an interest in the Bear Garden, a bearbaiting arena in Southwark, and, in 1600, built the Fortune, a new Southwark theater modeled on the **Globe Theatre**. Henslowe also managed another south bank theater at Newington Butts. As theater manager, Henslowe served as the acting company's banker, acquiring plays, purchasing costumes and props, and loaning money to the actors. Although respected as a theater manager, Henslowe was also known as a tough businessman, especially in his real estate dealings.

After 1604, Henslowe left the running of the Fortune to Alleyn and concentrated on business opportunities provided by his new position as joint master (with Alleyn) of the "royal game of bears, bulls and mastiff dogs." Bearbaiting and bullbaiting—the setting of dogs on chained bears or bulls—was a popular and, for Henslowe, profitable Elizabethan pastime. Henslowe demolished the Bear Garden and built a new structure on the site called the Hope, which could be used both as a theater and as an arena for bearbaiting and bullbaiting. Henslowe died in London in 1616.

See also Animal Sports; Drama

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Hepburn, James, Earl of Bothwell (1535–1578)

James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, the third and last husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, was one of the chief instruments of Mary's fall from power. Bothwell, although a Protestant, supported the government of the Catholic regent, Marie de **Guise**, Queen Mary's mother; for his support, the regent named him lord admiral and warden of the marches (borders with England) in 1556. In 1560, he met Mary Stuart, then queen of **France**, in Paris, and he was appointed by the queen to be her commissioner to **Scotland**. He was named a privy councillor in 1561 when Mary returned to Scotland, but in 1562 he was exiled by the government of James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, the queen's half brother and chief councillor, who suspected Bothwell's ambition and taste for power. He escaped to England, where he was briefly imprisoned, and then fled to France before finally being recalled to Scotland by Mary in 1565 after her marriage to Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, and the exile of Moray.

Bothwell rapidly became one of the queen's strongest supporters, especially after the murder in March 1566 of David **Rizzio**, the queen's Italian secretary. In February 1567, Bothwell was somehow involved in the mysterious death of Lord Darnley at Kirk o'Field outside **Edinburgh**; although public opinion accepted his guilt, Bothwell was acquitted in the courts and received large gifts of land from the queen. In April, he took Mary captive, possibly with her connivance, and divorced his Catholic wife to marry the queen according to Protestant rites. A rebellion of the Protestant Scottish lords overthrew the queen, and Bothwell escaped to Denmark, where he was imprisoned by the Danish king for abandoning his Danish wife in 1560.

The **Casket Letters**, a series of letters from Mary to Bothwell that seemed to prove the queen's involvement with the earl in a plot to murder Darnley, were later taken from Bothwell's servant by Moray and the Protestant lords and used to prevent Mary's release from English imprisonment. Bothwell, meanwhile, never saw Mary again; he fell into insanity and died in prison in 1578.

See also Carberry, Battle of; Darnley Murder

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Herbert, Henry, Earl of Pembroke (c. 1538–1601)

An important political figure in **Wales**, where his family had long been prominent, Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke, was also the patron of an acting company that may have included **William Shakespeare**. A nephew of Queen Katherine **Parr**, the last wife of **Henry VIII**, Herbert was married to Katherine **Grey** in 1553 when his father supported **Northumberland's Coup**, which attempted to place Jane **Grey**, Katherine's elder sister, on the throne. With the failure of the coup, the earl repudiated his new daughter-in-law and had his son's politically dangerous marriage annulled.

Herbert succeeded his father to the earldom of Pembroke in 1570, and in 1577 he married Mary Sidney, the daughter of Sir Henry **Sidney**. In 1586, Pembroke became lord president of Wales in succession to his father-in-law. Later in the same year, he took part in the trial of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. In 1588, he took charge of the defense of Wales as the **armada** approached England, offering to raise an army at his own cost. About 1592, he raised a company of actors known as Pembroke's Men. The year was an unfortunate one for the formation of an acting company, for a visitation of the **plague** had closed all the **London** theaters, and the troupe was forced to go on tour in 1593. The tour was apparently unsuccessful, for the London theater manager Philip **Henslowe** had to pawn the company's costumes for them.

Pembroke's Men are known to have performed several plays by Shakespeare, including *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*, so it is possible that Shakespeare acted with the earl's company for a time. By 1597, Ben **Jonson** was a member of Pembroke's Men, but the performance of *Isle of Dogs*, the play Jonson cowrote with Thomas **Nashe**, caused the company further difficulties. The government, considering the play seditious because of various critical references in it to foreign states with which England conducted trade, stopped the performances and briefly imprisoned Jonson. This episode and continuing ill health may have soured Pembroke on actors. The earl asked to be relieved of his Welsh duties in 1598, and little more is known of Pembroke's Men. The earl died in January 1601.

See also Herbert, Mary, Countess of Pembroke; Shakespeare, Works of

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Herbert, Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1561–1621)

Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, was a celebrated patron of Elizabethan poets and writers. Born Mary Sidney, the daughter of Sir Henry **Sidney**, an Elizabethan

lord deputy of **Ireland**, the countess was also the sister of Sir Philip **Sidney** and the niece of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the queen's **favorite**. In 1577, she married Henry **Herbert**, Earl of Pembroke, who was an important political figure in Wales and the patron of an acting company known as Pembroke's Men.

The countess was well known for the support she gave to many struggling poets, some of whom found lodgings at Wilton House, the Pembroke country home near Salisbury. Besides encouraging and sheltering young poets, the countess's services to Elizabethan literature included inspiring her brother Philip Sidney to write his romance *Arcadia*, the second edition of which she brought to publication in 1593 after Sidney's death, and inspiring her son William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, to write poetry and to support poets, including William **Shakespeare** and Ben **Jonson**. Her importance as a literary patron was recognized by Edmund **Spenser**, who addressed one of the dedicatory sonnets of *The Faerie Queen* to her, and by the Devon poet William Browne, who coined for her the simple epitaph "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother" to commemorate what she had meant to Elizabethan literature.

The countess's own literary work included a translation of the Psalms and of *Antonius*, a French tragedy. She also wrote a dialogue titled *Astraea*, which was intended as an entertainment for **Elizabeth I** when she visited Wilton House during one of her summer **progresses**. A questionable nineteenth-century tradition states that Shakespeare was a guest of the countess at Wilton House during a visit there by **James I** in October 1603. Supposedly, the royal party was entertained by a performance of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. The countess survived her husband by 20 years, dying in 1621.

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Heresy Law

Heresy is defined as obstinate persistence in holding or preaching an opinion or belief that denies or contradicts official church doctrine. Since the fourth century, the medieval church had punished heretics by burning them alive. Although few people in England had suffered for heresy before the fifteenth century, the Henrician **Reformation**, and the various changes in official doctrine that followed it, necessitated frequent revision of the heresy laws.

The rise of **Lollardy** in the late fourteenth century prompted passage of the first secular heresy legislation in England. Because Lollardy was spread by itinerant preachers who frequently crossed diocesan boundaries, bishops sought royal

assistance in combating heresy. A 1382 measure allowed sheriffs to arrest and imprison heresy suspects for later trial in **church courts**. In 1401, **Parliament**, with the encouragement of Henry IV, enacted *De Heretico Comburendo* (“Concerning the Burning of a Heretic”), which authorized the execution of Lollards who refused to abjure their beliefs or who abjured and then relapsed into heresy. The statute is significant because it charged secular authorities with carrying out the burning of anyone convicted of heresy in ecclesiastical courts. A statute of 1414 expanded the government’s role in detecting and punishing heresy by requiring county and municipal officers to aid ecclesiastical authorities in suppressing heresy. The act also allowed the Crown to confiscate the property of convicted heretics and empowered royal judges and **justices of the peace** to use the **common law** procedures of presentment and indictment to uncover suspected heresy, although the accused were still remanded to church courts for trial.

By the reign of **Henry VIII**, *De Heretico* was being used against advocates of **Lutheranism** and other reformist beliefs. When Parliament abolished papal authority, reformist writers, like the anticlerical lawyer Christopher **St. German**, argued that clergymen should be deprived of the power to condemn people for denying doctrines not authorized by the Bible. As a result, the 1534 session of the **Reformation Parliament** revised the heresy statutes to provide accused heretics with the protection of various **common law** procedures, such as prohibiting bishops from condemning a defendant without the testimony of at least two witnesses, requiring all heresy trials to be held in open court, and requiring royal authorization for any heresy execution. Despite Sir Thomas **More**’s lament that relaxation of the statutes would allow heretics to “wax bold” (Guy, *Tudor England*, 135), the law remained thus until 1539, when the conservative Act of **Six Articles** declared anyone who denied **transubstantiation** automatically guilty of heresy and liable to be burned, a provision even more harsh than *De Heretico*, which had allowed one abjuration. In 1543, the Act for the **Advancement of True Religion** somewhat moderated this severity by allowing two recantations and authorizing burning only for obstinate heretics or three-time offenders.

In 1547, the Protestant regime of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, lord protector for **Edward VI**, repealed all heresy acts, including *De Heretico*, thereby abolishing the government’s authority to execute heretics. However, in December 1554, the Catholic regime of **Mary I** obtained reenactment of the statute, thus paving the way for active persecution of Protestants. The first **Marian martyrs** were burned in early 1555. In January 1559, the first Parliament of **Elizabeth I** passed a new Act of **Supremacy** that again abolished both papal authority and the heresy statutes. Although two adherents of **Anabaptism** were burned for heresy in 1575 and two more under **James I** in 1612, secular intervention in the correction of heresy thereafter ceased in England.

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Heywood, John (c. 1497–c. 1580)

John Heywood's career as a playwright and epigrammatist spans the English courts of **Henry VIII** and all three of his children. His dramatic interludes bridged the gap between morality plays and Tudor secular drama, while his collections of *bon mots* and witticisms were highly regarded even after his death in self-imposed exile on the Continent.

Heywood attended Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, before emerging at Henry VIII's court in 1519 as a singer. He became officially linked to Sir Thomas **More** and More's circle of friends when he married John **Rastell**'s daughter Joan in the early 1520s, although Heywood seems to have been connected to More earlier, likely benefiting from More's **patronage** at court. Heywood's brother-in-law, William **Rastell**, later became the printer for both More and Heywood. Heywood and his wife had four children, two of whom became Jesuit priests, and one of whom, Jasper, was a respected translator of Seneca in the late 1550s. Additionally, Heywood was grandfather to the poet John Donne.



This portrait of John Heywood, the Elizabethan playwright and epigrammatist, is from the frontispiece to *Three Hundred Epigrammes upon Three Hundred Proverbs*, 1562. (John S. Farmer, ed. *A dialogue of the effectual proverbs in the English tongue concerning marriage by John Heywood*. London: Gibbings & Co., 1906)

Heywood composed at least six dramatic interludes during Henry's reign. They are largely witty verse debates that conclude with calls for unity and reconciliation. Conflicts in the social, political, and religious realms are all shown to be unproductive in Heywood's drama, and the plays daringly poke fun at the power brokers of the day while calling for reform. *The Play of the Weather*, *Johan Johan*, and *The Pardoner and the Friar* were all printed by William Rastell in 1533. *A Play of Love* appeared a year later, the *Four PP* after a decade in 1544. The last known play, *Witty and Witless*, exists only in manuscript. It contains a stage direction mentioning the presence of the king, suggesting that it and perhaps the other plays were performed at the Henrician **court**. However, there is no positive evidence about if and when the performances took place.

The diplomatic wit seen in Heywood's plays helped him navigate the various courts of Henry's children. Although **Edward VI** appointed Heywood his *dapifer camerae* (or sewer of the chamber), and **Elizabeth I** asked for a performance at **Nonsuch Palace** from his Children of Paul's theater company in 1559, Heywood's best relationship seems to have been with **Mary I**. In 1534 Heywood wrote a ballad in praise of the princess even as she was formally deprived of her royal title and her place in the succession. By 1537, Heywood was providing both music and drama for Mary's household, and during her coronation progress in 1553 Heywood made an oration to the queen as part of a pageant that she viewed along the way. During Mary's reign, Heywood published his largest work, a long allegorical poem titled *The Spider and the Flie*, which counsels the queen to quell the agrarian rebellions and move toward antienclousure policies in the countryside.

In politics Heywood was not always so savvy. His luck nearly ran out after Thomas **Cromwell**'s downfall in 1540. Along with John More, he became involved in a conspiracy to undermine Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. Heywood was caught, attainted, lost property, and was likely in grave danger. He was pardoned but was required to make a public recantation at **Paul's Cross** in July 1544. John **Foxe** noted that Heywood was charged with treason for denying the royal supremacy but saved himself by recanting. John **Harington**, in his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596), assured his readers that Heywood escaped death because the king realized that someone who wrote such pleasant verses could not be guilty of heresy.

Even though he remained well respected throughout his life and managed to survive the religious upheavals of the Tudor era, the steadfastly Catholic Heywood and his wife went into exile in 1564 in response to the **Anglican Settlement**. They joined their sons Ellis and Jasper on the Continent, where the young men were working with the Jesuits. After escaping several violent anti-Catholic episodes in and around Antwerp, Ellis died in October 1578, his father soon after.

While influential as a playwright, Heywood's fame during his own time rested largely on his collections of epigrams. His *Works*, which appeared in 1562, did not even contain his plays. His series of books of epigrams on proverbs, which

contained his own wit as well as that of others, appeared in six editions beginning with *A Dialogue Containing the Number in Effect of All the Proverbs in the English Tongue* in 1546. For his wit and brilliant ear for language, Heywood was often cited by his fellow writers in the company of Homer, Vergil, Ovid, and Chaucer as well as his contemporary John **Skelton**.

Meg F. Pearson

See also Attainder; Jesuit Mission

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High Commission, Court of

The 1559 Act of **Supremacy** empowered **Elizabeth I**, as supreme governor of the **Anglican Church**, to delegate her ecclesiastical authority to a special commission. The statute authorized such commissions to punish infractions of church law, to settle disputes within the English Church, and to enforce uniformity of religious practice. The first commission established in 1559 included bishops, privy councillors, and common lawyers, with the lay members outnumbering the clerical. Presided over by the archbishop, the commission could fine or imprison offenders, punishments not open to other **church courts**.

By about 1580, the more formally organized Court of High Commission evolved out of the series of special ecclesiastical commissions that had sat almost continuously beginning in 1559. Although originally established to deal with Catholic errors, heresies, and abuses still prevailing in the Anglican Church, High Commission came, by the 1590s (and especially under the chairmanship of Archbishop John **Whitgift**), to be an excellent instrument for repressing **Puritan** nonconformity. Because its authority rested on the **royal supremacy** over the Church, not on the **common law**, the Court of High Commission came to employ procedures that were of questionable legality in common law. The most notorious of these was the *ex officio* oath, which required persons summoned before the High Commission to swear an oath to answer all questions truthfully, even though they had not been informed of the charges against them or the types of questions they were to

be asked. Such a procedure could trap a Puritan who was conscientious about the taking of oaths into incriminating himself and his associates. A defendant could refuse the oath, as did the presbyterian activist Thomas **Cartwright** in 1591, but would then be subject to imprisonment for contempt.

Under Elizabeth's Stuart successors, the Court of High Commission became as hated in its ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the **Star Chamber** was in its civil jurisdiction. Like the Star Chamber, the High Commission was abolished by **Parliament** in 1641.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; James I

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Hilliard, Nicholas (c. 1547–1619)

Nicholas Hilliard was the most accomplished painter of miniatures in Elizabethan England. Born in Devon, the son of an Exeter goldsmith, Hilliard was apprenticed as a boy to a **London** goldsmith. About 1560, Hilliard began experimenting with the art of miniature painting, which was known in Tudor England as **limning**. Before the age of 20, he had done several portraits in miniature, including one of himself and one of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. His style, which was heavily influenced by the work of Hans **Holbein**, court painter to **Henry VIII**, attracted the attention of **Elizabeth I**, who in 1572 appointed Hilliard to be the royal limner and goldsmith. Unlike the more realistic portrayals executed by his best pupil, Isaac **Oliver**, Hilliard's numerous portraits of Elizabeth were more refined and idealized, and thus more to the aging queen's liking.

In the mid-1580s, Elizabeth granted Hilliard a monopoly on the painting of royal portraits in miniature. Although few of his works have survived, Hilliard painted the portraits of many prominent Elizabethan courtiers and was a friend of Sir Philip **Sidney** and Sir Christopher **Hatton**. In the late 1570s, Hilliard briefly entered the service of Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, and spent two years at the French court where his work became extremely popular. Because his miniatures were designed as jewels, Hilliard continued to pursue his trade as a goldsmith and jeweler, making the pendants and locketts on which the miniatures could be worn and displayed. Hilliard is also known to have executed a number of large-scale paintings, but few of them can now be definitely identified as his work.

After the accession of **James I** in 1603, Hilliard found himself in serious competition with Oliver, whose use of shadowing made Hilliard's more linear style

of miniature painting seem outdated. Nonetheless, Hilliard won appointment as limner to the king, although Oliver was named official limner to James's wife, Anne of Denmark. About 1600, Hilliard began writing his *Treatise on the Art of Limning*, but the work was unfinished at his death in January 1619. English limning reached its highest achievement under Hilliard, who also greatly influenced English portrait painting in the seventeenth century.

See also Monopolies

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The History of King Richard III

As the basis for most sixteenth-century chronicle accounts of **Richard III**, and, through them, the source for William **Shakespeare**'s powerful depiction of the king, Sir Thomas **More**'s *The History of King Richard III* has become the most influential and controversial source for the deeds and personality of the last Yorkist monarch.

More wrote the *History* in about 1513, almost 30 years after Richard III's death. More wrote two separate versions of the *History*, one in English and the other (the *Historia Richardi Terti*) in Latin for a learned international audience. Neither version was completed and neither was published in More's lifetime. Although manuscript copies of the work were in circulation in the 1530s, it did not appear in print until its incorporation into the 1543 edition of Richard Grafton's *The Chronicle of John Harding*. However, **Grafton**'s version and the versions that appeared in other chronicles in the 1540s and 1550s were severely garbled in many details. In 1557, More's nephew, William **Rastell**, corrected these errors by publishing an English version drawn from one of More's manuscripts. Rastell's text became the basis for most Elizabethan printings of the *History*, including the version published in Raphael **Holinshed**'s *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, the source most likely used by Shakespeare to write his play *Richard III*.

Although less dramatically presented, all the deceit, ambition, and crimes, as well as the physical deformity, imputed to Richard by Shakespeare are found in More's *History*. The *History* also contains a detailed account of the murder of **Edward V** and his brother Richard, Duke of York, the most damning crime attributed to Richard. Modern historians have thrown doubt on Richard's commission of many of the crimes ascribed to him by More, such as the murder of **Henry VI**, and on the severity or even existence of the physical defects alleged by More, but no historian believes that More simply invented these tales. Most of these stories

were current in the **court** of **Henry VII** and came to More from men who had lived through Richard's reign. Cardinal John **Morton**, who witnessed many key events and in whose household the young More served, is the most likely source for many of More's details.

More's reasons for writing the *History* and for leaving it unfinished have been much debated. It has been suggested that the *History* is a satire and not meant to be an accurate account of events. The work certainly has a moral purpose, intending to illustrate the evil that could befall a kingdom when wise government was replaced by tyranny. Nonetheless, the work is not a piece of anti-Yorkist propaganda designed to reinforce the legitimacy of the House of **Tudor**. Richard is not condemned for being a Yorkist, but rather for being a tyrant. Rather than allow the *History* to be read as a pro-Tudor propaganda tract, More may have chosen to abandon it, or, and probably more likely, More may simply have lost interest in the work (he left many projects unfinished) or may have grown too busy with government service and other writings to complete such a closely detailed account of a two-year period. In any event, the conventional view of Richard III as it has come down to the twenty-first century is largely More's creation.

John A. Wagner

See also Holinshed's *Chronicles*; Princes in the Tower

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Hoby, Lady Margaret (c. 1571–1633)

Lady Margaret Hoby is the author of the earliest known diary written by an Englishwoman. Her diary is a prime source for the daily personal and household activities of a **Puritan** gentlewoman in the late Elizabethan period. The only child and heir of Arthur Dakins, a Yorkshire gentleman, Margaret Dakins was raised in the household of Henry **Hastings**, Earl of Huntingdon, a Puritan nobleman who served **Elizabeth I** as president of the **Council of the North**. Under the direction of Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon, the daughter of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, Margaret was trained in the habits of Puritan piety, developing a regimen of prayer and self-examination that she followed for the rest of her life and is carefully detailed in her diary.

As a landed heiress, Margaret was a valuable commodity, for marriage among the Tudor nobility and **gentry** was not simply the concern of two individuals, but a means for forging important social, economic, and political alliances among families. Margaret was married three times; in each case to younger sons of important noble or gentry families approved by Huntingdon. In about 1588, Margaret married Walter **Devereux**, the younger son of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and his wife Lettice **Knollys**, a kinswoman of the queen. Huntingdon and Walter's brother Robert **Devereux**, second Earl of Essex, purchased the couple the valuable Yorkshire manor of Hackness, which became Margaret's property after her husband died in **France** in 1591. Within months of Devereux's death, Margaret was remarried to Thomas Sidney, younger brother of the poet Sir Philip **Sidney** and nephew of the Countess of Huntingdon and of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the queen's **favorite**. Sidney died in 1595, followed shortly by Huntingdon, who requested on his deathbed that Margaret marry Thomas Posthumous Hoby, younger son of the noted translator Sir Thomas **Hoby** and his wife, Lady Elizabeth **Russell**. In August 1596, the couple was wed at Hackness, where they resided thereafter, becoming one of the most influential Puritan gentry families of Yorkshire.

Margaret's diary, preserved today in the British Library in a 59-folio manuscript written in a fine italic hand, covers the years 1599–1605. The diary entries focus on Lady Hoby's exercise of her religion, management of her household, and concern for her property. In the diary, she faithfully recorded her daily personal and household prayers, devotional reading, church attendance, psalm singing, and pious meditations and self-examinations. She also described her household activities, especially her management of the estate during her husband's frequent absences; management of the estate involved her in such tasks as supervising servants, overseeing tenants, caring for dependents, gardening, doing needlework, and dispensing medical advice and treatment. She also noted various lawsuits over property that she and her husband initiated or defended. Although the diary reveals little about Lady Hoby's private opinions or feelings, it does make passing mention of some contemporary events, such as the trial of her former brother-in-law Essex in 1601 and the death of the queen in 1603, which, declared Lady Hoby, had "wrought great sorrow and dread in all good subjects' hearts" (Moody, *Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady*, 186). Lady Hoby died in September 1633, survived by her third husband, who raised a memorial to her in Hackness church praising "her godly manner of life and conversation" (224).

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Hoby, Sir Thomas (1530–1566)

A courtier and translator, Sir Thomas Hoby is best known for his groundbreaking English translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (*The Courtier* or, as usually rendered in English, *The Book of the Courtier*). Born into a Herefordshire **gentry** family, Hoby attended St. John's College, Cambridge, where he studied under Sir John **Cheke**, but left in 1547 without taking a degree. He spent the next three years touring Europe, including an extended stay in Strasbourg, where he studied theology and the classics under the reformer Martin **Bucer**. Hoby's first translation, *The Gratulation of M. Martin Bucer unto the Church of England*, his mentor's treatise celebrating the growth of English **Protestantism** under **Edward VI**, was published in 1549. Returning to England in 1550, Hoby was introduced at **court** and entered the service of William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, whom he accompanied to **France** in 1551 as part of an embassy sent to confer the Garter on **Henri II**.

Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Hoby, a strong Protestant, remained in Europe, probably completing his translation of *Il Cortegiano* in Paris in 1552–1553. Published in 1561 under the title *The Courtier of Count Baldassare Castiglione*, Hoby's direct, elegant translation preserved Castiglione's lively wit and was much praised by other English scholars, such as Roger **Ascham**, and much employed by later Elizabethan writers, such as Edmund **Spenser** and William **Shakespeare**, who were also heavily influenced by Hoby's fine prose style. *The Courtier* served for centuries as the chief European guide to social and sexual interaction, defining proper behavior and correct manners, and it was Hoby's translation that first made the work accessible to an English readership.

Hoby also kept a journal of his life covering the years 1547–1564. Unpublished at his death, the journal later appeared as *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby of Bisham Abbey*. In 1558, Hoby married Elizabeth Cooke, the daughter of Sir Anthony **Cooke**, who bore him four children. In 1566, he was knighted and named to replace Sir Thomas **Smith** as English ambassador to France; however, Hoby died in Paris on 13 July 1566, shortly after taking up his post and shortly before his wife gave birth to a son named Thomas Posthumous Hoby. Elizabeth Hoby later

married the brother of Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford, becoming Elizabeth **Russell**, Lady Russell, and living until 1609.

John A. Wagner

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Holbein, Hans (c. 1497–1543)

Hans Holbein was the most gifted portraitist and miniaturist of Tudor England. His realistic portraits of **Henry VIII**, his family, and his courtiers are valuable visual depictions of the Tudor **court**. Born in Augsburg, son of the painter Hans Holbein the elder, Hans Holbein the younger came to England from Basel in 1526. Arriving with letters of introduction from Sir Thomas **More**'s friend Desiderius **Erasmus**, whom Holbein had painted in 1523, and with a growing reputation as a skilled portraitist and book illustrator, Holbein easily obtained commissions both at court and in **London** among the prosperous German merchants of the Steelyard, the English headquarters of the Hanseatic League. His most important paintings from this period are portraits of More and Archbishop William **Warham** (both 1527) and of the king's astronomer Nicholas Kratzer (1528). More also commissioned Holbein to undertake a group study of the More family, which exists today only in a preliminary drawing of the group and in separate drawings of seven of the sitters.

Returning to Basel in 1528, Holbein came back to England for good



The work of Hans Holbein, early Tudor England's most talented miniaturist and portrait painter, offers an important perspective on the characters of the Tudor court. (Library of Congress)

in 1532. Within the year, Holbein was working at court, executing portraits of the king and many of his chief courtiers. Surviving works from this period include *The Ambassadors* (1533), a dual portrait of the French envoys Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve, which is generally considered Holbein's masterpiece; portraits of Thomas **Cromwell** (1533), Jane **Seymour** (1536), and Prince Edward (1539); and a drawing of Bishop John **Fisher** (1535). Officially appointed court painter in 1536, Holbein in the following year undertook one of his most ambitious commissions, a wall fresco for the presence chamber at **Whitehall Palace** that depicted Henry VIII, Jane Seymour, and Henry's parents, **Henry VII** and **Elizabeth of York**. The original of this fresco was lost in the fire that destroyed Whitehall in 1698, but a drawing of the work survives in the National Portrait Gallery in London.

Several portraits of Henry VIII are attributed to Holbein, although only the 1536 study now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Lugarno and the title page of Miles **Coverdale's** English translation of the **Bible** (1535), showing Henry bestowing the Word of God on kneeling churchmen, are considered to be indisputably Holbein's work. After Queen Jane's death in 1537, Henry several times sent Holbein abroad to paint portraits of possible wives. One of these missions resulted in the famous likeness of **Anne of Cleves** (1539), for which Holbein suffered no loss of favor when Henry met and disliked the looks of the lady herself. Holbein also executed a series of highly realistic drawings of Tudor courtiers, many of which are now found at **Windsor Castle**. Holbein died, possibly of **plague**, in London in October 1543.

See also Edward VI

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Holgate, Robert (c. 1481–1555)

A moderate reformer and loyal civil servant, Robert Holgate was lord president of the **Council of the North** and first Protestant archbishop of York. Born into a Yorkshire **gentry** family, Holgate became a Gilbertine monk and was likely educated

at the order's house in Cambridge. He became a university preacher in 1524, and in the following years acquired several ecclesiastical offices in the north, including the mastership of his order. At some point, probably in the early 1530s, Holgate came to **court**, where he became king's chaplain and joined the circle of reformers around Thomas **Cromwell**, an association that led to Holgate's denunciation by the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels in 1536. Through Cromwell's influence, Holgate became bishop of Llandaff and member of the Council of the North in 1537, and succeeded Cuthbert **Tunstall** as president of the northern council in 1538.

In 1540, as part of the **dissolution of the monasteries**, Holgate surrendered the Yorkshire house of Watton, of which he was prior, and the English Gilbertine houses, of which he was master, for a life grant of all lands and ecclesiastical **patronage** belonging to Watton. For this transaction, and for his surrender to the Crown of various archiepiscopal lands when he became archbishop of York in 1545, Holgate has traditionally been characterized as a greedy prelate willing to plunder the Church for his own benefit. However, recent research has shown that the land exchanges with the Crown were compulsory and similar to transactions forced upon other bishops, and that Holgate's personal fortune was built on service to the state, not despoliation of the church.

As archbishop, Holgate adopted reformist policies, especially after the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547. For the three **grammar schools** he founded at York, Hemsworth, and Old Malton in 1546, Holgate instituted a thoroughly humanist curriculum, ordaining the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In 1552, the archbishop issued injunctions for his cathedral staff that called for divinity lectures, the reading of scriptures, the removal of images, and increased preaching. These directives and the bishop's marriage in June 1549 aroused the anger and opposition of northern conservatives. A series of disputes over land and other issues with John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick and leader of the second Edwardian regency government, led to Holgate's dismissal from the presidency of the northern council in 1550. In October 1553, the new Catholic queen, **Mary I**, committed Holgate to the **Tower of London**. Deprived of his see in March 1554, Holgate repented of his marriage and argued for his release, absolving himself of the heresy that tainted other Edwardian bishops. After paying a fine of £1,000, Holgate was released in January 1555 and died in **London** on the following 15 November.

See also Humanism

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Holidays (Holy Days)

The modern word “holiday” derives from “holy days,” the principal feast days of the medieval Church upon which work was to cease and celebrations or feasts were often held. With the exception of **Accession Day**, the anniversary of **Elizabeth I**’s coming to the throne on 17 November 1558, all Tudor holidays had a religious origin. But, like their modern counterparts, the most important (e.g., **Christmas** and **Easter**) had also developed secular traditions and modes of celebration.

The **Reformation** in midcentury abolished many saints’ days and other Catholic religious holidays, and the increasing influence of the **Puritans** in the Elizabethan period altered the manner and intensity of celebrations associated with many remaining holidays. The Puritans, for instance, objected to the feasting and secular celebration that surrounded Christmas, and, to some degree, to the holiday itself; its “-mas” ending, deriving from “Christ’s Mass,” was a constant reminder of the despised Catholic **Mass**. By law, everyone was to attend church on holidays as well as on Sundays, and everyone was required to take Communion at least three times a year, generally on Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday (the Christian feast of Pentecost, which fell in May or June). The observance of religious holidays began on the evening before the day itself (Christmas Eve is a modern survival of this tradition), when fasts were to be observed. Fasts were also required on Fridays, during the six-week observance of Lent (prior to Easter), and during the four-week observance of Advent (prior to Christmas). Being traditional holdovers from the medieval Church, the fast requirements for Lent and Advent were not strictly enforced, and the Elizabethan Church maintained Friday fasts more as an economic measure for the encouragement of the fishing industry than as a religious observance.

In addition to the recognized holidays on the **Anglican Church** calendar (see table below), many local holidays were observed. Despite Puritan objections to the drinking and sexual license they sometimes generated, parish Wake Days or Dedication Days, the feast day of the parish patron saint, were still widely celebrated. Also, many towns held annual fairs, which could be one day or longer, usually sometime between May and November. In general, the Elizabethan period was the beginning of the transition from medieval holy days of religious observance to modern secular holidays associated with a work break.

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Tudor Holidays

Holiday	Date	Religious Observance	Celebration
New Year's Day	1 January	Circumcision of Christ	Part of the 12-day Christmas celebration and the traditional day for gift giving
Twelfth Day	6 January	Epiphany (visit of the Wise Men to the Infant Jesus)	Culmination of the Christmas celebration
Candlemas	2 February	Feast of the Purification of Mary	Until the Reformation, celebrated with a procession of candles
Shrovetide (Shrove Tuesday)	Between 3 February and 9 March	Last day before Lent	The celebrations held on this day in parts of Europe were precursors of the modern Mardi Gras
Ash Wednesday	Between 4 February and 10 March	First day of Lent	Began 40 days of fasting before Easter
Lady Day	25 March	Annunciation of Mary	English year officially began on this day
Easter	Between 22 March and 25 April	Resurrection of Christ	Observances extended from Palm Sunday, one week before Easter, to two days after Easter
St. George's Day	23 April	Feast of Saint George	Saint George was the patron saint of England (not an official Church holy day)
May Day	1 May	Saints Philip and Jacob	Celebrated as the first day of summer
Ascension Day	Between 30 April and 3 June	Ascension of Christ	Summer festival
Whitsunday (observed from Sunday to Tuesday and called Whitsuntide)	Between 10 May and 13 June	Pentecost (Holy Spirit descends on apostles)	Major summer festival celebrated with dancing, feasting, and plays
Trinity Sunday	Between 17 May and 20 June	Feast day of Christian Trinity	Summer festival similar to Whitsunday
Midsummer Day	24 June	Saint John the Baptist	Often a civic celebration with bonfires and parades of civic officials
Michaelmas	29 September	Saint Michael the Archangel	Marked the completion of the harvest and the start of a new agricultural year

(continued)

Tudor Holidays (continued)

All Hallows (Hallow-mas, Hallowtide)	1 November	Feast of All Saints	All Saints' (or All Hallows) Eve was 31 October, modern Halloween
Accession Day	17 November		Commemoration of Elizabeth I's accession in 1558
St. Andrew's Day	30 November	Feast of Saint Andrew	Advent observance leading to Christmas began on Sunday nearest St. Andrew's Day (27 November to 3 December)
Christmas	25 December	Birth of Christ	Christmas celebrations ran 12 days, to 6 January (Twelfth Day)

Note: Most of the listed holidays were officially recognized in the calendar of the Anglican Church. Many other saints' days and religious observances were celebrated in local communities and more conservative parishes.

Holinshed, Raphael (c. 1498–1580)

Raphael Holinshed was the editor, compiler, and coauthor of a popular and influential history of England, **Scotland**, and **Ireland**. Although little is known of Holinshed's early life, he is believed to have come from Warwickshire and to have attended Christ's College, Cambridge. He came to **London** shortly after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558 and took a job as a translator in the printing shop of Reginald Wolfe, who was then at work on a voluminous chronicle of universal history based largely on the work of the Tudor antiquary John **Leland**. When Wolfe died in 1573, Holinshed continued to work on an abridgement of Wolfe's chronicle that told the history of the British kingdoms.

The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now known popularly as **Holinshed's Chronicles**, was published in two volumes in 1577 by John Harrison and George Bishop. Although Holinshed wrote or compiled much of the first volume, which covered English history, the publication was really the work of a syndicate of writers and compilers, including William **Harrison**, Edmund **Campion**, and Richard **Stanyhurst**. The *Chronicles* was immediately popular, although the queen ordered the deletion of certain offending passages in the section on Ireland.

After Holinshed's death in 1580, John **Hooker** assumed editorship of a second edition of the *Chronicles*, which appeared in three volumes in 1587. The second edition, which carried the narrative to the year 1586, had a wide readership and assumed an important place in English literature when William **Shakespeare** used it as source material for his history plays.

See also Antiquarianism; Printing; Universities

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Holinshed's *Chronicles*

The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now known popularly as Holinshed's *Chronicles* because it was written and compiled under the editorship of Raphael **Holinshed**, was one of the most popular Elizabethan histories of Britain and the source for William **Shakespeare**'s history plays. Collaborating with a team of writers and compilers that included William **Harrison**, Richard **Stanyhurst**, and Edmund **Campion**, Holinshed combined new material written by himself and his associates with material drawn from a wide variety of other chronicles and sources.

Working himself largely on the first volume covering the history of England, Holinshed reproduced almost verbatim large sections from the works of such sixteenth-century chroniclers as Edward **Hall**, Robert **Fabyan**, Polydore **Vergil**, Richard **Grafton**, and John **Stow**. He also included selections from such writers as Sir Thomas **More** and from various medieval and classical chroniclers, such as Jean Froissart and Tacitus. The first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, published by John Harrison and George Bishop, appeared in two volumes in 1577. Although immediately popular with Elizabethan readers, the first edition angered **Elizabeth I**, who ordered the deletion of several passages on the recent political history of **Ireland** that were not to her liking.

After Holinshed's death in 1580, John **Hooker**, a writer and Exeter civic magistrate, collaborated with a team that included Abraham Fleming, Francis Thynne, and John Stow to produce a three-volume second edition that appeared in 1587. The new edition updated the *Chronicles* to 1586, with Hooker himself providing much of the new material for the Ireland section. The second edition provided source material for 13 of Shakespeare's plays—the 10 English history plays and *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*. The queen also found fault with the second edition, ordering the removal of passages on the **Babington Plot** and the **Netherlands expedition** of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester.

See also Scotland

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Frontispiece to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which was the most popular contemporary history of Britain and the source for Shakespeare's history plays. (Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library/University of Pennsylvania)

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Holy League

Joined by **Henry VII** in 1496, the Holy League was a European alliance designed to curb French ambitions in **Italy**. Without straining relations with **France**, membership in the league gave England recognition as a major power and allowed Henry to maintain and forge alliances that enhanced the security and prestige of the **Tudor** dynasty.

When **Charles VIII** of France invaded Italy in September 1494, his military successes persuaded other states with an interest in the peninsula to construct defensive alliances against the French. The Holy League, which eventually comprised the Holy Roman Emperor **Maximilian I**, Pope Alexander VI, the Venetian Republic, and King Ferdinand of Aragon, was the culmination of this network of agreements. Although England had no vital interests in Italy, Henry VII had good reasons for allying with the principal members of the league. To give a foreign dynasty an interest in preserving Tudor rule, Henry sought alliance with Spain, an emerging power jointly ruled by Ferdinand and his wife, Isabella of Castile. He was also desirous of maintaining good relations with England's main trading partner, the **Netherlands**, which was ruled by Maximilian acting on behalf of his son, Duke Philip. He hoped also to wean **Scotland** from her traditional alliance with France and to gain agreements that closed the territories of all his allies to Yorkist pretenders, particularly Perkin **Warbeck**.

Since Henry was more concerned with France becoming a haven for Warbeck than with her becoming a power in Italy, he was also interested in preserving the Anglo-French entente created by the Treaty of **Etaples** in 1492. He therefore did not join the league until it had already begun talks with Charles, and he accepted membership only on condition that England not be required to go to war with France. He also withheld adherence until Ferdinand confirmed the 1489 Treaty of **Medina del Campo**, which contained an important provision arranging a marriage between Prince Arthur **Tudor** and Princess **Catherine of Aragon**. With these safeguards in place, Henry joined the league in July 1496.

As a league member, England again achieved the status of a major power, a position denied her in recent decades by the instability engendered by the **Wars of the Roses** and the insecurity arising from Henry's seizure of the Crown at

Bosworth Field. League membership reinforced the **Intercursus Magnus**, the Anglo-Burgundian commercial agreement concluded with Maximilian in February 1496. It also smoothed the way for **James IV**'s repudiation of Warbeck in July 1497 and for the eventual conclusion of the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Ayton**, which betrothed James to Henry's daughter Margaret **Tudor**. Thus, by 1497, the league and its web of associated compacts had denied Warbeck the shelter and assistance of neighboring states and won the Tudors the recognition and security of important trade and marriage alliances.

See also Ferdinand and Isabella; Foreign Relations and Diplomacy

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Homilies

See Book of Homilies

Homosexuality

See Sodomy

Hooker, John (1525–1601)

John Hooker was an editor of the 1587 edition of **Holinshed's Chronicles** and the author of a treatise on the functioning of the Elizabethan **Parliament**. The son and grandson of former mayors of Exeter, Hooker was educated at a **grammar school** in Cornwall and then tutored, during a stay in the German city of Strasburg, by the Protestant reformer Peter Martyr **Vermigli**. About 1550, Hooker returned to England and took service with Miles **Coverdale**, the translator of the English **Bible**, who sent Hooker to study at Oxford. In 1551, Hooker was made an Exeter freeman (a citizen with rights to vote and hold office), and in 1555 was appointed Exeter's first chamberlain and charged with keeping city records. By the time he resigned the chamberlainship in September 1601, Hooker had involved himself in virtually every aspect of municipal government, including the keeping of city accounts, the provision of weapons for the civic armory, and the remodeling of the city council chamber.

Hooker's most important work was the organization and archiving of city records, which were in a highly disordered state when he took office. In the 1560s, Hooker helped pay for the education of his nephew Richard **Hooker**, who later used his learning to write the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the great defense of the **Anglican Church**. Between 1568 and 1575, Hooker spent much time in **Ireland** serving as agent and adviser to Sir Peter **Carew**. Hooker's service in the Irish Parliament of 1569 and the English Parliament of 1571 resulted in three literary works—his journals of the two parliamentary sessions and his treatise titled *The Order and Usage of the Keeping of a Parliament in England* (1572). The three writings are among the most important surviving sources on the workings of Elizabethan Parliaments.

After 1575, Hooker wrote numerous works, including a biography of Carew, a *Description of the City of Exeter*, and the "Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire," a detailed study of the county. His most important literary project was his coeditorship of a new edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which appeared in 1586–1587 and later served as a historical source for William **Shakespeare**. Hooker's main contribution to the work was Book VI, which updated the history of Ireland to 1586. Hooker died in Exeter in November 1601.

See also Antiquarianism; Universities

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Hooker, Richard (c. 1554–1600)

Through his multivolume masterpiece, the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, theologian Richard Hooker defined the teachings and doctrines of the **Anglican Church**, which he also vigorously defended against the criticisms of both **Puritans** and Catholics. Born in Devon into a middle-class family of small means, Hooker's education at Exeter School was provided by his uncle John **Hooker**, an Exeter magistrate who also brought his nephew to the attention of John **Jewel**, bishop of Salisbury. From 1568 until his death in 1571, Jewel paid for Hooker's education at Oxford. After his patron's death, Hooker won a scholarship and so

was able to complete his master's degree in 1577 and obtain a teaching position in Hebrew in 1579.

Ordained into the Anglican Church in 1581, Hooker began preaching at **Paul's Cross** in **London** a year later. He resigned his position at Oxford in 1584 and was given a **benefice** in the country, but he never took up residence there. Instead, in 1585, Archbishop John **Whitgift** and other Anglican Church leaders, recognizing Hooker's ability as a writer and teacher, helped him win appointment to a London benefice that allowed him time to work on his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, a detailed exposition of Anglican doctrine. By strongly defending Anglican positions in his sermons, Hooker came into conflict with preachers of Puritan views and precipitated debates that helped him develop the ideas he later put forth in his writing.

In 1591, Hooker accepted a benefice in Wiltshire and there completed the first four books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which were published in 1593. The fifth book appeared in 1597. Hooker's persuasive and articulate work was immensely important to the Anglican Church, giving it a powerful instrument with which to defend itself against the theological and political attacks of its Puritan and Catholic opponents. In 1595, the queen rewarded Hooker with a benefice near Canterbury, where Hooker died in November 1600, leaving the last three books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* completed but unpublished. Because these volumes did not appear until 1648, doubts arose as to their authenticity, although most modern scholars are convinced they are Hooker's work. Hooker is often known today as "the judicious Hooker," from the inscription placed on his monument by contemporaries who considered his work a masterpiece of religious literature.

See also Catholicism, English; Universities

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Hooper, John (d. 1555)

John Hooper, the Edwardian bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, was a radical and uncompromising reformer and an early **Marian martyr**. Little is known of Hooper's early life. He took a bachelor's degree at Oxford in 1519 and is thought to have been a Cistercian monk at Gloucester until the **dissolution of the monasteries** released him from his order. While living in **London**, Hooper read the

writings of the Swiss reformers Huldrych Zwingli and Johann Bullinger and began to openly espouse their ideas. Because passage of the Act of **Six Articles** in 1539 made England a dangerous place to hold Zwinglian views, Hooper fled England, coming eventually to Zurich, where he befriended Bullinger and corresponded with such other reformers as Martin **Bucer**. Returning to England in 1549, Hooper became chaplain to Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, head of **Edward VI**'s Protestant regency government. Rejecting the more conservative tenets of **Lutheranism**, Hooper advocated the advanced ideas of Zurich, especially the Zwinglian view of the Eucharist as merely commemorative. Hooper preached frequently to large audiences and engaged in formal disputations on a variety of religious issues, always upholding extreme Protestant positions. In 1549, he denounced Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**'s first **Book of Common Prayer** for its use of vestments and its retention of Catholic practices.

Upon Somerset's fall in 1549, Hooper became chaplain to his successor, John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, who nominated Hooper for bishop of Gloucester in 1550. Unwilling to be consecrated in the required vestments, Hooper angered even such Protestant colleagues as Bishop Nicholas **Ridley**, and a frustrated Warwick committed Hooper to the Fleet Prison. Confinement convinced Hooper to submit, and he was admitted to his bishopric in 1551. At Gloucester, Hooper tried to reorganize the diocese upon the model of Zurich by instituting a thoroughgoing visitation to root out ill-educated or ill-disposed clergy. In 1552, Hooper also became bishop of Worcester, the see that had been incorporated with Gloucester. At Worcester, his stern and unbending principles aroused greater opposition than at Gloucester.

Although he opposed the attempt to enthrone Jane **Grey**, Hooper was among the first Protestant clerics to be arrested after the accession of **Mary I** in 1553. He was deprived of his bishopric in March 1554 and held in exceptionally harsh confinement in the Fleet Prison until brought to trial for heresy in January 1555. Condemned to death, Hooper was taken to Gloucester and burned at the stake on 9 February 1555. Although his rigid, uncompromising views have made him an unattractive figure to later generations, his personal piety, morality, and generosity are unquestioned. His many writings and his frequent preaching did much to popularize advanced Protestant positions in England.

See also Northumberland's Coup

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Houghton, John (c. 1476–1535)

John Houghton was head or prior of the London Charterhouse, the primary house of the Carthusians, the most austere and respected religious order in Henrician England. Because Houghton and his fellow Carthusians refused to swear to the **royal supremacy**, they were convicted of **treason** and executed, thereby becoming, along with Bishop John **Fisher** and Sir Thomas **More**, the most prominent victims of **Henry VIII**'s break with Rome.

Houghton was born in Essex, but little is known of his family or early life. He studied at Cambridge and in about 1511 was ordained, apparently against his family's wishes. He entered the London Charterhouse some time before 1515, when he became a professed member of the Carthusian order. He became the Charterhouse sacristan (officer in charge of the vestment room or sacristy) in 1523 and procurator (officer in charge of the house under the prior) in 1526. He became prior of the Beauvale Charterhouse in Nottinghamshire in early 1531, but returned to the London Charterhouse upon his election as prior there in November 1531.

In May 1534, royal commissioners demanded that all members of the community swear an oath to the new Act of **Succession**, which excluded **Catherine of Aragon**'s daughter from the succession in favor of Anne **Boleyn**'s daughter. Arguing that the Carthusians should be exempted from the oath because they had removed themselves from all earthly concerns to lead a life of prayer and contemplation, Houghton, whose sympathies lay with Catherine, was immediately arrested and imprisoned in the **Tower of London**. Persuaded by Bishop John **Stokesley** of London that taking the oath did not contravene the laws of the Church, Houghton swore to the act and was released. However, his fellow Carthusians only followed his example when the government sent armed men to the Charterhouse to force their compliance.

In the spring of 1535, **Parliament** passed the Act of **Supremacy**, which acknowledged the king as head of the English Church. Because refusal to swear to the act constituted treason, Houghton and the priors of the Axholme (Lincolnshire) and Beauvale Charterhouses sought audience with Thomas **Cromwell** to request that the Carthusians be exempted from the oath, but Houghton and his colleagues were again sent to the Tower. Questioned by Cromwell and the **council** on 26 April, Houghton sent his notes of the interrogation to John Fisher, who was himself in the Tower for the same cause. A special commission meeting on 28 and 29 April condemned the three Carthusians, who were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 4 May. On the scaffold, Houghton declared why he was willing to accept death: "Our holy mother the Church has decreed otherwise than the king and Parliament. . . . I am therefore bound in conscience and am ready and willing to suffer every kind of torture rather than deny a doctrine of the Church" (Hendriks, *London Charterhouse*, 153). Although one of Houghton's arms was nailed to the Charterhouse gate as a

warning, 15 members of the community refused the oath and were themselves sentenced to death. Houghton was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1886 and canonized as a saint of the Catholic Church by Pope Paul VI in 1970.

John A. Wagner

See also Carthusian Martyrs; Elizabeth I; Mary I

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Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham (1536–1624)

A cousin of **Elizabeth I**, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, was the commander of the English fleet against the **armada**. A **favorite** of Elizabeth, Howard served at sea with his father in the 1550s and against the **Northern Rebellion** in 1569. He succeeded his father as Lord Howard of Effingham in 1575. He was nearly 50 in 1585 when the queen named him lord admiral, a post that had been held by his father, great-grandfather, and two uncles. Although Sir Francis **Drake** was a more experienced seaman, he was unacceptable as fleet commander because he was not of gentle or noble birth, and his appointment would have caused jealousy and perhaps insubordination among ship captains of higher social rank.

Effingham sensibly listened to the advice of more experienced sailors and worked well with Drake, John **Hawkins**, Martin **Frobisher**, and other seasoned seamen. Although he supported Drake in his desire to meet the armada before it entered English waters, Effingham's tactics when it reached the English Channel were conservative, preferring to harass the Spanish rather than attack at close quarters. When the crisis passed and disease began ravaging the crews, Effingham stood by his men and vigorously protested the government's refusal to care for—or even to pay—its sailors. In 1590, Effingham joined with Hawkins and Drake in establishing what was called the Chest at Chatham, a charity for poor seamen. Effingham shared command of the **Cadiz Raid** (1596) with Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Effingham's decision to return home without further action after the attack on Cadiz infuriated Essex, who thereafter became the admiral's bitter enemy.

From the late 1570s, Effingham was the patron of a company of actors known as Lord Howard's Men and later as the Admiral's Men. With Edward **Alleyn** as lead actor, the company was the first to perform most of the plays of Christopher **Marlowe**. Elizabeth created Effingham Earl of Nottingham in 1597, and her successor, **James I**, continued to favor the earl, sending him to Spain in 1605 to negotiate peace. Nottingham held the post of admiral until 1619 when he retired with a large pension. Nottingham died in December 1624 at the age of 88.

See also Gravelines, Battle of

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Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey (c. 1516–1547)

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the eldest son of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, was the most important poet of early Tudor England. Surrey legitimized the role of the poet in English society and deeply influenced the development of Elizabethan **poetry**. For Sir Philip **Sidney**, who considered Surrey's lyrics to be among the most important works in English literature, the earl was the ideal image of the courtier poet.

When his father became duke in 1524, Howard was by courtesy titled Earl of Surrey. The earl received an excellent humanist education, eventually becoming fluent in five languages. He studied classical literature under John Clerk and perhaps also under his brother's tutor, the future antiquary John **Leland**. In 1529, Surrey was sent to **Windsor Castle** as companion to **Henry VIII's** bastard son Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond. In October 1532, when the king and Anne **Boleyn** met with **Francis I**, Surrey and Richmond accompanied them to **Calais**, where arrangements were made for the two youths to spend the next year at the French **court**. In 1536, Surrey rode with his father against the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, but a court brawl initiated by Surrey led the **council** to imprison the earl at Windsor. While in confinement, Surrey wrote poetry. His first poems, written in English and innovative in meter, were a sonnet (the first in English poetry) and an elegy composed in 1537 to commemorate the recent death of Richmond. Although genuinely grieved by the loss of his friend and kinsman—Richmond had married his sister, Mary **Howard**, in 1533—Surrey probably also hoped the verses would restore him to favor.

Released in November 1537, Surrey, who was ever conscious of being heir to a premier peer of the realm, sought to establish himself as a leading figure at court. In 1539, he organized the defenses of Norfolk, and in 1540, he distinguished himself at the jousts celebrating the king's wedding to **Anne of Cleves**. Surrey openly

applauded the fall of Thomas **Cromwell** in 1540, believing that the lowborn minister had kept his father from assuming his rightful place as the king's chief adviser. Combined with a quick temper, this inordinate pride in his ancestry led to further quarrels at court and another spell of imprisonment in 1542.

Released to accompany his father on campaign against the Scots, Surrey found time to compose an elegy on the death of his fellow poet, the elder Sir Thomas **Wyatt**. The poem, which Surrey, in an unprecedented act, allowed to be published, elevated Wyatt the poet to a heroic stature and invested the writing of poetry with an honor and courtliness heretofore unknown. Surrey further cemented his reputation as a poet by translating Vergil's *Aeneid* into English blank verse, unrhymed lines of iambic pentameter that were entirely Surrey's invention and that powerfully influenced the composition of much future English poetry.

Surrey participated in the French campaigns of 1543 and 1544, serving in the latter year as marshal of the army. In August 1545, Surrey assumed command of Boulogne, the French town recently captured by the English. Aggressive and boastful, Surrey provoked hostilities that led to unsupportable expenditure and military defeat. Recalled in March 1546, Surrey was replaced by his father's chief rival in council, Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford. On 12 December 1546, Surrey and Norfolk were arrested on suspicion of **treason**, the ostensible reason being Surrey's ill-advised incorporation of the royal arms into his own. Because the king's death seemed imminent, the question of who would control the minority government of Prince Edward made even such trivial acts seem sinister. Although the evidence produced at Surrey's trial confirmed his overweening pride, poor judgment, and hot temper, nothing presented proved to be actual treason. The king, however, was convinced that the Howards intended to overthrow his son. Convicted by a jury of Norfolk men, Surrey was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 21 January 1547.

See also Edward VI

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Howard, Katherine (c. 1521–1542)

Like her cousin Anne **Boleyn**, Katherine Howard, the fifth wife of **Henry VIII**, was executed for adultery. One of 10 children of Lord Edmund Howard, a



Katherine Howard was the fifth wife of Henry VIII and, like her cousin Anne Boleyn, was executed for adultery. (Corel)

younger brother of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, Katherine was raised in the household of her father's stepmother, Agnes, dowager Duchess of Norfolk. In 1536, Katherine began a relationship with her music instructor, Henry Manox, who later denied having intercourse with her. In 1537, she became involved with Francis Dereham, a young gentleman in service to the duchess. After a two-year relationship, during which they may have committed themselves to an informal betrothal, the couple split in the autumn of 1539 when Norfolk, perhaps hoping to catch the king's eye, had Katherine appointed lady-in-waiting to Queen **Anne of Cleves**. Once at **court**, Katherine, who was pretty and vivacious, attracted a circle of admirers that included Thomas **Culpepper**, a gentleman of the privy chamber.

Rumors of betrothal to Culpepper faded in the spring of 1540 when the king began visiting Katherine.

On 28 July 1540, the day of Thomas **Cromwell**'s execution, Henry married Katherine. The wedding signaled the ascendancy of Norfolk and the religious conservatives and the eclipse of the reform party, which had been discredited by the fall of Cromwell and the dissolution of the Cleves marriage. Although the new match rejuvenated the king, who was completely infatuated with his young wife, it held fewer attractions for Katherine, who was less enamored of her aging husband. Beginning in the spring of 1541 and continuing through the summer while the court was on progress in the north, Katherine met secretly with Culpepper, who was smuggled into her apartments at night by Jane **Boleyn**, Lady Rochford, one of the queen's ladies. In August, Katherine succumbed to affection or blackmail and appointed her old lover Dereham as her private secretary.

By November, Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and other reformist opponents of Norfolk informed the king of what they had discovered from servants about Katherine's premarital liaisons with Manox and Dereham. The queen confessed to these relationships and later admitted her assignations with Culpepper, although she denied ever having intercourse with him. Katherine blamed the whole affair on Culpepper and Rochford, while both of them accused the queen and each other.

Although the exact nature of the relationship is unclear, evidence indicates that the initiative came from Katherine.

Devastated by the betrayal of his wife, Henry imprisoned her in the **Tower of London** and had **Parliament** condemn her by **attainder** rather than have her embarrassing story told in court. Dereham and Culpepper were executed on 10 December 1541, and Katherine and Rochford died at the Tower on 13 February 1542. Katherine's fall overthrew Norfolk and his party. The duke withdrew from court, thoroughly discredited, while his stepmother and various other Howards were convicted of misprision of treason for not revealing Katherine's misdeeds.

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Howard, Mary, Duchess of Richmond (1519–1556)

Mary Howard, Duchess of Richmond, was the wife of **Henry VIII's** illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond. The daughter of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, and the granddaughter of Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, Mary Howard was about 14 when she married Richmond on 26 November 1533. Promoted by Anne **Boleyn**, who was Mary's cousin, the marriage enhanced Norfolk's political position and tied Richmond to the Boleyn interest. Because the newlyweds were considered too young to cohabit, the duchess remained at **court**, where she was one of Anne's most favored ladies. Only about 17 when Richmond died in July 1536, the duchess lost over £1,000 per year when Henry used Richmond's failure to consummate his marriage as a reason to deny Mary her jointure (the portion of Richmond's estate designated by contract for the duchess's maintenance). Invalidation of the union also threatened loss of social status; as the king's daughter-in-law, Mary was one of the highest ranking women in the realm, but as Lady Mary Howard, she was merely Norfolk's unmarried daughter. Although Henry granted her a token portion of her income in 1538, Richmond's estates reverted to the Crown and Mary remained dependent on her father's support, residing for most of her remaining life in Norfolk at the duke's house at Kenninghall.

In 1538 and again in 1546, Norfolk attempted to improve his political position by proposing a marriage between Mary and Thomas **Seymour**, brother of the late queen Jane **Seymour**. Although the king approved the match in both instances, Mary, to the chagrin of her father and the surprise of all, rejected Seymour. In 1538, the duchess may have refused out of fear that the marriage might jeopardize

her efforts to secure her jointure, although the influence of her brother, Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, who had quarreled violently with Seymour's brother, Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Herford, is a more likely explanation for her action. In 1546, Mary was more amenable to the marriage, but a loud and public altercation at court with her brother, who supposedly told her to become the king's mistress if she wanted power and not marry beneath her, ended the match.

When her father and brother were arrested in December 1546, Mary made no effort to defend them and even testified against Surrey. Like Anne Boleyn, the duchess has traditionally been portrayed as strong-minded, sharp-tongued, and willful—her father called her “too wise for a woman” (Murphy, *Bastard Prince*, 144)—but more recent interpretations absolve her of malice and ascribe her actions to fear and compulsion. After Surrey's execution in 1547, Mary became guardian to his children, even hiring the future Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe** as their tutor. She also made persistent if unavailing attempts to secure her father's release from the **Tower of London**, for which the duke remembered her fondly and generously in his will. The only member of her family to embrace **Protestantism**, the duchess was welcome at the court of **Edward VI**, while her father remained imprisoned, and unwelcome at the court of **Mary I**, when her father was released and restored to favor. The duchess died in Norfolk in January 1556.

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Howard, Thomas, [Second] Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524)

Although imprisoned in 1485 for his support of **Richard III**, Thomas Howard later revived his family's fortunes through loyal and effective service to the House of **Tudor**. Howard served **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII** as a diplomat, councillor, and soldier, with his greatest success being his command of the army that defeated and killed **James IV** of **Scotland** in 1513.

Like his father, John Howard, Thomas was a loyal adherent of the House of York, fighting for **Edward IV** in various battles of the **Wars of the Roses**. He accompanied Edward to **France** in 1475 and was knighted in 1478. In 1483, Howard and his father supported Richard III's usurpation; to reward this loyalty, Richard created John Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Earl of Surrey. At Richard's coronation, Surrey carried the sword of state before the king and was soon after appointed steward of the royal household and member of the **council**.

In August 1485, Surrey fought for Richard at **Bosworth Field**, where both the king and Norfolk were slain. Imprisoned in the **Tower of London** by Henry VII, Surrey was stripped of his lands and title by bill of **attainder**. Although pardoned in March 1486, Surrey remained in confinement until January 1489, when Henry restored his title. The earl did not, however, recover his estates until 1501, having by then earned them back through loyal service to the Tudor Crown. He suppressed the **Yorkshire Rebellion** in 1489, and, serving as lieutenant of the north and deputy warden of the Welsh marches, defended the realm against the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**. In 1501, he was restored to the council and appointed treasurer of the **Exchequer**, and thereafter helped negotiate Prince Arthur **Tudor**'s marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** and Princess Margaret **Tudor**'s to James IV.

After serving as earl marshal at Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, Surrey participated in treaty negotiations with the French and Spanish, and in 1512 strengthened the country's northern defenses. When Henry led an army into France in 1513, Surrey remained in England to defeat a Scottish invasion at **Flodden Field** in September. For this victory, Surrey was restored to his father's dukedom of Norfolk in February 1514. Although his influence in the government waned with the rise of Thomas **Wolsey** after 1515, Norfolk continued to serve in diplomatic and military capacities, helping negotiate the marriage of Princess Mary **Tudor** to **Louis XII** in 1514 and suppressing the **Evil May Day** riots in 1517. He was present at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520 and presided as high steward at the **treason** trial of Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521. He resigned as treasurer in 1522, but attended **Parliament** in the following year and remained active almost up to his death on 21 May 1524. His son, Thomas **Howard**, succeeded him as third Duke of Norfolk, and his granddaughters Anne **Boleyn** and Katherine **Howard** later became queens of England.

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Howard, Thomas, [Third] Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554)

Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, was the leading military and political figure among the Henrician nobility. The head of one of England's most powerful and ambitious aristocratic families, Norfolk was uncle to two queens of England, great-uncle to a third, brother-in-law to **Henry VII**, and father-in-law to **Henry VIII**'s bastard son.

The eldest son of Thomas **Howard**, second Duke of Norfolk, Howard was 12 when his grandfather, the first Howard Duke of Norfolk, and his father, then Earl

of Surrey, fought for **Richard III** at **Bosworth Field** in 1485. After forfeiting his estates and suffering brief imprisonment, Surrey rehabilitated himself and his family by rendering loyal service to Henry VII and the House of **Tudor**. By this policy, the Howards gradually won the trust of the king and regained their position at **court**. In 1495, Howard married Anne Plantagenet, daughter of **Edward IV** and sister of Henry VII's wife, **Elizabeth of York**. Although no children of the union survived on Anne's death in 1512, the match was prestigious and a sign of the Howards' growing status. In the spring of 1513, Howard, then 40, married 17-year-old Elizabeth Stafford, daughter of Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham. Although this second marriage brought Howard children, a handsome dowry, and important political connections, the couple was exceedingly ill-matched and unhappy. Husband and wife were both difficult, querulous, and quick-tempered; by 1533, Howard, having taken Elizabeth Holland as his mistress, was obliged to establish a separate household for the duchess so the couple could live apart.

After 1498, Howard distinguished himself as a military leader, serving with his father on numerous expeditions, especially against **Scotland**. He led the vanguard of his father's army against **James IV** at **Flodden Field** in 1513, and in February 1514, when his father was rewarded with elevation to the dukedom of Norfolk, Howard was created Earl of Surrey. Henry VIII thereafter frequently employed Surrey in a military capacity. The earl served as lord lieutenant of **Ireland** from 1520 to 1522, but the king's unwillingness to provide sufficient troops and funds hampered Surrey's efforts to strengthen royal authority in the island. Surrey also led English forces in a series of skirmishes during the **Anglo-French War** of 1522 and repelled a Scottish raid on the northern border in 1523. On his father's death in 1524, Surrey became Duke of Norfolk, having already succeeded his father as lord treasurer. In 1525, the duke suppressed the Norfolk protests against the **Amicable Grant** and thereafter became more active at court and in Royal Council. Although Norfolk disliked the lowborn minister Thomas **Wolsey**, it is unclear how deeply he was involved in undermining the cardinal. After Wolsey's fall, Norfolk became a leading figure in the council, but his political gifts were limited and he had no plan for achieving the royal **divorce**. By 1532, Thomas **Cromwell** had superseded Norfolk in the king's confidence and the duke was again largely employed on military matters. However, Norfolk continued to advance his family at court; in 1533, his daughter Mary **Howard** wed the king's illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond.

A conservative who was uncomfortable with religious reform, Norfolk loyally supported the divorce. Although Anne **Boleyn** was his niece, Norfolk's relationship with the new queen was equivocal, and he suffered no loss of favor on her fall in 1536. The duke's successful suppression of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** in 1537 again brought him into the king's confidence. By the late 1530s, the conservatives, led by Norfolk and Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, controlled the council and were able to secure passage of the Act of **Six Articles** in 1539 and the execution of Cromwell in



Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, was a leading military and political figure during the reign of Henry VIII. (The Print Collector/StockphotoPro)

1540. The king's 1540 marriage to Norfolk's niece, Katherine **Howard**, gave the duke a short-lived political ascendancy that was destroyed by Katherine's execution for adultery in 1542. Thereafter, Norfolk served only as a military commander, repelling the Scots in 1542 and leading an English army in **France** in 1544.

Norfolk's involvement in conservative attempts to control the regency of Prince Edward and the foolish arrogance of his son Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, in arousing the king's suspicions by quartering the royal arms with his own led to the arrest of the duke and his son in December 1546. Surrey was executed, but Norfolk was spared by Henry's timely death, and the duke remained in the **Tower of London** during the reign of **Edward VI**. Released by **Mary I** in 1553, Norfolk was restored to the council and to his lands and titles. In January 1554, the queen sent the 80-year-old duke to quell **Wyatt's Rebellion**, but most of his men deserted to the rebels and Norfolk retreated to **London** in failure. Retiring to his estates in Norfolk, the duke died on 24 August 1554.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Howard, Thomas, [Fourth] Duke of Norfolk (1536–1572)

A cousin of **Elizabeth I** and the only duke in Elizabethan England, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, destroyed himself through his ambition to wed Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and to share with her the Crown of England. Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was the son of Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, whom **Henry VIII** executed for treason in 1547, and the grandson of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, who was saved from execution in 1547 by the death of Henry VIII. Although taught for a time by the Protestant writer and teacher John **Foxe**, who later wrote the "**Book of Martyrs**," the fourth duke grew up to be a vain and rather weak man with Catholic leanings. He was raised by his aunt Mary **Howard**, the widow of Henry VIII's illegitimate son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond.

After being given his grandfather's ducal title in 1559, Norfolk served Elizabeth in **Scotland** in 1560 and was a member of the Privy **Council** by 1562. He was the queen's commissioner for Scottish affairs in 1568. In 1569, feeling deprived by William **Cecil**, the queen's chief adviser, of the position at **court** that he believed was his due, Norfolk proposed himself as a suitable English husband for the imprisoned Mary Stuart. When Elizabeth refused to consider the proposal, the disgruntled duke left court uttering vague threats against Cecil and his supporters.

When summoned back to court, Norfolk submitted and was imprisoned. He was also implicated in the 1570 uprising of the northern earls, who had supported his marriage scheme.

The duke was eventually pardoned and released for his activities in 1569–1570, but in 1571 he involved himself in the **Ridolfi Plot** to free Mary and dethrone Elizabeth. The plot also proposed a Spanish invasion, the restoration of **Catholicism**, and the marriage of Norfolk to the Queen of Scots. For this new treason, Norfolk was tried, condemned, and executed in 1572.

See also Northern Rebellion

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Huguenots

The term “Huguenots” refers to members of the Protestant communities that arose in sixteenth-century **France**. The first Huguenot community was founded at Meaux in 1546; it adopted the organization devised by the French reformer John **Calvin** for the Protestant community at Strasbourg in Germany. In 1559, the Huguenot Church of Paris, which had been founded about 1555, called together representatives from 15 Protestant churches throughout France to create a Huguenot statement of faith. The resulting document was heavily influenced by the ideas of Calvin and thereby ensured that the French Protestant Church would be based on **Calvinism**, like the reformed churches of England, **Scotland**, and the **Netherlands**.

By 1561, over 2,100 Huguenot churches existed in France. Because **Protestantism** spread through all social classes, including the nobility, the movement developed great political influence and aroused strong opposition. Huguenot leaders appealed to the Crown for liberty of conscience, but continued persecution led by the strongly Catholic **Guise family** caused the Huguenots to take up arms and initiated a period of intermittent civil war in France that lasted from 1562 to the 1590s. The Huguenots also played a significant role in English history. In 1562, they negotiated the Treaty of **Hampton Court** with **Elizabeth I**, who agreed to support the Huguenots with English troops in return for the port of Le Havre. After 1570, the Elizabethan Church and economy were strengthened by a large influx of Huguenot refugees, especially to **London**. Also, the French Crown’s preoccupation with the Huguenots left France unable to intervene in the **Netherlands Revolt**, a situation that made England **Spain’s** main opponent in western Europe in the late sixteenth century.

In 1572, the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** destroyed the Huguenot leadership. In 1573, the Huguenots formed a political party dedicated to fighting for political and religious freedom. Under **Henri III**, war continued between the Guise-led **Catholic League** and the Huguenots led by Henri of Navarre, who, after 1584, was heir to the throne. Henri III's assassination in 1589 made Navarre king, as **Henri IV**, but he could end the war only by becoming a Catholic, which he did in July 1593. The Huguenots' 40-year struggle for civil rights and freedom of worship ended in 1598 when Henri issued the Edict of Nantes granting both to his former coreligionists.

See also Le Havre Expedition

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Humanism

The term “humanism” describes an educational program based on the moral and intellectual value of studying the languages and literature of ancient Greece and Rome. Humanism focused not on the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, but on the application of knowledge derived from literary studies to the self-improvement of the student and the general betterment of society. The understanding and advancement of human beings and the human condition was the central theme of humanist study. A humanist educational program first sought to provide its students with the ability to write and read classical Latin and Greek, and then sought to imbue them with classical civic values—the belief that active involvement in public affairs was a worthwhile human activity, and the idea that **education** should prepare a student to render service to the state. In Tudor England, humanism gradually replaced scholasticism as the dominant educational and literary philosophy employed in the country's schools and **universities**.

Humanism arose in Renaissance **Italy** in the fourteenth century and was brought to England by Italian scholars in the late fifteenth century. The first English humanists, such as William **Grocyn**, Thomas **Linacre**, and John **Colet**, acquired their learning from travel and study in Italy. Among these early English humanists, only Sir Thomas **More** never studied abroad, and even he owed his early humanist training to men who had. Still a novel educational fashion under **Henry VII**, humanism became the accepted basis of instruction in English schools and universities during the reign of **Henry VIII**. The **grammar school** that Colet founded at St. Paul's in

London in 1510 offered its students thorough study in the Christian classics. The school's first master, the humanist William **Lily**, produced a Latin grammar that became the royally authorized Latin text for all English schools in 1542, and the Dutchman Desiderius **Erasmus**, the greatest humanist scholar of the age, wrote a popular handbook of rhetoric specifically for St. Paul's. Study in Latin and Greek was available at both English universities by 1511, when Erasmus was persuaded to teach Greek at Cambridge. During Henry's reign, all new academic foundations at either university, such as Corpus Christi College (1516) and Cardinal College (1524) at Oxford and St. John's College at Cambridge (1511), recommended training in Latin and Greek and studies in classical literature. John **Fisher**'s statutes for St. John's even called for the study of Hebrew.

Early Christian humanists such as Erasmus and More used their learning to better understand the **Bible** and to work for reform of abuses in the Catholic Church. Many later humanists left **Catholicism** for some form of **Protestantism**, but humanism was never strictly a Catholic or Protestant movement, and humanist studies were vigorously pursued by people in both camps. In England, Henry VIII employed humanist writers to persuade the pope and the rest of Europe of the rightness of his belief that his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** was invalid, and Thomas **Cromwell** employed humanist propagandists to promote the **royal supremacy**. The Tudors also engaged humanist educators as tutors for royal children. Henry VII hired Linacre to teach Prince Arthur **Tudor** and his sister Princess Mary **Tudor**. Henry VIII, the first English monarch to receive some humanist training, provided a humanist education for all his children. The Spanish scholar Juan Luis **Vives** devised an educational program for Princess Mary; Richard **Croke** taught Henry's illegitimate son Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond; and John **Cheke** and Roger **Ascham** taught Princess Elizabeth and Prince Edward. Born in 1516 before the **Reformation**, Mary imbibed a Catholic humanism and adhered to Rome, but Edward and Elizabeth, born in the 1530s during the break with Rome, were trained by Protestant humanists. Both later adhered to Protestantism, although all three shared a basic humanist grounding in classical languages and literature.

See also Edward VI; Elizabeth I; Mary I

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Hunne's Case

The case of Richard Hunne, a prominent **London** merchant who died mysteriously while in ecclesiastical custody, demonstrated, especially for **Henry VIII**, the strength of English **anticlericalism** and its potential use as a weapon for cowing the English Church. In March 1511, Thomas Dryffeld, rector of the London parish of St. Mary Malfellow, conducted the funeral rites for Hunne's infant son. As fee for his services, Dryffeld demanded the child's bearing sheet (or christening gown); Hunne refused, claiming the garment was his property, not his son's. In April 1512, the rector filed suit against Hunne in the **church courts**. On 13 May, Cuthbert **Tunstall**, then chancellor to Archbishop William **Warham**, ruled in favor of Dryffeld. Hunne responded in 1513 by initiating two suits in the **common law** Court of **King's Bench**. The first suit accused Henry Marshall, Dryffeld's assistant priest, of slander for calling Hunne "accursed" and thereby damaging his reputation with business associates, and the second charged that Dryffeld had contravened the statute of **praemunire** by bringing suit in church courts, which, being under papal jurisdiction, were foreign tribunals operating illegally in England. Neither case was settled; both were several times adjourned until Hunne's death ended them.

Alarmed by Hunne's praemunire action and the threat it posed to ecclesiastical authority, Richard **Fitzjames**, bishop of London, ordered Hunne's arrest and confinement in the Lollard's Tower at St. Paul's Cathedral. A search of the merchant's house yielded various heretical books, including a Wycliff (i.e., English) **Bible**, which justified charges of **heresy** against Hunne. On 2 December 1514, Fitzjames interrogated Hunne and then returned him to his cell, where he was found next morning hanging from the ceiling. When an examination of cell and body uncovered evidence that Hunne had been strangled before being hung, a coroner's jury rejected suicide and returned an indictment of willful murder against Fitzjames's chancellor, Dr. William Horsey, and Hunne's two jailers, Charles Joseph and John Spalding. Joseph confessed to the crime in prison, but Fitzjames, believing no London jury would render impartial justice to any ecclesiastical official, appealed to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, the king's chief minister, to have the case examined by the royal **council**. The king acceded to this request and the indictments

were quashed. Horsey was eventually discharged as part of the compromise that settled the **Standish-Kidderminster Debate**, and neither Joseph nor Spalding ever stood trial.

On 16 December, Fitzjames threw the city into further uproar by condemning Hunne for heresy, an action that entailed the confiscation of Hunne's property and the begging of his family. When Hunne's body was burned at Smithfield on 20 December, lay opinion in London was convinced that murder had occurred and that Hunne had been "made a heretic for suing a praemunire" (Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 114). When **Parliament** met in February 1515, the Commons tried to restore the Hunne family's property and renewed attempts to limit benefit of clergy and other clerical privileges.

The exact nature of Hunne's death remains a mystery. Although suicide seems improbable, Horsey and his associates had no reason to murder Hunne, who was unlikely to escape the heresy charges facing him. It is possible that Hunne was killed by accident during a scuffle in his cell and that the hanging was a clumsy attempt by Joseph and Spalding to make the death look like suicide. Later accounts of the case were colored by the writer's views of the issues involved. The chronicler Edward **Hall**, who was fiercely anticlerical, believed Hunne was murdered; Sir Thomas **More**, who would later die for his defense of papal authority, maintained that Hunne was a suicide; and John Foxe, the **Puritan** martyrologist, refuted More. In any event, Hunne's attempt to use secular law to curb ecclesiastical jurisdiction foreshadowed Henry VIII's later use of Parliament to abolish papal authority.

See also Benefit of Clergy, Act Concerning

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Hunsdon, First Lord

See Carey, Henry, Lord Hunsdon

Hunsdon, Second Lord

See Carey, George, Lord Hunsdon

Hunting

Hunting was an extremely popular pastime in Tudor England, and mastery of the hunt in all its forms was considered an essential skill for members of the English nobility and **gentry**. Because game was usually pursued on horseback with a pack of hounds, hunting was an expensive sport and was thus confined to the upper classes. The game on royal lands was reserved for hunting by the monarch. Both **Henry VIII** and **Elizabeth I** loved to hunt; Henry even selected the site for his new palace of **Nonsuch** based solely on the excellent hunting to be had nearby. **James I** particularly enjoyed greyhound coursing, which was more a race than a hunt, with greyhounds chasing live rabbits and other game; in coursing, the sport was found in the competition between animals rather than in the actual catching of game. Although the growing demand for food in the sixteenth century saw many medieval deer parks converted to **agriculture** through **enclosure**, many Tudor noblemen and gentlemen still had private game parks reserved for their use. Poaching in royal or private hunting parks was a serious offense. In 1485, the first **Parliament** of **Henry VII** declared unauthorized nighttime hunting in a private forest or disguising oneself to poach in a private park to be felonies punishable by death.

Although some prominent humanists, such as Sir Thomas **More** and Desiderius **Erasmus**, spoke out against hunting, Tudor society generally viewed hunting as a true mark of gentility. Hunting required good horsemanship, a necessary skill for a gentleman or woman, and was also a way to develop and display courage, strength, and agility. Hunting also had practical benefits; it provided meat to feed a noble or gentle household and it kept wildlife populations in check, thus protecting local gardens and crops. Hunting, and the ability to afford and maintain the parks, horses, hounds, hawks, weapons, and servants required for the sport, became a defining quality of class, setting off the upper classes who hunted from the middle and lower classes who did not for lack of both time and money. The Tudor monarchs also used hunting as a means for both interacting with and controlling the nobility and **gentry**. Gifts of deer, venison, hawks, hounds, or horses showed royal favor, and royal **patronage** could take the form of a post in the royal stables, kennels, or mews. The issuing or withholding of invitations to a royal hunt indicated who was in or out of favor at **court** and could even be used to indicate the state of relations with a foreign monarch, whose ambassador might be similarly included or excluded.

Deer were the most common prey, especially fallow deer, which were found throughout England, although the red deer was considered a more exciting quarry. Birds might be shot with fowling pieces, though they were the usual prey of the falconer. Unlike deer and game birds, foxes, otters, badgers, skunks, and various wild cats were hunted as vermin, not for food. The most prized quarry, because it required courage and wit to corner and kill, was the wild boar, which was rapidly disappearing from England, but could still be found in parts of the Midlands and

The Booke of Faulconrie or Hau- KING, FOR THE ONELY DE- *light and pleasure of all Noblemen and Gentlemen:*

Collected out of the best aucthors, asvvell Italians as Frenchmen,
and some English practifes withall concernyng Faulconrie, the contentes
whereof are to be seene in the next page folowyng.

By *George Turberuile* Gentleman.

NOCET EMPTA DOLORE VOLVPTAS.



Imprinted at London for Christopher Barker, at the signe of
the Grashopper in Paules Churchyarde. *Anno. 1575.*

Title page of George Turbervile's *The Book of Falconry, or Hawking*, 1575. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 353)

the far north and west in the Tudor period. Many breeds of dogs were used for pursuing game, with the mastiff most common for larger prey, and greyhounds for coursing hares, deer, and foxes. Hounds of various breeds were used for such special tasks as flushing out game or chasing it until it was cornered. A less strenuous manner of hunting, which did not require horses or dogs, was the practice of hunting within the toil. A large semicircular screen or net was erected at the edge of a park or forest and beaters drove animals into it, where they could be shot with bows or guns by waiting hunters.

Various books or manuals of hunting and hawking were published in the sixteenth century. The best known of these are George **Turberville**'s *The Book of Falconry, or Hawking* (1575), which describes the breeding and training of hawks and falcons for hunting, and *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* (c. 1575), which was once attributed to Turberville, but is now believed to be the work of George **Gascoigne**. *The Noble Art of Venerie* describes how to organize a hunt, particularly when the monarch is in attendance. One English practice mentioned by Gascoigne was the tradition of handing a hunting knife to the monarch after the deer was dead; the monarch then symbolically killed the animal by stabbing it in the heart. Elizabeth I supposedly concluded all her hunts in this manner.

John A. Wagner

See also Humanism

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Huntingdon, Earl of

See Hastings, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon

Husee, John (d. 1548)

John Husee is best known as the personal agent and general factotum who served Arthur **Plantagenet**, Lord Lisle, while Lisle was governor of **Calais** between 1533

and 1540. Husee is a prominent figure in the Lisle Letters, over 500 of which were drafted by Husee himself. Confiscated at the time of Lisle's arrest in 1540 and thus preserved, the Lisle Letters, which comprise the correspondence of the lord deputy and his wife Honor Plantagenet, Lady Lisle, are a valuable source of information on people and events of the 1530s.

The son of a Southampton wine merchant, Husee apprenticed with his father in 1520 and became a freeman (member) of the vintner's company in 1527. Little else is known of Husee's early career until 1533, by which time he had entered Lisle's service in Calais. Quickly becoming the deputy's chief man of business, he carried letters, managed Lisle's suits at law and at **court**, and kept the deputy informed of important political and religious developments in England. Well versed in the ways of the court and in handling courtiers, Husee even advised Lisle on the best way to approach **Henry VIII**, telling the deputy to keep his letters brief, "for I have heard it said that his Grace loveth not to read long letters" (St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, Vol. 5, no. 1466). Husee also handled more mundane tasks, searching **London** for services or commodities the Lisles desired, watching over Lady Lisle's children by her first husband, borrowing money, and even finding and hiring servants.

Husee spent much time maintaining the deputy's position with Thomas **Cromwell**, the king's chief minister. The relationship was difficult and variable, as Cromwell, seeking to obtain Lisle's manor of Painswick in Gloucestershire, repeatedly denied the deputy's requests for cash or for leave to return to England. Although in 1537 Husee could assure Lisle that Cromwell "remembreth your lordship more oftener than he hath fingers or toes" (St. Clare Byrne, *Lisle Letters*, Vol. 1, no. 42), by early 1540, Husee, sensing that Cromwell's influence was waning, began cultivating new relationships for Lisle with other courtiers, such as Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, and Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford.

Lisle rewarded his servant by granting him a position in the Calais garrison for a daily wage of eight pence and by obtaining for him a royal grant for life of the office of searcher of the lordships of Marke and Oye within the pale of Calais. Upon Lisle's arrest for **treason** in May 1540, Husee, who was not implicated in his master's fall, retained his place in the garrison. In 1544, he served at the siege of Boulogne, transporting food and other supplies to the troops. Little else is known of Husee's life after he left Lisle's service. He was probably in his early 40s when he died in Calais in November 1548.

John A. Wagner

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Hutton, Matthew (1529–1606)

Matthew Hutton was **Elizabeth I**'s last archbishop of York. Born into a minor **gentry** family in Lancashire, Hutton entered Cambridge in 1546, achieving his bachelor of divinity degree by 1562. In 1561, he was elected Margaret professor of divinity, and in the following year became Regius professor of divinity. He thereafter held a number of church **benefices**, including at St. Paul's Cathedral in **London**.

Hutton came to the notice of the queen in 1564 when he distinguished himself in a series of theological debates held in the royal presence at Cambridge. Rapidly acquiring a reputation as one of the best preachers and ablest scholars in the Church, Hutton in 1565 obtained both a doctorate in divinity and an important benefice at Westminster Abbey. In 1566, Hutton was permitted to preach at **court** and at **Paul's Cross** in London. When Edmund **Grindal** was promoted to the archbishopric of York in 1570, Hutton was proposed as a possible successor to Grindal in the important bishopric of London, but his candidacy was opposed by Matthew **Parker**, the archbishop of Canterbury, who suspected Hutton of favoring **Puritans**, and the plan was dropped. In the 1580s, when he was serving on the cathedral staff at York, Hutton's Puritan leanings led to an angry dispute with Edwin **Sandys**, the archbishop of York. Sandys brought 13 charges against Hutton in 1586. Although forced to submit to Sandys, Hutton ably defended himself and never admitted wrongdoing beyond the use of improper and disrespectful language.

Through the influence of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, Hutton was named bishop of Durham in 1589 and president of the **Council of the North** in 1595. In February 1596, he became archbishop of York. He founded a number of alms-houses for the poor and **grammar schools** in the York archdiocese and continued to support Puritans, even writing a letter in 1605 to Robert **Cecil**, chief minister of **James I**, recommending that the prosecution of Puritans for nonconformity be relaxed. Hutton died in January 1606 and was buried in York Minster.

See also Universities

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Index Librorum Prohibitorum

Pope Paul IV promulgated the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*Index of Forbidden Books*) in 1559. This was a list of all the printed materials the church considered dangerous to faith and morals, and it was forbidden for Catholics to read, own, sell, or distribute works on the *Index*. It included all works of Desiderius **Erasmus**, all the works of 61 specifically named printers, and all vernacular translations of the **Bible** and was considered to be “very severe”; later that same year Pope Paul IV eased it somewhat. There was a collateral list known as the *Expurgatory Index*; books on that list could be read after all offending passages had been removed.

The Roman church had from the beginning taken seriously its role in the **censorship** of written materials it believed to be heretical, superstitious, or otherwise dangerous. Even in the early centuries there was a system by which questionable materials could be sent to Rome for review and a ruling as to their acceptability. By the central Middle Ages the church attempted to control such materials everywhere through local authorities. For example, in England in 1408 the archbishop of Canterbury forbade the translating, distributing, or reading of English Bibles unless one had received prior permission, and that permission was never granted. When the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was released in 1559, under the auspices of the General Inquisition at Rome, it was the first list of prohibited books to have “Index” in its title and it was intended to be a comprehensive list for “the whole world,” not applicable to only a single country or diocese.

Censorship can be either proactive (censor ahead of publication) or reactive (condemn after the fact). The *Index* falls into the latter category because it is concerned with the disposition of materials that have already been printed. Until the late 1400s censorship had been relatively easy for the church and for civil authorities, but the coming of the printing press changed things dramatically. It was now possible to disseminate identical information quickly and widely, and not just in the author’s native language; books could be translated and printed with relative ease. The Roman church’s Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1514) had decreed that on pain of excommunication, no book could be printed unless prior permission had been obtained from the proper local church authority. This too had been meant to

apply to the whole of Christendom and to all books; however, little had been done to enforce the council's decrees. The problem had been recognized even if no one was yet dealing with it.

To disobey requirements for prior approval or to traffic in forbidden books was risky to one's immortal soul as well as one's pocketbook. You would be fined and excommunicated from the church, and your books would be burned. The banishment of excommunication meant that you could not receive the **sacraments** and therefore would not get into heaven. After the close of the Council of **Trent**, as new orders of friars and other reinvigorated church men set out to breathe new life into the post-**Reformation** church, they were armed with the council's reaffirmations of doctrine and responsibility along with specific rulings on censorship, and they had the *Index* to guide their work wherever they went. However, at this point the threat of excommunication no longer held any fear for Protestants and the reach of the printing press would only expand, so the church's challenge continued to grow.

The *Index* was periodically revised and updated and was considered in effect until it was finally fully suppressed in 1966.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Inflation

See Price Revolution

Injunctions, Royal

Royal injunctions were **proclamations** issued by the Crown to ensure the proper understanding and application of the monarch's ecclesiastical policies. Changes in religious policy, especially following a change of monarch, were announced through the issuance of a new set of injunctions. Five sets of royal injunctions were issued during the Tudor period, in 1536, 1538, 1547, 1554, and 1559.

Thomas **Cromwell**, acting as vicegerent or deputy for the king as supreme head of the Church, issued the injunctions of 1536. Meant to support the recently issued **Ten Articles**, the first formulary of faith devised under the **royal supremacy**, the injunctions denounced images, relics, and other rites and forms of worship considered superstitious. The clergy were ordered to teach their parishioners, and especially the young, the Ten Articles, the Paternoster (Lord's Prayer), and the Ten Commandments. Parents were also to educate their children or apprentice them to

an honest trade for the avoidance of future crime and disorder. Parishes were also enjoined to set up a collection box in their churches for relief of the local poor.

The injunctions of September 1538, also issued by Cromwell, were more radical in tone, requiring the bishops to supervise the placing of an English **Bible** in every church and ordering the clergy to expound the scriptures to their congregations. The injunctions also established a system, which lasted into the nineteenth century, for the registering of births, marriages, and deaths in every parish, and called for the abolition of superstitious rituals and the destruction of shrines and images. At Canterbury, for instance, the famous shrine of Thomas à Becket was broken up and its wealth confiscated to the Crown.

Because the death of **Henry VIII** created uncertainty as to the continuing validity of injunctions issued in his name, Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, acting on his own initiative but under the authority of **Edward VI**, issued new injunctions in 1547. Largely repeating the earlier Henrician directives, the Edwardian proclamations added new guidelines concerning the qualifications of parish clergy and the form of intercessory prayers said before sermons.

The injunctions issued by **Mary I** in March 1554 were generally concerned with undoing the Edwardian reforms and restoring Catholic worship. These injunctions ordered bishops to suppress **heresy**; remove married clergy; and restore holy days, processions, and Catholic ceremonies. Clergy ordained under the English ordinal (the English service for ordaining priests and deacons introduced under Edward in 1550) were to be reordained under the Catholic service. As a result of these injunctions, about 20 percent of the English clergy was deprived for marriage.

The Elizabethan injunctions of 1559 largely restored the Edwardian directives of 1547, with certain additions concerning the behavior of worshippers, the duties of churchwardens, the censorship of religious literature, and the posture to be adopted (particularly kneeling) during divine service.

See also Poor Laws

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Inns of Court

The four Inns of Court in **London** were residential inns for lawyers and royal judicial officials associated with the courts of **common law**. The inns were also

private, informally organized institutions that provided training in the common law. Beginning in the fourteenth century as hostels for apprentices learning the common law, the four Inns of Court in western London—Gray’s Inn, Lincoln’s Inn, the Inner Temple, and the Middle Temple—had by the sixteenth century become more than communal residences offering lawyers and legal students a place of accommodation with convenient access to Westminster. By the Tudor period, the inns had become societies of lawyers and legal students that provided their members with legal training. Because neither Cambridge nor Oxford taught common law, the medieval inns developed a system of oral disputations that supplemented the legal knowledge students acquired through private study and observation of the courts. These exercises, known as bolts, moots, and readings, involved the arguing and discussion of hypothetical cases that were based on actual suits brought before the common law courts. Competent performance in these disputations allowed one to progress through the various ranks of membership in the societies, from inner-barrister to utter-barrister to benchers or readers. Early in the Tudor period, the common law judges ruled that only students who had been called to moot at the bar of one of the Inns of Court could plead a case before the common law courts, a determination that gave the inns responsibility for qualifying men for a legal career at the very time that an increase in litigation made such a career highly desirable.

Admissions to membership soared in the sixteenth century, from perhaps 200 to 300 at all four inns in **Henry VII**’s reign to over 1,000 at the end of **Elizabeth I**’s reign in 1603. Not all members were lawyers or students interested in a professional legal career. Many were sons of the **gentry** and nobility, men interested in obtaining only a general knowledge of the common law and its procedures. Such men also sought to acquire the useful social skills and political contacts that could be had from a period of residence in London. Many government ministers, such as Sir Thomas **Lovell**, who joined Lincoln’s Inn, and Thomas **Cromwell**, who entered Gray’s Inn, were members, as were many members of **Parliament**. As finishing schools, the inns offered their members opportunities to expose themselves to fashions in dancing and music; to acquire some skill of arms; and to learn how to write, research, and debate. The members also staged entertainments of various types, from interludes and revels to full-fledged masques and plays. In the Elizabethan period, William **Shakespeare**’s *Comedy of Errors* was first performed at Gray’s Inn. Although **Henry VIII** ordered an inquiry into the organization and governance of the inns, they remained free of government regulation until the reign of **Mary I**, when the first attempts were made to control the inns’ educational activities.

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The Institution of a Christian Man

See Bishops' Book

Intercursus Magnus

The Intercursus Magnus was a commercial and political treaty concluded in 1496 between **Henry VII** and the Holy Roman Emperor **Maximilian I** acting on behalf of his young son Philip, Duke of Burgundy. According to Francis **Bacon**, writing in the 1620s in his *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, the Flemish called the treaty Intercursus Magnus ("great exchange") to distinguish it from several earlier Anglo-Burgundian agreements. The need for the treaty arose from Henry VII's 1493 decision to transfer the **Merchant Adventurers'** cloth staple (the official continental entrepôt for English cloth exports) from Antwerp in Burgundy to English-held **Calais**. Since the Merchant Adventurers were the premier association of **London** cloth merchants, this embargo adversely affected the Burgundian cloth-finishing industry and thus the duchy's entire economy.

The transfer of the staple was retaliation for the support given to the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck** by Maximilian and by **Margaret of York**, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy and sister of **Richard III**. By 1496, economic distress in Burgundy and the emperor's desire for English assistance in negotiations with **France** led Maximilian to open discussions with the English. Concluded on 24 February 1496, the Intercursus Magnus pledged each ruler to close his territories to the enemies of the other, thus denying Warbeck further refuge in Burgundy, and to assist the other in war, although the party requesting assistance had to pay his ally's expenses. English merchants enjoyed free access to Burgundian markets (except in Flanders), and Burgundian merchants were treated likewise in England. Other trade provisions covered inspection of cargoes, treatment of smugglers and contraband, rates of tolls and duties, and restitution of stolen property.

In May 1499, new disputes over taxes and fees led to the negotiation of a further agreement that confirmed the Intercursus Magnus, although Burgundian attempts

to limit the Merchant Adventurers to Antwerp failed. By 1504, continuing friction between merchants and Henry VII's desire to secure the Yorkist pretender Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, then sheltering in Burgundy, led the English king to reopen talks with the Burgundian government. These discussions led eventually to a new Anglo-Burgundian trade agreement, the **Intercursus Malus**, which was concluded between Henry and Duke Philip in 1506.

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Intercursus Malus

The Intercursus Malus was a trade agreement concluded in 1506 between **Henry VII** and Duke Philip of Burgundy. Continuing disputes over the duties and tolls paid by English merchants in Burgundy, combined with Henry VII's eagerness to obtain the surrender of the Yorkist pretender Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, then in Burgundy, led the king to open trade talks with the duke in 1504. Progress on a new agreement to replace the **Intercursus Magnus** of 1496 was slight until Philip, en route to **Spain** to enforce his wife's claim to the Crown of Castile, was driven by storms into Weymouth in January 1506. After three months as Henry's guest, the duke not only agreed to hand over Suffolk, who was surrendered in **Calais** on 16 March, but also appointed commissioners to negotiate a new treaty, which was finalized on 30 April.

Called by the Burgundians Intercursus Malus ("bad exchange") because its terms were so unfavorable to their merchants, the agreement exempted English traders from almost all duties, opened almost the entire duchy to the sale of English cloth, and reduced tolls for navigating the river Scheldt to a single charge. Although Henry VII ratified the treaty on 15 May, Philip had not yet done so when he died at Bruges on 25 September. Philip's sister Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, who now ruled the duchy as regent for her six-year-old nephew Charles, refused to ratify the treaty, and Henry finally had to settle for a reconfirmation of the Intercursus Magnus in June 1507. Upon attaining his majority in 1515, Charles repudiated both the Intercursus Magnus and the Intercursus Malus, claiming that both had been voided by the deaths of the rulers who made them. However, when the government of **Henry VIII** once again threatened to move the staple (the official continental entrepôt for English cloth exports) from Burgundy to Calais, Charles continued to abide by the 1496 treaty until a new Anglo-Burgundian trade agreement was concluded in 1520.

See also Charles V

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Ireland

The nature of English rule in Ireland changed significantly during the Tudor period. In 1485, the English Crown effectively controlled only the larger towns and a five-county area around **Dublin**. Royal authority was exercised indirectly through the **Anglo-Irish** earls of Kildare, who monopolized the deputyship. By 1603, English lord deputies, backed by a growing military establishment, had extended effective English rule throughout much of the island.

Late-fifteenth-century Ireland was divided into three cultural areas. Dublin and its surrounding **Pale**, consisting of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Westmeath, and Louth, recognized the king of England as lord of Ireland and followed English law and custom. A central zone running west and south contained the territories of the great Anglo-Irish magnates, the earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond, the descendants of Anglo-Norman adventurers who initiated the conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century. Although these nobles recognized the king as overlord, they were largely independent of Dublin and administered their domains with a mixture of Irish and English law. To the west and north lay the independent Gaelic lordships following Irish law and custom.

In the first decades of Tudor rule, the Irish deputyship was held by the Fitzgerald earls of Kildare. Through an extensive network of alliances with other Irish and Anglo-Irish lords, Gerald **Fitzgerald**, eighth Earl of Kildare, and his son Gerald **Fitzgerald**, ninth Earl of Kildare, exercised unparalleled influence throughout the island. No other Anglo-Irish magnates, such as the Fitzgeralds' chief rivals, the Butler earls of Ormond, could command such authority. Although superseded occasionally by lord deputies sent from England, such as Sir Edward Poynings in the 1490s and Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, in the 1520s, the earls of Kildare had made themselves virtually indispensable to royal government in Ireland.

This situation changed in the 1530s, when Thomas **Cromwell** initiated a series of reforms in the Irish administration that aimed at reducing Fitzgerald influence. This effort was part of Cromwell's policy of bringing all outlying royal domains (e.g., **Wales**) more fully under royal control. Kildare and his son Thomas **Fitzgerald**, Lord Offaly, resisted Cromwell and sought to prove that the Crown could not govern Ireland without the Fitzgeralds. The earl was summoned to England in 1534,



An Irish clan chief enjoying dinner and entertainment by a bard and a harper. Beginning in 1541 the English crown sought tighter control in Ireland. (The British Library/StockphotoPro)

and Offaly, left behind as acting deputy, was himself called to England some months later. Warned by his father that he would be arrested, Offaly renounced his allegiance to **Henry VIII**, an act now seen as merely an attempt to compel the Crown to restore Kildare to office. However, engaged in completing the **Reformation** in England and Ireland, Henry and Cromwell were sensitive to any opposition and unwilling to bargain. Kildare died in prison and Offaly was forced into actual rebellion, during the course of which he sealed his fate by seeking support from **Charles V**. Persuaded to surrender in 1535, Offaly was executed in **London** in 1537.

The **Kildare Rebellion** forced the Crown to take a more direct approach to governing Ireland. Ruling through English deputies increased the cost of Irish administration, for Henry could no longer rely on Kildare to supply military forces but had to pay instead for troops from England. The loss of Kildare influence also increased the need for such troops, as Gaelic lords, freed from Kildare authority, began raiding the Pale. Also, Catholic Europe, eager to make trouble for the schismatic king of England, recognized the value of interfering in Ireland. In 1541, Henry VIII assumed the title king of Ireland, an indication of his determination to extend royal control across the island. Beginning with Sir Anthony St. Leger, who became lord deputy in 1540, the Crown pursued this goal with a policy known as “surrender and regrant,” whereby Irish lords and clan heads agreed to recognize royal authority and obey English law in return for cancellation of all the Crown’s feudal claims to their territories. Many Irish lords also accepted English titles of

nobility in place of Gaelic ones. The policy was successful in some regions, restoring order and beginning a gradual process of Anglicization that created respect for royal authority. It failed, however, in many other areas, such as Ulster in the north, where it served only to intensify disputes for clan lordship.

Under **Edward VI** and **Mary I**, the government concentrated on defense, sending more troops to help deputies protect the Pale and establishing colonies of English settlers to pacify key areas. However, raids continued, and the imposition of English colonists and a Protestant Church only further increased hostilities between the Gaelic Irish and the Dublin government. By 1558, the Crown was spending increasing sums of money on Irish military campaigns, but was making little progress in establishing effective centralized government in Ireland.

Under **Elizabeth I**, the policy of seeking to create a unified Irish state ruled from Dublin and recognizing only English law and custom was only inconsistently applied because the queen refused to spend the money and commit the military resources required to effectively and permanently extend English rule into the Irish lordships. With both the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish becoming increasingly disaffected, Elizabethan Ireland lapsed into a series of revolts culminating in 1593 in the **Nine Years War**, an insurrection that eventually led to Spanish intervention in Ireland. The defeat, by 1603, of Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, leader of the

English Governors of Ireland

Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford	1486–1487	
Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare	1487–1492	
Prince Henry	1494–1509	The prince’s authority as king’s lieutenant was exercised by a series of deputies: Sir Edward Poynings (1494–1495) Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare (1496–1509)
Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare	1509–1513	
Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare	1513–1519	
Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey	1520–1522	
Piers Butler, pretended Earl of Ormond	1524–1526	
Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare	1526–1528	

(continued)

English Governors of Ireland (*continued*)

Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond	1529–1536	The duke’s authority as lord lieutenant was exercised by a series of deputies: William Skeffington (1530–1532) Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare (1532–1534) Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly (1534) William Skeffington (1534–1535)
Lord Leonard Grey	1536–1540	
Anthony St. Leger	1540–1548	
Edward Bellingham	1548–1549	
Francis Bryan	1549–1550	
Anthony St. Leger	1550–1551	
Thomas Cusack and Gerald Aylmer	1551–1552	
Anthony St. Leger	1553–1556	
Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex	1556–1558	
Henry Sidney	1558–1559	
Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex	1559–1565	
Henry Sidney	1571–1575	
William Fitzwilliam	1575–1578	
Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton	1580–1582	
John Perrot	1584–1588	
William Fitzwilliam	1588–1594	
William Russell	1594–1597	
Thomas, Lord Burgh	1597	
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex	1599	
Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy	1600–1603	
Note: Gaps in the sequence of Irish governors, who held various titles including king’s lieutenant, lord deputy, and lord lieutenant, represent the brief tenures of temporary lord justices. Only the most important permanent appointments are listed above.		

Irish rebels during the Nine Years War, left James I, Elizabeth’s successor, an Irish kingdom that was economically ravaged but politically subordinated. The war also left the Irish and Anglo-Irish firmly committed to a Catholic Church, which had become closely identified with resistance to Protestant English rule.

See also Catholicism, English; Desmond Rebellion; Fitzmaurice’s Rebellion; Kin-sale, Battle of; Plantations, Irish; Poynings’ Law; Protestantism

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Isabella I

See Ferdinand and Isabella

Islands Voyage

The Islands Voyage was an ambitious but unsuccessful English naval expedition launched against **Spain** in 1597. Conceived by Sir Walter **Raleigh** and Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, the Islands Voyage had two purposes: to destroy the remnants of a Spanish fleet sheltering in the port of Ferrol and to intercept the treasure fleet coming from **Spanish America** as it passed through the **Azores**. Responding to the successful English attack on Cadiz, **Philip II** launched another armada against England, but, like the great **armada** of 1588, the fleet of 1596 was dispersed by storms. The English commanders convinced a skeptical **Elizabeth I** to give them ships and men to destroy the Spanish fleet before it could re-form.

Essex and Raleigh planned to join Lord Thomas Howard off Ferrol, but storms delayed them at Plymouth, and Howard, who was too weak to attack Ferrol alone, had to return to England. Essex and Raleigh petitioned the queen to allow them to sail to **America** and intercept the treasure fleet there, but Elizabeth, who always put the defense of England first, flatly refused to allow her best admirals to go **privateering** in American waters while the English coast was unprotected. She ordered the English fleet to attack the Spanish vessels at Ferrol with fireships. Unwilling to allow the vain and ambitious Essex to further enhance the reputation he had won at Cadiz, the queen ordered that someone else lead the attack on Ferrol.

Raleigh and Essex sailed in August 1597, but miscommunication and rivalry between the commanders dogged the expedition from the start. No attack was made on Ferrol, the treasure fleet was allowed to slip away in the Azores, and Raleigh and Essex quarreled bitterly with one another. The luckless English fleet turned

for home in October, just as the refitted Spanish fleet left Ferrol to attempt another invasion of England. Both fleets were converging on England when autumn gales arose to scatter the English ships and send the Spanish vessels back to their home ports. Once again, storms, not the fleet, had protected England from invasion. The spectacular failure of the Islands Voyage allowed the war to continue and damaged the military reputation of Essex.

See also Cadiz Raid (1596)

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Italy

In the sixteenth century, the area that is present-day Italy was not a unified country but rather comprised a collection of related yet independent republics, duchies, and marquisates in the north; the Papal States, an area occupying the center of the Italian peninsula and under the sovereign rule of the pope; and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to the south. Historically, **France**, **Spain**, and the Holy Roman Empire had exerted territorial claims to various areas of Italy, and some of those struggles continued into the sixteenth century. This was perhaps most notable when in 1527 the Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V** invaded and some of his troops sacked the city of Rome, making the pope Charles's virtual prisoner. At the same time, **Henry VIII** was clamoring for his divorce from **Catherine of Aragon**, but with the pope a hostage of Catherine's nephew, Henry did not get far.

Italy was also important for Rome's role as the seat of the **papacy** and all that entailed. Rome and the Vatican were the destination for a constant stream of ambassadors—secular and ecclesiastical—and those who accompanied them. Anytime there is that sort of regular movement of people, there will also be movement of ideas and experiences. And there was no shortage of ideas and experiences because sixteenth-century Italy spearheaded that cultural flowering the nineteenth century later called the Renaissance. Ideas and discoveries about **art**, **architecture**, literature, history, **music**, and **science** eventually percolated to and meshed with others throughout Europe. Renaissance ideas even affected the design of living spaces

and **gardens**. French and Italian ideas about the purpose and design of pleasure gardens found their way to England through books and the occasional traveling gardener and were incorporated into the newly expanded gardens appearing at palaces and the houses of great nobles.

The people and ideas we associate with the Renaissance began in Italy in the fifteenth century and extended into the seventeenth, but a great many of them were part of the same world as the Tudors. When Henry VIII succeeded to the English throne in 1509, Michelangelo had been working on the frescoes for the Vatican's Sistine Chapel for only one year. Other artists active in Italy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century included Giovanni Bellini, Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael. Many were as well known in Europe then as they are today.

Writers, poets, musicians, and scientists were also at work in Italy. In 1513, Florentine philosopher and diplomat Niccolò Machiavelli published *The Prince* and received the dubious honor of having it placed on the church's ***Index Librorum Prohibitorum***, but it is still read today. It was only one of many works of both fiction and nonfiction written by Machiavelli. Another book still familiar today was Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528). Printing came to Italy fairly early and helped speed new books abroad. *The Book of the Courtier* was translated into four languages and appeared in over 100 editions before 1616. Andreas Vesalius, originally from Brussels, taught in Padua, Bologna, and Pisa while doing groundbreaking work on human anatomy. Published in 1543 in Basel, his *On the Fabric of the Human Body* changed medical understanding of the human body and led to a career at the Spanish court, but his thinking and the drawings for his book were heavily influenced by his time in Italy and demonstrate the tremendous exchange of ideas that was taking place in western Europe in the sixteenth century.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Carle, Lancelot de; Humanism

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James I (1566–1625)

James Stuart was the son of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and her second husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. James was only a year old in 1567 when his mother's enforced abdication made him King James VI of **Scotland**. When the Tudor dynasty came to an end with the death of **Elizabeth I** in 1603, James became the first Stuart monarch of England as James I. James's early years on the Scottish throne were marked by disorder and civil war. In 1582, James was seized by a group of presbyterian lords, who sought to offset Catholic influence at **court** by ruling Scotland themselves through a captive king. In 1583, the king escaped from his captors, and, at the age of 16, began his personal rule. James married Anne of Denmark in 1589 and fathered three children who reached adulthood: Henry, Charles (later Charles I), and Elizabeth.

In the 1590s, James gradually established his control over both the Scots nobility and the Church of Scotland. In the late 1590s, James published two books, *The True Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilikon Doron*, which set forth his theory of "divine right" kingship. According to this theory, the king, being answerable only to God, could not be removed from his throne by the people. Such exalted notions of kingship would get James's son, Charles I, into serious difficulties (Charles was



James I became the first Stuart monarch of England at Elizabeth's death, with the support of her most important councilors and possibly a deathbed acknowledgment from the queen herself. (Library of Congress)

executed in 1649), but James himself advocated his divine right theory more than he practiced it.

Although Elizabeth I refused to name a successor during her lifetime, she gave James a large pension in 1586 and promised not to oppose his claims to the English Crown unless he provoked her by his activities in Scotland. These favors limited James's actions on his mother's execution in 1587 to mere protests and ensured Scotland's neutrality in 1588 when the **armada** sailed against England. Otherwise, James, to Elizabeth's intense annoyance, paid little attention to the stream of advice that flowed northward from the English court in the 1580s and 1590s.

In the last years of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Robert **Cecil**; Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex; and other important English courtiers conducted secret correspondence with James in the expectation that he would soon be king of England. English **Puritans** looked hopefully to the accession of James for improvement in their condition, for James was reputed to be a strong Calvinist. Whether or not Elizabeth formally acknowledged him as her heir on her deathbed is in dispute, but he succeeded to the English throne in March 1603 without incident and with the support of the late queen's most important councillors.

See also Berwick, Treaty of (1586); Calvinism, English; Gowrie Conspiracy; Ruthven Raid

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James IV (1473–1513)

Although he supported Yorkist pretenders and renewed the Auld Alliance with **France**, James IV, through his marriage to Margaret **Tudor**, ensured the eventual accession of the Scottish House of Stuart to the English throne. James became king of **Scotland** in June 1488, when his father, James III, was defeated and killed at Sauchieburn by a coalition of rebel magnates. Although he had associated himself with the opposition, James was shocked by his father's murder. Nonetheless, he was neither willing nor able to pursue the policy of accommodation with England that had in part led to his father's downfall. By 1489, James was receiving the agents of **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy, a sister of **Richard III** and staunch opponent of the House of **Tudor**. In 1491, James allowed his father's truce

with England to lapse, but he renewed a treaty with **Charles VIII** that pledged James to attack England if **Henry VII** attacked France.

In 1492, the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**, who claimed to be the younger son of **Edward IV**, wrote to James seeking aid. By 1495, Warbeck was in Scotland, where James publicly acknowledged him as a Yorkist prince and even permitted him to marry Katherine Gordon, a royal cousin. However, by 1496 James was negotiating with the English. Unable to obtain satisfactory terms from Henry VII, who likely balked at any demand for return of the town of Berwick, James invaded England on Warbeck's behalf in September. But Warbeck, who had agreed to restore Berwick and, if successful, to reimburse James for the cost of the campaign, could generate no support in England, and the Scottish invasion ended in failure.

Disillusioned with Warbeck, James expelled the pretender from Scotland in July 1497 and opened negotiations with Henry VII, which led to a seven-year truce in September 1497 and a formal treaty of peace in January 1502. The Treaty of **Ayton** committed James to marry Henry VII's daughter Margaret, who became queen of Scotland in August 1503. As a result of this marriage, James VI of Scotland, the great-grandson of James IV and the great-great-grandson of Henry VII, became king of England in 1603 on the death of the latter's granddaughter **Elizabeth I**.

Although the Treaty of Ayton reduced the likelihood of Scotland again becoming a haven for Yorkist pretenders, it did not erase hundreds of years of Anglo-Scottish enmity. The accession of **Henry VIII** to the English throne in 1509 increased tensions between the two states. Anxious to win military glory, Henry joined the anti-French Holy League in 1511. English belligerence toward France, combined with Anglo-Scottish incidents at sea and a growing personal rivalry between the brothers-in-law, led James to renew the ancient Franco-Scottish alliance in July 1512. When Henry sailed to France in June 1513 to personally lead an English invasion force, James responded by invading England in August. Brought to battle at **Flodden Field** on 9 September, James was slain on the field, leaving his kingdom to his infant son **James V**.

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James V (1512–1542)

James V, king of **Scotland**, maintained Scottish adherence to the Catholic faith and a French alliance, but exploited the possibility of abandoning both to wring concessions from Rome and Paris and enhance the European standing of the Scottish Crown. James became king at the age of 17 months on 9 September 1513, the day his father, **James IV**, was slain by the English at **Flodden Field**. A series



James V, king of Scotland (1513–1542), emphasized strong relations with France and lavished effort and money on enlarging the status of the crown. (Library of Congress)

of governors ruled Scotland during the king's minority. Margaret **Tudor**, the queen mother, governed until 1515, when she was supplanted by the king's cousin, John Stuart, Duke of Albany, who was in his turn supplanted in 1524 by James Hamilton, Earl of Arran. In 1526, Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus and estranged husband of James's mother, seized the king and governed in his name as chancellor. James escaped the earl's custody in 1528 and fled to his mother's protection at Stirling Castle. Now 16, James soon freed himself of Margaret's influence and assumed personal control of the government.

Although often ruthlessly and vindictively exercised, James's authority was readily accepted and his relations with the nobility were generally good.

James used his uncle's break with Rome to compel the pope and Scottish clergy to buy continued Scottish adherence to Catholicism. Thus, the king acquired rich **benefices** for four of his bastard sons—he had seven by six different women—collected a tax on clerical incomes that yielded £72,000 over four years, and levied a further assessment of £1,400 per year to establish a College of Justice. He also extracted large sums from his lay subjects through the imposition of heavy fines and the confiscation of property for infractions of the law. Much of the money raised was lavished on the **court** in an effort to enhance the status of the Stuart Crown, and royal palaces at Falkland, Stirling, Holyrood, and Linlithgow were rebuilt in the French style.

James further increased his standing by posing as the most eligible bachelor in Europe. By exploiting French eagerness to maintain the Franco-Scottish alliance, James obtained a daughter of **Francis I** as wife, marrying Princess Madeleine in 1537. In 1538, shortly after Madeleine's death, James married Marie de **Guise**, the daughter of the powerful French **Guise family** and a possible wife for **Henry VIII**. For these two French marriages, James acquired dowries amounting to over £160,000.

Although James exploited French and papal fears that he would break with Rome or seek closer ties with England, the king was an orthodox Catholic who adopted a pro-French stance and repeatedly ignored his English uncle's advice.

When James did not travel to York in 1541 to meet Henry, as the English king believed James had agreed to do, Henry's rage led to revival of English claims of suzerainty over Scotland and to a series of English invasions. Although the defeat of a Scottish force at **Solway Moss** in November 1542 was not a serious reverse, the 30-year-old king took it hard and fell ill early in the next month. James died at Falkland on 14 December only six days after the birth of Princess Mary, his daughter and heir (two sons having died earlier). The cause of James's death is uncertain, although cholera or dysentery is most likely.

See also Stuart, Mary, Queen of Scots

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James VI

See James I

Jenkinson, Anthony (c. 1530–1611)

Anthony Jenkinson was the foremost Elizabethan explorer of Asia and the Middle East. Little is known of Jenkinson's early life, except that between 1546 and 1553, in preparation for a career in trade, he traveled extensively in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. In 1557, the **Muscovy Company**, a **joint-stock company** formed in 1553, sent Jenkinson to Russia to conduct trade and to explore the possibility of opening a land route to China. After spending several months establishing good relations with Czar Ivan the Terrible, Jenkinson left Moscow in April 1558 and traveled down the Volga to Astrakhan, where he became the first Englishman to navigate the landlocked Caspian Sea. Striking to the east, Jenkinson entered Bokhara, part of the modern Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, but found the lawlessness of the region made a trade route to China impossible. Retracing his route to Moscow, Jenkinson returned to **London** in the autumn of 1560 with English explorer Stephen **Borough**.

Although Bokhara and the Caspian region were not promising for trade, Jenkinson convinced the Muscovy Company to send a new expedition to Russia in 1561. He believed that if English merchants could establish a presence, from Russia, in

the Persian kingdom south of the Caspian, they could draw off part of the Middle Eastern trade that normally flowed into Europe via the Mediterranean. Arriving in Moscow with Borough in May 1561, Jenkinson won valuable trade concessions from the czar by agreeing to purchase silks and jewels for him in the Persian markets. By November, Jenkinson was presenting letters from **Elizabeth I** to the shah of Persia and opening trade talks with Indian merchants. Despite being attacked by robbers and threatened with death by the shah, Jenkinson returned safely to Moscow in August 1563.

After spending the winter in Russia, Jenkinson returned to England in September 1564. In his later years, he tried unsuccessfully to convince the queen to fund further exploration for a Northeast Passage, and he undertook two other expeditions to Moscow, in 1566 and 1571. In the late 1570s, he interested himself in the American voyages of Sir Martin **Frobisher** and sat on the commission that examined the ore Frobisher brought back in 1578. Jenkinson died at his home in Rutland in 1611.

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Jesuit Mission

In 1580, three English Jesuits (members of the Society of Jesus, an order of Catholic priests founded by the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola in 1540) landed in England to begin the process of restoring the country to Roman Catholicism. In Europe, the Jesuits spearheaded the **Catholic Reformation**, working successfully to return large portions of the Continent to Catholicism. Before 1580, the Jesuit order had 69 English members serving throughout the world, from **France** and Italy to Poland, Hungary, and even India. Jesuit interest in a mission to England itself developed slowly in the 1570s as English **seminary priests** (Catholic priests not affiliated with any order) began to enter England in increasing numbers.

In 1579, when the Catholic exile William **Allen** founded the English College in Rome, the school's management was given to the Jesuits. The next year, the English Jesuits Edmund **Campion** and Robert **Parsons** led the first Jesuit Mission to England. The Elizabethan government, well aware of the Jesuits' tendency to involve themselves in political plots, publicized the mission as an invasion. The Jesuits themselves promoted the mission as the beginning of a Catholic revival. The publicity increased government persecution of English Catholics and won the Jesuits the distrust of many seminary priests, who sought only to minister to their

flocks and not to engage in political activities. After a year in England, Campion was captured and executed, and Parsons fled to France to escape a similar fate. The Jesuit Mission led in the 1580s to the passage of new **penal laws** against Catholics and to the stricter enforcement of existing laws.

In the last decades of **Elizabeth I's** reign, the Jesuit Mission in England rarely numbered above 12 members. Three more Jesuits were executed after Campion, including Robert **Southwell**, a poet and writer who died at Tyburn (a **London** execution site) in 1595 after being tortured repeatedly by the notorious Richard **Topcliffe**. Another well-known English Jesuit, John **Gerard**, escaped from the **Tower of London** in 1597 and left behind an autobiographical account of his missionary work in England. Although the Jesuit Mission made no progress in restoring England to **Catholicism**, its members did help preserve and strengthen a small English Catholic community.

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Jewel, John (1522–1571)

John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, was one of the most effective defenders of the **Anglican Church**, against both Catholics and **Puritans**. Born in Devon, Jewel was educated at Barnstaple **grammar school** and at Oxford, where he earned his bachelor of divinity degree in 1552. In 1554, during the reign of **Mary I**, Jewel recanted his **Protestantism** and signed a series of Catholic articles. When the sincerity of his adherence to **Catholicism** was called into question, Jewel fled the country, joining the group of **Marian exiles** resident at Frankfurt, Germany. In Frankfurt, Jewel issued a statement confessing his weakness in accepting Catholicism and retracting his repudiation of his true Protestant beliefs. In 1555, he was briefly involved in the doctrinal disputes that split the Frankfurt community, siding with the opponents of John **Knox**. Jewel later traveled to Strasbourg and then to Zurich in Switzerland before touring Italy.

On **Elizabeth I's** accession in 1558, Jewel returned to England. In 1560, Elizabeth appointed Jewel bishop of Salisbury, and in 1565 he became a doctor of divinity at Oxford. Although Jewel agreed with many Puritan positions, he believed that

debates over vestments and the outward trappings of worship were less important than preaching the gospel. In 1559, Jewel preached a sermon at **Paul's Cross** calling upon Catholics to prove the truth of their doctrines, a challenge that initiated a long pamphlet debate. Jewel's most important contribution to the debate was his 1562 *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (*Apology for the Church of England*), the first systematic statement of Anglican doctrine. Translated into English in 1564 by Anne **Bacon**, the mother of Francis **Bacon**, the *Apologia* was placed in every English parish church by order of Archbishop Richard Bancroft in 1609.

Jewel spent his later years debating with **Puritans**; his last work, which appeared after his death, was an attack on the Puritan cleric Thomas **Cartwright**. At Salisbury, Jewel built a cathedral library and established a school for poor boys with academic promise. Among his pupils at Salisbury was Richard **Hooker**, the future author of *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, a work that greatly expanded the description of Anglican positions begun by Jewel in his *Apologia*. Jewel died in September 1571 and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

See also Challenge Sermon; Universities; Vestiarian Controversy

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Jews

Although small in number and forced to worship secretly, the Jewish community in Tudor **London** grew with the expansion of English trade and the establishment of a Protestant English Church in the Elizabethan period. Edward I had expelled all Jews from England in 1290, and no openly Jewish community had existed in the country since that time. A few Jews were living in London in the 1490s, and small numbers of Spanish and Portuguese Conversos (Jewish converts to Christianity) worshipped secretly as Jews in London and Bristol during the reigns of **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI**. By the reign of **Elizabeth I**, small clandestine communities of Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese) Jews had settled in London and in the major ports of the south and east. London also had a community of Marranos (Christianized Spanish Jews) that numbered several hundred people. Having fled the persecuting Catholicism of Spain, the Marranos hoped for greater tolerance in Protestant England. Although open Jewish worship was not permitted, the Elizabethan government did not engage in active persecution, and the Marranos, though outwardly conforming Anglicans, tended to avoid Christian baptism and to conduct secret Jewish worship services in their homes.

Among the leaders of the Marrano community was Hector Nunez, a physician who enjoyed the confidence of both William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis **Walsingham**. Nunez used his widespread business connections to help the government obtain important political and military intelligence. In 1588, Nunez was the first to inform Walsingham that the Spanish **Armada** was gathering at Lisbon. A Portuguese Marrano, Roderigo **Lopez**, became personal physician to Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and then, in 1586, to the queen herself. Lopez used his influence to urge English support for Don Antonio, a claimant to the Portuguese throne, which **Philip II** had seized in 1580. Because Don Antonio was the son of a Marrano woman, Lopez hoped that he would be more tolerant of his Marrano subjects than was Philip.

When Sir Francis **Drake**'s 1589 **Portugal expedition** failed to put Don Antonio on the throne, Lopez became involved in a shadowy correspondence with Spain that his enemies at **court** used to destroy him. His trial and execution in 1594 began a brief anti-Semitic hysteria in London, which can still be seen in Christopher **Marlowe**'s *The Jew of Malta*, the most popular play in performance at the time, and William **Shakespeare**'s *The Merchant of Venice*, then being written. The Elizabethan Marrano community declined in size and influence after the Lopez episode, and Jews were not formally readmitted to England until 1656.

See also Lopez Plot

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Joan of Kent

See Bocher, Joan

John of Austria (1547–1578)

John of Austria (known as Don John), the half brother of **Philip II** of **Spain**, was one of the most famous military figures of sixteenth-century Europe. Known at birth simply as Jerónimo, Don John was the illegitimate son of **Charles V** and an obscure German woman. Unacknowledged by his father, Jerónimo was raised in Spain by friends of the emperor. Just before his death in 1558, Charles startled his only legitimate son, Philip, by instructing him to acknowledge and provide for a half brother whose existence had not previously been known to him. In 1559,

Philip, then king of Spain, brought Jerónimo to the Spanish court and renamed him Don Juan (John) de Austria, after the Austrian House of **Habsburg**, the Spanish royal family.

Handsome and popular, Don John was a notable contrast to his dour, secretive brother, who raised his newfound sibling high in the Spanish peerage but allowed him no real authority. In 1567, Don John won Philip's confidence by informing the king of an assassination plot being hatched by his mentally unstable heir, Don Carlos. This service won for Don John the military commands that he desired. In 1567, he drove North African pirates from Gibraltar, and in 1569, he crushed a rebellion by Moriscos (Muslims who had been forced to convert to Christianity) in southern Spain. In 1571, Don John took command of a Christian fleet sent by Spain, Venice, the pope, and various Italian states to protect the Venetian outpost on Cyprus from an attacking Turkish fleet. On 7 October 1571, Don John led the allied fleet to victory in a huge naval battle at Lepanto. The triumph made Don John a hero across Europe, including England, where **Elizabeth I** ordered services of thanksgiving in all churches.

By 1574, however, Don John was involved in plots to invade England, dethrone Elizabeth, and rule the country as the husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. He had earlier been rumored to be plotting an invasion of **Ireland**. Nothing came of these plans, for in 1576 Philip named his brother governor-general of the **Netherlands**, with responsibility for ending the **Netherlands Revolt**. In this position, Don John achieved some successes, but Spanish authority in the Netherlands was still deteriorating when he died there of typhus at age 31 in October 1578.

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Joint-Stock Company

A joint-stock company is a trading enterprise in which a number of people invest money and agree to share liability and profits in proportion to their investment. Unlike the members of a **regulated company**, investors in a joint-stock company did not trade in person; the company pooled the capital of the individual investors and traded as a corporate body through paid agents known as factors. As English trade expanded into new regions, such as Russia, where Englishmen had not traded before, few individual merchants had the capital for the ships and cargoes needed to open the new markets, let alone the wherewithal for warehousing, business permits, gifts to rulers and officials, and living expenses in foreign ports. Because it

could provide a greater fund of capital, the joint-stock trading company became the preferred instrument for extending English trade to new markets. A number of joint-stock trading companies were founded during the Elizabethan period, the most famous being the **East India Company**, formed in 1600 to carry on trade with India and Asia.

Many Elizabethan naval and **privateering** expeditions were organized on a joint-stock basis, with **Elizabeth I**, various nobles and gentlemen, and groups of merchants investing in an expedition and sharing in any profits of trade or piracy the expedition brought back. The queen; Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester; and Sir William **Cecil** were, for instance, investors in John **Hawkins**'s second trade voyage to **Spanish America** in 1564; similarly, the queen and others invested in many of Sir Francis **Drake**'s piratical raids on **Spain** and her colonies. Many of the naval expeditions launched against Spain after the start of war in 1585 were joint-stock ventures financed partly by the queen and partly by private individuals and groups. This type of funding meant that such expeditions could not be purely military—they also had to capture enemy ships and bring home booty to pay for themselves and provide a dividend for the queen and the other investors. Since the Crown was too poor by itself to pay for large naval expeditions, such a method of funding was necessary, although not always conducive to sound military tactics or the defense needs of the realm.

See also Eastland Company; Foreign Trade; Guinea Company; Levant Company; Merchant Adventurers; Muscovy Company

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Jonson, Ben (1572–1637)

Along with William **Shakespeare** and Christopher **Marlowe**, Ben Jonson was among the most talented of Elizabethan dramatists. Born in Westminster outside **London**, Jonson was tutored at Westminster School by William **Camden**. Apprenticed against his wishes into his stepfather's trade of bricklaying, Jonson turned instead to acting, at which he was not good, and then to writing plays, at



After an apprenticeship as a bricklayer and stint as an actor, Ben Jonson found his calling as a playwright. (The Print Collector/StockphotoPro)

which he was excellent. In 1597, while a member of Pembroke's Men, Jonson cowrote *Isle of Dogs* with Thomas **Nashe**. The play was considered seditious, and Jonson was briefly imprisoned. In 1598, Jonson barely escaped execution for killing another actor during a quarrel. After his release, Jonson wrote a number of plays for Shakespeare's company, the **Chamberlain's Men**, to perform at the **Globe Theatre**.

In 1603, Shakespeare and the Chamberlain's Men (by then the King's Men) performed Jonson's *Sejanus*; because this tragedy was too political and because Jonson was known to be a Catholic, he was summoned before the Privy **Council** for questioning, but he again escaped without serious consequences. The King's Men also performed various other works by Jonson, including the tragedy *Catiline* (1611) and the comedies *Volpone* (1606), *The Alchemist* (1610), *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616), and *The Staple of News* (1625). In 1605, Jonson's **Catholicism** caused him to be questioned about the Gunpowder Plot. Although his situation was for a time serious, he was eventually released, an escape that convinced him to abandon Catholicism.

Between 1605 and 1612, Jonson wrote most of the **masques** performed at **court**. His works were particularly popular with Queen Anne and attracted many courtiers as participants; for instance, Penelope **Rich**, Sir Philip Sidney's "Stella," took part in the *Masque of Blackness* performed on Twelfth Night in 1605. Jonson collaborated with set designer Inigo Jones on masques and other court entertainments until 1631. In 1616, Jonson published a collected edition of his poems, plays, and masques and was in the same year recognized as the unofficial poet laureate of the court. He was also responsible for the largest body of literary criticism produced by any Elizabethan writer. Although not uncritical of Shakespeare's writing, Jonson was a friend of Shakespeare's and wrote some dedicatory verses for the First Folio in 1623. Jonson died in 1637 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

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See also Drama; Poetry

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Justices of the Peace

Justices of the peace (JPs) were the principal administrative and judicial officials of local government in Tudor England. Drawn from the local gentry, the members of the bench of justices for each county often represented the most prominent political and social figures in the county, the office itself both conferring and demanding such status.

The office originated in the 13th century, when Edward I appointed keepers of the peace to assist the sheriffs. Under the Tudors, Parliament greatly expanded the powers and duties of the JPs, making them the chief officials of the county. Over 200 statutes were enacted during the Tudor period to extend or redefine the duties of JPs. Each year the Crown appointed a commission of the peace for each county consisting of local gentlemen with an annual income of at least £20 and some measure of social and political influence. JPs had the power to arrest, imprison, indict, and hear and determine felonies and trespasses; they were also charged with suppressing riots and disorders and tracking down criminals. They collected in their counties the taxation voted to the Crown by Parliament, ordered the sheriff to impanel juries, oversaw poor relief, and regulated vagabonds, apprentices, ale-houses, weights and measures, wage levels, and the production of certain metals. Under **Elizabeth I**, JPs also acquired responsibility for enforcing religious laws, especially those against **recusants**.

The county commissions met four times a year in quarter sessions, usually in the chief town of the county, and in petty sessions in the various divisions of the county, such as the hundred. Pairs of justices might also meet to handle matters outside of regular sessions. One JP in each county, the *custos rotulorum* ("keeper of the rolls"), was given responsibility for maintaining the records of the county bench. Justices of the quorum, whose number was raised throughout the Tudor period, were those members of the bench whose (usually legal) qualifications required them to be present for the conduct of certain types of business. The justices were assisted by a clerk of the peace, with individual JPs often employing private secretaries.

The JPs supervised and administered local government, enforcing proclamations of the Crown and acts of Parliament, to which many JPs were elected. The commissions of the peace functioned under the general supervision of the **council**

in **London**. Members of the commission were not paid for their services, so local commissions could and did ignore, delay, or obstruct enforcement of council orders or parliamentary statutes with which its members did not agree. However, London and the county commissions usually worked in harmony because dismissal from the commission was a serious blow to a gentleman's local social position, and the threat of dismissal could usually elicit cooperation.

See also Penal Laws; Poor Laws; Vagrancy

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Kempe, William (d. c. 1609)

William Kempe is best known today as the originator of some of William **Shakespeare**'s major comic roles, being one of the principal actors listed in the **First Folio**. In his own time, he had a reputation as England's leading "stand-up" comedian, a clown, musician, and dancer who was the popular and energetic successor to the legendary comic improviser Richard **Tarlton**. Thomas **Nashe** dedicated his pamphlet *An Almond for a Parrot* (1590) to Kempe, whom he called "jest-monger and vicegerent general to the ghost of Dick Tarleton." He was, in modern terms, a "star."

Nothing is known of Kempe's birth, family, or early career, but presumably he began as a solo entertainer or jester. He first appears in the historical record in May 1585 as a member of the Earl of Leicester's Players, with whom he traveled to the **Netherlands** and Denmark. By 1592 he was performing at the **Rose Theatre** as a member of Lord Strange's Men, led by Edward **Alleyn**, apparently acting in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Jew of Malta*, as well as *A Knack to Know a Knave*. In 1594, along with George Bryan and Thomas Pope, two other members of Lord Strange's Men, Kempe joined Richard **Burbage** and William Shakespeare to found the **Chamberlain's Men**, playing at the Theatre and the Curtain. He left the company at the time of its move to the **Globe Theatre** in 1599 and returned to a solo career. On 11 February 1600 he began his "Nine Days Wonder" (actually spread over a month), a morris dance from **London** to Norwich, a distance of 130 miles. In 1601, he traveled in Germany, **Italy**, and Rome, and by 1602 was a member of the Earl of Worcester's Men. In spite of his fame, his life appears to have ended in poverty, and the last certain reference to him is in Philip **Henslowe**'s accounts for 4 September 1602, when a payment of eight shillings and eight pence for a suit was made for him. It is possible but not certain that he was "Kempe, a man" buried in St Saviour, Southwark, in 1603.

Kempe's persona was essentially that of a coarse man of low rank, and his comedy was very physical; he was best known for his merriments and jigs. Merriments were skits within plays, usually partly improvised and independent of their surroundings. The anonymous play *A Knack to Know a Knave* includes one of Kempe's merriments; the rather uninspired text clearly needed performance



William Kempe, the leading comic actor of Elizabethan England, is shown here performing a morris dance. (*Kemps nine daies wonder*, 1600/Dover Pictorial Archive)

to enliven it. Jigs were comic dances of up to four or five men, often obscene, performed at the ends of plays, including tragedies; according to the **Stationers' Register**, Kempe published three jigs between 1591 and 1595, two of which survive. Such performances obviously drew attention to the performer himself and must in some ways have been at odds with the plays in which they were featured, which perhaps explains Hamlet's attack on clowns who speak "more than is set down for them" and distract attention from the serious issues of the play. Nevertheless, Kempe disciplined himself sufficiently to take on the roles of some of Shakespeare's most famous clowns. We know that he played Peter in *Romeo and Juliet* and Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and he surely also played Costard, Bottom, and Lancelot Gobbo, as well as Cob in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*. Some scholars believe that he played Falstaff, but this is uncertain because Falstaff is a character rather different from Kempe's other roles, being far more integral to the structure of the play than other roles in which he appeared.

Kempe was clearly an important member of the Chamberlain's Men, for he is on record, along with Burbage and Shakespeare, as receiving payment for performances at **court** in the 1595–1596 season, and in 1599 he was named as a potential sharer in the Globe. However, he withdrew from the Chamberlain's Men before

they moved to the Globe. The reasons for this are not known. It is possible that he was forced out because his individualistic manner and his low-level humor, which tended to depend on malapropism and general verbal confusion rather than wit, no longer fitted with the loftier ambitions of the company, which would explain Hamlet's (and presumably Shakespeare's) hostility. It is also possible, though, that Kempe felt limited by the constraints of theater and preferred the freedom of solo work. Whatever the case, he was replaced by Robert **Armin**, a comic actor of a very different sort, less physical, more cerebral.

Peter Hyland

See also Dance

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Kern

The **Anglo-Irish** term “kern,” deriving from an Irish word for “war band,” describes both a group of Irish mercenaries and the individual members of the group. Unlike **gallowglasses**, who were heavily armed troops of Scottish descent living in **Ireland**, and the **redshanks**, who were mercenary troops from **Scotland** hired only for summer campaigning, the kern were light-armed native Irish employed year-round by Irish chieftains and Anglo-Irish lords to maintain their authority against rebellious tenants and local rivals.

In medieval Ireland, the kern were unattached self-organized bands of mercenaries, numbering usually 20 to 30 men, who roamed the countryside seeking military employment with a local chief. Because the kern traditionally fought without armor or helmets and carried only swords and wooden throwing darts, they were ill-suited to pitched battles, especially against the armored forces of the English. However, this lack of expensive armor and weaponry made the kern an indispensable part of most Irish armies, for kern were highly mobile and relatively inexpensive to recruit and maintain.

The kern were useful in harrying a rival's tenants, burning his villages, and plundering his cattle and other property. Also, when employed with a core of heavily

armed gallowglasses or redshanks, kern gave Irish armies of the Tudor period the numbers they required to meet the increasingly large forces put into the field by the **Dublin** government. As English authority spread over the island in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the use of kern gradually declined.

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Kett's Rebellion

The largest of several uprisings to occur in East Anglia in 1549, Kett's Rebellion was named for its eventual leader, Robert Kett, a prosperous tanner and landholder at Wymondham in Norfolk. Motivated by a variety of social and economic grievances, Kett's Rebellion was an important factor in the subsequent overthrow of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the leader of **Edward VI**'s regency government.

Beginning with a series of small antiencllosure protests in June 1549, the East Anglian disorders turned serious in early July when rioters at Wymondham began demolishing the hedges of local lawyer John Flowerdew. To save his property, Flowerdew incited the rioters to destroy the **enclosures** of his nearby rival, Robert Kett, who, upon hearing the mob's complaints, agreed to throw down his own hedges and join their protest. Assuming leadership of the movement, Kett had by mid-July established a camp of some 16,000 insurgents on Mousehold Heath overlooking the city of Norwich. While most of the smaller Norfolk risings were quickly dispersed by local **gentry**, the Mousehold camp, having overawed the Norwich government, was too large and well entrenched to be suppressed by local authorities. The royal **council** therefore dispatched to Norfolk a body of troops under William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton. Arriving on 30 July, Northampton took no immediate action, allowing the rebels to launch an attack that resulted in 36 dead and Northampton's flight from the shire. For the next three weeks, Kett and his followers controlled Norfolk.

The rebels used the time to draft a list of 29 demands that reflected the complex mix of grievances underlying the rebellion. Besides anger over enclosures and a variety of agricultural complaints dictated by local conditions, the townsmen, yeomen, and lesser gentry who comprised the bulk of the rebel host felt shut out of local government by the landowning gentry, who were themselves divided by the region's lack of aristocratic leadership. The greatest East Anglian magnate, Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, had been imprisoned in the **Tower of**

London since 1546. The rebels had also been stirred to action by the support of Somerset and his government for the social justice ideals of the **Commonwealth Men**, a policy that had heightened expectations among the commons that the duke intended to side with them against great landowners. Religious discontent was also present; outside **London**, East Anglia was the part of England most receptive to Protestant ideas.

On 23 August, John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, arrived in Norfolk with 12,000 men, many of whom were foreign mercenaries. This force attacked and routed the rebels on 27 August at Dussindale, killing perhaps as many as 3,000 insurgents. Kett escaped the battle but was later captured and executed for **treason** in December, one of 300 rebels to die. Kett's Rebellion discredited both Somerset, whom a council faction led by Warwick overthrew in October, and the Commonwealth Men, whose notions of reform found little favor with the new regime.

See also Western Rebellion

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Kidderminster, Richard

See Standish-Kidderminster Debate

Kildare, Earl of

See Fitzgerald, Gerald, [Eighth] Earl of Kildare; Fitzgerald, Gerald, [Ninth] Earl of Kildare; Fitzgerald, Thomas, Lord Offaly and Earl of Kildare

Kildare Rebellion

The Kildare Rebellion erupted in June 1534 when Gerald **Fitzgerald**, ninth Earl of Kildare, tried to prevent **Henry VIII** from removing him from the Irish deputyship,

an office largely held by the **Anglo-Irish** earls of Kildare for decades. Although brief and of little military consequence, the rebellion established a new basis for English rule in **Ireland**. After 1534, the Crown no longer relied on the Anglo-Irish nobility to govern Ireland on its behalf, but instead employed English lord deputies supported by English troops and pursuing policies devised by **London** to address English interests.

Summoned to England in September 1533 to explain his actions as deputy, Kildare, who had several times been detained at the English **court**, stalled his return until February 1534, when he received a commission from London empowering him to appoint a deputy to govern in his absence. Giving the post to his son, Thomas **Fitzgerald**, Lord Offaly (known as “Silken Thomas”), Kildare, who was slowing dying from an old gunshot wound, sailed for England. By May, interrogation of the earl had convinced the king and Thomas **Cromwell** that Kildare was guilty of “manifold enormities” in his conduct as deputy (Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 124). The king therefore summoned Offaly to England. Meeting the Irish council in **Dublin** on 11 June, Offaly laid the Irish sword of state on the council table and dramatically renounced his allegiance to Henry VIII. This act has traditionally been viewed as a rash response to rumors circulated by Kildare’s enemies that the earl had been executed in England. However, recent research has shown that Kildare sent a secret message to his son warning him that his life would be in danger should he come to court. Offaly’s actions are now seen not as a declaration of rebellion, but as an attempt to compel the king to restore Kildare to office.

In the midst of separating the English Church from Roman obedience, Henry was not in a conciliatory mood. He committed Kildare to the **Tower of London**, where he died on 2 September, and then dispatched William Skeffington as lord deputy with a force of 2,000 men. Forced into open rebellion, Offaly, now 10th Earl of Kildare, murdered Archbishop John Alen of Dublin, the leader of the anti-Kildare faction on the Irish council, on 27 July and then laid siege to the capital until Skeffington arrived in October. Outside Dublin and the major towns, the government’s authority evaporated, and Skeffington was too deficient in men and money to make much headway. However, in March 1535, after Kildare tried unsuccessfully to use religion to win support from **Charles V** and the pope, Skeffington captured Maynooth Castle, Kildare’s stronghold. Although Christopher Paris, the constable of the castle, had agreed to surrender it for a price, Skeffington hung Paris and 25 of his garrison when the castle fell. This so-called pardon of Maynooth convinced many of Kildare’s supporters to submit. The earl hid in woods and bogs until his brother-in-law, Lord Leonard **Grey**, who was sent from England to relieve Skeffington in July, persuaded the earl to surrender on promise of his life on 24 August.

Although infuriated by Grey’s promise, neither the king nor Cromwell wanted to provoke further disorder in Ireland until the Irish Parliament had formally severed

the Irish Church from Rome. Kildare therefore remained imprisoned until February 1537, when he and five uncles, two of whom had supported the Crown, were condemned for **treason** by act of **attainder** and executed.

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Killigrew, Sir Henry (c. 1528–1603)

Sir Henry Killigrew was a leading Elizabethan ambassador and diplomat. Although Killigrew was born into a prominent **gentry** family in Cornwall, little is known about his early life. He served in **Edward VI**'s **Parliament** in 1552, but his opposition to **Mary I**'s marriage to Prince **Philip** of **Spain** sent him into exile in **France** with Sir Peter **Carew** in January 1554. Killigrew returned to England after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558.

In 1559, the new queen sent him on a diplomatic mission to Germany and as an assistant to Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton** in France. In 1566 and 1567, the last troubled years of **Mary Stuart**'s reign, Elizabeth sent Killigrew to **Scotland** several times. Killigrew was dispatched to Germany in 1569 to serve as the queen's ambassador to the German Protestant princes and was sent back to France in 1571. He returned to Scotland in 1572 to participate in the ultimately abortive negotiations for the return of Mary to Scottish custody. Killigrew eventually persuaded Elizabeth to send English troops into Scotland to assist in the capture of Edinburgh Castle from Queen Mary's supporters. He stayed in Scotland until 1575, when he returned to England and retired from diplomatic service.

The **Netherlands expedition** of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, caused Killigrew to come out of retirement in 1585. He spent the years 1585 to 1589 serving on the Dutch Council of State as an advisor to Leicester and other English commanders. By 1591, when the queen sent him to France as an advisor to Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, Killigrew was the Crown's oldest and most experienced diplomat. For his services during Essex's French campaign, which was designed to help **Henri IV** secure his throne, Killigrew was knighted. After the campaign ended, Killigrew took part in further negotiations in France and the **Netherlands**, but he was prevented by illness from serving as ambassador to France in 1595. Killigrew died in March 1603, only three weeks before the death of the queen.

See also Brittany Expeditions

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King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

The Court of King's (Queen's) Bench was the preeminent court of **common law**, having jurisdiction over criminal matters and possessing the right to review judgments rendered by other courts. King's Bench evolved out of the medieval practice of subjects bringing their disputes directly before the king or his **council** for judgment. In the twelfth century, Henry II appointed royal justices to hear disputes in King's Bench, and in the thirteenth century, the chief justice was made president of King's Bench. Like the other principal common law courts, **Common Pleas** and the **Exchequer**, King's Bench was, since the thirteenth century, permanently situated at Westminster Hall in **London**. Initially, King's Bench heard only cases involving the rights of the Crown and disputes between subjects, but, by the Tudor period, King's Bench acted as a court of appeal to retry cases that might have been mishandled or improperly decided in Common Pleas or elsewhere. The writ of error allowed King's Bench to hear appeals whenever a question of judicial error was raised, and the writ of certiorari permitted King's Bench to demand the record of trials in other courts for review and judgment. By the Elizabethan period, King's Bench and Common Pleas had developed roughly similar jurisdictions, although the volume of business coming before the latter was still more than three times that of the former. Like Common Pleas and the Exchequer, but unlike the newer **equity** courts—**Chancery**, **Star Chamber**, and **Requests**—King's Bench followed the often inflexible and expensive procedures of common law and conducted its proceedings in medieval French rather than in English.

Under **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII**, the court tended to lose business, but in the 1540s, King's Bench rejuvenated itself by developing a civil competence; the court encroached on the jurisdiction of Common Pleas by claiming actions with possible criminal components, such as matters of debt and trespass. This expansion of competence was achieved by means of the Bill of Middlesex, a legal device that extended the court's perpetual jurisdiction of arrest in London and Middlesex to other counties. Unlike Commons Pleas, King's Bench could hear matters of trespass and debt on a direct complaint without the purchase of initiating writs. It could also offer plaintiffs the advantage of ordering the arrest and holding to bail of defendants. However, before 1540, these abilities were of little attraction to litigants because the court's power to arrest was confined to the capital and the surrounding county. When, under the Bill of Middlesex, the court could issue an order (a *latitat*) directing the sheriff of another county to arrest a defendant and

Chief Justices of the Court of King's (Queen's) Bench

Sir William Huse	1485–1495
Sir John Finieux	1495–1526
Sir John Fitzjames	1526–1539
Sir Edward Montagu	1539–1545
Sir Richard Lyster	1545–1552
Sir Roger Chomley	1552–1553
Sir Thomas Bromley	1553–1555
Sir William Portman	1555–1557
Sir Edward Saunders	1557–1559
Sir Robert Catlyn	1559–1574
Sir Christopher Wray	1574–1592
Sir John Popham	1592–1607

convey him to the sheriff of Middlesex, King's Bench acquired a new popularity that rapidly expanded its caseload in the later sixteenth century.

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King's Book

Published in 1543, the *King's Book* is the popular name for *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man*, the third and last formulary of faith promulgated under **Henry VIII**. The work was so named because, unlike the *Bishops' Book* of 1537, which it superseded, the *King's Book* was written with royal involvement and published with royal approval.

Although Henry had separated the English Church from Rome, he was doctrinally conservative and wanted to retain the bulk of Catholic practice and belief. With the passage of the Act of **Six Articles** in 1539, the king officially upheld the controversial Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**, rejected the marriage of priests, and affirmed other traditional doctrines and positions. To bring the Church's official statement of belief into accord with the act, Henry sought revision of the *Bishops' Book*, which represented a reformist reinterpretation of the **Ten Articles** of 1536, the first Henrician formulary of faith.

Although the *King's Book* was a setback for Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, who had played a prominent role in the creation of the *Bishops' Book*, the archbishop worked with a group of conservative clerics to devise the new formulary. The king personally supervised the writing of the document, making many corrections and revisions to the bishops' draft. Although not all the royal changes were included in the published text, the *King's Book* was issued with official royal sanction.

Because it supported transubstantiation, denied the laity Communion in both kinds, and continued prayers and Masses for the dead, the *King's Book* retreated from the **Lutheranism** expressed in earlier formularies. The document also accepted all seven **sacraments** without making any distinction, as the *Bishops' Book* had, between those with a scriptural basis and those arising solely out of Church tradition. On the key issue of justification, the *King's Book* retained some Lutheran wording but rejected Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. However, while accepting to some degree the notion that humans could play a part in their own salvation through good works, the *King's Book* did not expound a fully Catholic view of justification, nor did its commentary on particular sacraments reflect traditional Catholic teaching. For instance, the declaration that the sacrament of extreme unction was efficacious only to sinners restored to grace through penance was not Catholic doctrine.

Like its predecessors, the *King's Book* upheld the **royal supremacy**, distinguishing the universal Church from national churches properly headed by kings and rulers and legitimately following their own traditions and practices. Strong affirmation was also given to the royal right to nominate bishops and to the bishops' duty to exercise their offices in accord with the laws and directives promulgated by the prince. After Henry's death in 1547, the *King's Book* was quietly dropped by the Protestant regime of **Edward VI**.

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King's Great Matter

See Divorce, Royal

King's Men

See Chamberlain's Men

Kinsale, Battle of

The Battle of Kinsale was the decisive battle of the **Nine Years War**. On 21 September 1601, a Spanish force of 3,400 men under Don Juan del Águila landed at the Munster town of Kinsale on the southern coast of **Ireland** to support the rebellion against English rule being led by Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone. Believing himself too weak to take the field, Águila fortified Kinsale and awaited reinforcements either from Tyrone or from **Spain**. The English lord deputy, Charles **Blount**, Lord Mountjoy, fearing that the arrival of the Spaniards would precipitate a general insurrection in southern Ireland, moved quickly to defeat Águila before Tyrone could join him. By mid-October, Mountjoy had laid siege to Kinsale with 7,000 men.

Because the experienced Spanish infantry offered Tyrone his first real chance to defeat the English in open battle (and so force **Elizabeth I** to come to a favorable settlement), the earl risked a winter march across Ireland, from Ulster in the north to Munster in the south. Red Hugh **O'Donnell**, Tyrone's son-in-law, left Ulster in early November and managed to elude a force under Sir George **Carew** that Mountjoy had sent to stop him. Tyrone departed a week later and, after trying unsuccessfully to distract Mountjoy by raiding the **Pale**, joined O'Donnell in Munster in early December. Reinforced by a new landing of several hundred Spanish troops and by Munster Irishmen, Tyrone trapped Mountjoy's army between his forces and the Spanish in Kinsale. Exposed to the winter and low on supplies, Mountjoy's army was slowly reduced by disease and desertion.

On 24 December 1601, Tyrone abandoned his usual caution and agreed to a joint assault on Mountjoy by his forces and the Spaniards. However, Mountjoy's cavalry drove the Irish horsemen into the main body of Tyrone's army, and the resulting confusion allowed Mountjoy to scatter the Irish before Águila could even launch his attack. His allies defeated, Águila surrendered on 2 January 1602 and agreed to withdraw from Ireland. The Battle of Kinsale broke the Irish rebellion. Carew pacified Munster while Mountjoy reduced Ulster. Unable to offer resistance, Tyrone went into hiding and finally submitted in March 1603, thus ending the Nine Years War.

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Knollys, Sir Francis (c. 1514–1596)

Sir Francis Knollys was an outspoken and respected councillor of Elizabeth I. As a young man, Knollys served at the **court** of **Henry VIII**, where his father, Robert

Knollys, was a court official. A strong Protestant, Knollys became a **favorite** of **Edward VI** and went into exile in Europe after the accession in 1553 of **Mary I**, Edward's Catholic half sister. In 1546, Knollys married Katherine Carey, who, through her mother Mary (**Boleyn**) Carey, sister to Anne **Boleyn**, was first cousin to Princess Elizabeth. This marriage connection won Knollys a position of influence at **court** after Elizabeth's accession in 1558.

The queen appointed Knollys a member of the Privy **Council** and named him vice chamberlain of the household. From 1572 until his death, Knollys also served as treasurer of the royal household, a post that he passed on to his son William. By the 1560s, Knollys was a staunch **Puritan** and spoke frequently in favor of Puritan causes in various Elizabethan **Parliaments**. In the 1580s and 1590s, Knollys's Puritanism brought him into frequent conflict with his fellow privy councillor Archbishop John **Whitgift**, who was engaged at the time in suppressing Puritan nonconformity. Knollys was given custody of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, on her first arrival in England in 1568 but gave her into the keeping of George **Talbot**, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1569.

Knollys's daughter, Lettice **Knollys**, a second cousin of Elizabeth, married Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the queen's favorite, in 1578. Catholic propaganda claimed that Knollys, not trusting Leicester, demanded a second ceremony at which he himself could be present as witness. This is very unlikely. When Elizabeth learned of the marriage, Knollys's position with the queen did not suffer, even though Leicester was briefly imprisoned and Lettice Knollys forbidden the court. Sir Francis Knollys was made a knight of the Garter in 1593 and died in 1596.

See also Classical Movement; Marian Exiles; Presbyterian Movement; Prophecysings

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Knollys, Lettice (1543–1634)

Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex and Leicester, was significant because of her ancestry, her marriages, and her religious **patronage**. She is most famous for offending **Elizabeth I** by marrying the queen's **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. She resided at various places in England, including Rotherfield Greys, Chartley, Wanstead, Leicester House, and Drayton Bassett.

Born at Rotherfields Grey on 6 November 1543, Lettice Knollys was the third of 16 children of Katherine Carey and Sir Francis **Knollys**. Since Katherine Carey was the daughter of Mary **Boleyn** Carey, Lady Rochford, the younger sister of Anne **Boleyn**, her children were Elizabeth's cousins.

Lettice Knollys became a maiden of honor to Elizabeth in 1559 and married Walter **Devereux**, second Viscount Hereford, in 1560. Five years later, Diego Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, who knew little English, was told Leicester flirted with her, one of the best-looking women at court, to gauge Elizabeth's feelings for him. Like many rumors de Silva repeated, such as the claim that William **Cecil** did not wish the queen to marry anyone, the story was surely inaccurate. The ambassador almost certainly was unaware Lady Essex was six months pregnant with her son Robert **Devereux**, Leicester's future godson. Between 1573 and 1575, while her husband, ennobled as the Earl of Essex, attempted to colonize Ulster, she visited Buxton Baths; attended the queen's **progress** at Kenilworth; hosted her visit to Chartley, the family seat; and among many other recipients, received deer from Kenilworth Park, Leicester's estate. When Essex returned in late 1575, he was involved in a bitter dispute with Leicester, causing rumors their argument concerned his wife's adultery with Leicester that resulted in the birth of two children. The gossip cannot be validated. It is more likely the earls were having disagreements over Irish policies. The gossipers were intent upon besmirching the earls' reputations—one a cuckolded husband, the other so lascivious he was undeserving of public office—as well as Lady Essex's. According to Simon Adams, Leicester did not promote Essex's return to Ireland, as has been charged, to make it easier to continue his alleged illicit relationship with Lady Essex. The rumors about Leicester's reputation may have fed off of his recognition as his son the namesake illegitimate child of the widow Douglas, Lady Sheffield.

If Essex heard the gossip, he dismissed it and negotiated his return to **Ireland**, where he died of dysentery in 1576. An investigation into whether his sudden death was the result of poison found no culpatory evidence. As the heralds orchestrated his funeral at Carmarthen, the principal mourners were male; his widow did not attend. Two years later, at Wanstead, she wed Leicester, an event validating for some the earlier rumors of their adulterous relationship. Roger, second Lord North, swore however, Leicester had confided he had sought a "godly" wife. At the wedding Lady Essex wore a stylish, loose-fitting gown, similar to many in Elizabeth's wardrobe, which scholars have mistakenly identified as a maternity dress. A libel in 1584, usually called *Leicester's Commonwealth*, claimed that her father insisted Leicester marry her a second time to confirm she was legally his wife and reported she had one child by him and aborted another while married to Essex. Catholic exiles wrote the libel, which was riddled with falsehoods, to disparage Elizabeth's and Leicester's reputations, catching in their net Lady Leicester and Lady Sheffield; they claimed that Lady Sheffield had a second child by Leicester, but she later denied this.

Concerned about Elizabeth's reaction, Leicester hoped to keep the marriage a secret. As late as 1580, his wife continued to sign her letters as Lady Essex. Indeed, Elizabeth never forgave her for marrying Leicester, and the three were

linked together in a rumor reported in 1583 by Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Supposedly, during an audience with a Scottish embassy, Elizabeth denounced Leicester's attempts to match his stepdaughter, Dorothy Devereux, with James VI. During her tirade, Elizabeth allegedly referred to Lady Leicester as a "bad woman" and a "she-wolf." This anecdote has been credited, although the ambassador's report was incorrect about the result of the Anglo-Scottish negotiations, as well as the date of the audience.

Lady Leicester was with her husband at his death, probably from malaria, in 1588 and had a monument erected to his memory at St. Mary's, Warwick. Although he left her a substantial jointure, he died deeply in debt, causing her financial difficulties with the Crown that resulted in her making annual payments from her jointure to reduce the principal. About one year after Leicester died, she married Sir Christopher **Blount**, his master of the horse, who was some 13 years younger than she. Perhaps, unrealistically, she hoped he would resolve her financial problems, but he actually consumed much of her fortune. In letters to her son Essex, she referred to Blount as her "friend." Blount joined Essex on his campaigns and assisted his plot against the government in 1601. Both were executed, Blount after confessing to his Catholic conversion.

She lived another 33 years at Drayton Basset, her seat, and continued to struggle with legal and financial issues, even suing Leicester's illegitimate son in **Star Chamber** to save her jointure in 1604–1605. She also presided over a godly household, ironically demanding Blount's relative, her Catholic ward, Mary Cresswell, convert to **Protestantism**. In a statement about Lady Leicester attached to Mary's funeral sermon, Mary's husband, Humphrey Gunter, lauded the religious observances at Lady Leicester's home. In the 1620s, four clerics dedicated treatises to her, praising her religious devotion, piety, and love of Christ. She enjoyed good health until late in her life, an observer noting she could walk a mile a day in 1632. She died on Christmas Day 1634 and was buried beside Leicester as requested in her will. An epitaph written by Gervase Clifford, her great-grandson, described her household as a "holy court." Most studies of her have omitted references to her godliness and have accepted the unverifiable salacious rumors as fact.

Retha Warnicke

See also James I; Ulster Enterprise (Essex)

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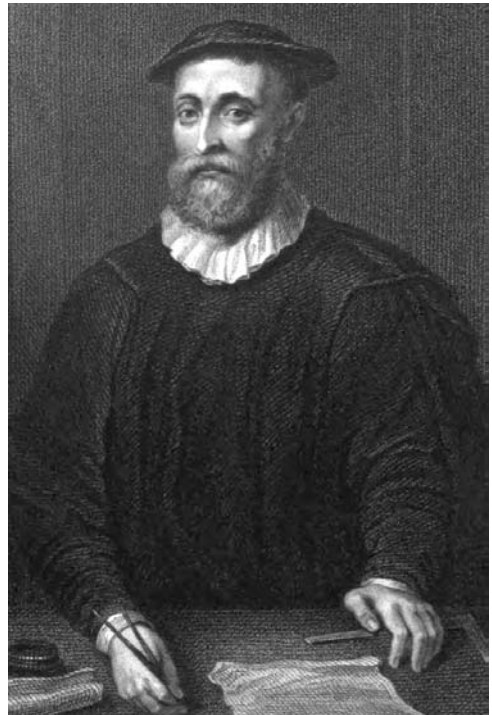
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Knox, John (c. 1512–1572)

John Knox was a Scottish Protestant reformer whose preaching and writings strongly influenced the course of both the Scottish and English **Reformations**. Born in Haddington, Knox was educated at the **universities** of Glasgow and St. Andrews. He was admitted to minor orders and possibly ordained a priest in 1536. In about 1544, while serving as a private tutor, he was converted to **Protestantism** by the reformer George **Wishart**, whom he followed until Wishart's execution for **heresy** in March 1546. In May, a group of disaffected **gentry**, seeking in part to avenge the death of Wishart, murdered Cardinal David **Beaton** and seized his castle at St. Andrews. In April 1547, Knox entered the castle and became chaplain to Beaton's murderers. When the French captured the fortress in July, Knox was confined aboard a French galley until the English government arranged his release in early 1549.

Knox then came to England, where **Edward VI** licensed him to preach in Berwick, Newcastle, and **London**. After becoming a royal chaplain in 1551, Knox helped revise the second **Book of Common Prayer** and finalize the **Forty-two Articles**. In 1552, Knox preached a sermon before the king complaining of wording in the prayer book that directed communicants to kneel when receiving Communion. Knox believed that kneeling implied an endorsement of the Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**. His sermon led, over the objections of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, to insertion in the prayer book of the **Black Rubric**, a footnote that explained kneeling at Communion as an act of piety, not of adoration.

After the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Knox fled to Geneva and then to Frankfurt on the Main, where he became leader of the radical party in a dispute over the prayer book that split the town's **Marian exile** community. Returning to Geneva, Knox became a vigorous opponent of the Marian regime, publishing tracts that attacked the queen and declared the right of the people to overthrow a tyrant. In 1558, he published a violent denunciation



Scottish Protestant reformer John Knox heavily influenced both the Scottish and English Reformations. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

of Mary I and Marie de **Guise** entitled *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, which cited scripture and classical writers to prove that women had no right to rule over men. *First Blast* so offended **Elizabeth I** that she refused to allow Knox to return to England in 1559, and he went instead to **Scotland**, where he became a leading spirit in the Scottish Reformation and a strong opponent of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. By encouraging the Protestant lords of Scotland and rousing the Protestant majorities in **Edinburgh** and other towns, Knox's preaching helped ensure the success of the Scottish Reformation and the reorganization of the Church along Presbyterian lines.

Knox authored several key documents of the reformed Church: the *Scottish Confession*, which defined doctrine; the *First Book of Discipline*, which, though never approved by **Parliament**, devised a Calvinist polity for Scotland; and the Book of Common Order, which became the Church's official service book in 1564. Knox also became the first historian of the Scottish Reformation with his *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* (1587). After 1561, he vigorously denounced the **Catholicism** of Queen Mary and was heartened by her fall in 1567. However, the need of subsequent Scottish governments to stay on good terms with Mary's captor, Elizabeth of England, robbed Knox of his political voice, for Elizabeth never forgave the author of *First Blast*. Knox died in Edinburgh on 24 November 1572.

See also Calvinism, English

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Kyd, Thomas (1558–1594)

Thomas Kyd, a close friend of Christopher **Marlowe** and an important member of the **London** literary community in the 1590s, was one of the most popular tragic poets and playwrights of the Elizabethan era. Kyd was born in London, the son of a scrivener (a scribe or professional copyist). He attended the Merchant Taylors' School, where he met the future poet Edmund **Spenser**, but he does not seem to have attended a university. He entered his father's profession but abandoned it by the mid-1580s for a literary career.

Kyd made a name for himself as a playwright through the frequent production in the early 1590s of his play *The Spanish Tragedy*. This immensely popular drama was acted several times in London in 1592 by Lord Strange's Men, an acting company under the patronage of Ferdinando **Stanley**, Lord Strange, into whose service Kyd had himself entered about 1590. *The Spanish Tragedy* was revived later in the decade by the **Chamberlain's Men**, a company of actors with which William **Shakespeare** was associated. With this play, Kyd introduced the theme of revenge into Elizabethan drama. Apart from some translations of continental works and several pamphlets on contemporary London murders, no other publication can be definitely ascribed to Kyd, although he is thought to have written or collaborated on several anonymous plays of the period.

Kyd shared lodgings with Marlowe in the early 1590s and was part of a group of young writers, including Marlowe, Thomas **Nashe**, and Thomas **Lodge**, who regularly drank and caroused in London taverns. In early May 1593, the authorities arrested Kyd on suspicion of **treason** and **heresy**. They found documents in his lodging that denied the divinity of Christ, but Kyd convinced them that the papers belonged to Marlowe. Shortly after Marlowe's mysterious death in a tavern brawl on 30 May, Kyd was rearrested. He was tortured and forced to confess more about his late friend's atheistic views. Kyd was released soon after, but he died in poverty and debt in December 1594.

See also Drama; Grammar School; Poetry; Universities

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Ladies-in-Waiting

For the Tudor queens, **Mary I** and **Elizabeth I**, ladies-in-waiting were women selected from among their relatives, friends, and courtiers to serve as personal attendants. Elizabeth's ladies served her meals, helped her dress, managed her clothes and jewels, cared for her when she was ill, kept her informed and entertained, and generally functioned as her close family circle. The women who served Elizabeth were hierarchized as ladies of the presence chamber; ladies of the privy chamber; and, holding the most esteem, ladies of the bedchamber. While some of the queen's ladies were paid, the attraction of the position lay in the social prestige and closeness to the queen it provided. The ladies were, however, also fed and housed at royal expense during their time at **court**.

Critics disagree about the potential political influence of ladies-in-waiting. Elizabeth might have prohibited her ladies from involvement in state affairs, yet they managed access to the queen's person, and their service as both foils for and extensions of the queen's physical presence and appearance of grandeur were important political functions. The ladies might also serve as extra ears for the queen, keeping her familiar with her courtiers' activities. Their regular and intimate access to the queen placed the ladies in an enviable position. Courtiers sought their favor and offered gifts for helping to advance a suit to the queen or to procure an audience with her. Such efforts to reach the queen through her ladies attest that many acknowledged their proximity to the queen as a form of power.

Sarah E. Johnson

See also Favorites

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Lambarde, William (1536–1601)

William Lambarde was the foremost Elizabethan antiquary and the author of the first English county history. The son of a merchant and sheriff of **London**, Lambarde entered Lincoln's Inn in 1556 and was called to the bar in 1567. **Elizabeth I** named him a **justice of the peace** for Kent in 1579 and later appointed him to several important recordkeeping offices, including, in 1601, keeper of records in the **Tower of London**.

Lambarde devoted much time to scholarly legal pursuits; in 1568, he published *Archaeionomia*, a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws. His popular handbooks for justices of the peace and other public officials, *Eirenarcha* (1582) and *The Duties of Constables . . . and Other Low and Lay Ministers of the Peace* (1583), were widely consulted and went through several editions. Although presented in manuscript to Sir Robert **Cecil** in 1591, Lambarde's *Archeion, or a Discourse upon the High Courts of Justice in England* was not published until 1635, and the diary of his work as a justice, *Ephemeris*, was not published until the twentieth century.

Although born in London, Lambarde lived in Kent, where he acquired property from his father and through each of his three marriages. In 1576, he published an immensely popular descriptive history of his adopted county, the *Perambulation of Kent*, which launched the genre of English county histories. He planned a similar history for the whole of England and **Wales** but abandoned the work when he learned that William **Camden** was engaged in a project of the same kind. In August 1601, only weeks before his death, he personally presented the queen with the manuscript of his *Pandecta Rotulorum*, a catalog of all documents housed in the Tower. Lambarde died at his manor house in Kent on 19 August 1601.

See also Antiquarianism; *Britannia*; Inns of Court

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Lambert, John (d. 1538)

Tried before **Henry VIII** himself, John Lambert was condemned and executed for **heresy** in 1538. Born John Nicholson in Norwich, Lambert later changed

his name to avoid episcopal persecution. He became a fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1521, and was later ordained into the priesthood. As a participant of the informal discussions on **humanism** and religious reform that occurred at the **White Horse Tavern**, Lambert came under the reformist influence of Thomas **Bilney**. By 1529, Lambert was chaplain of the **Merchant Adventurers** in Antwerp, where he soon acquired a reputation as a zealous Protestant. In 1531, Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas **More**, aware of Lambert's reputation, summoned him back to England. Confronted with a bill of 45 articles of heresy by Archbishop William **Warham**, Lambert answered each with skill and conviction but remained in protective custody at the archbishop's manor of Otford until Warham's death in August 1532. Upon his release, Lambert resigned from the priesthood and began teaching Latin and Greek to children in **London**.

In 1536, Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, and other conservative peers accused Lambert of **heresy** for his vocal attacks on the worship of saints. Tried before Bishop Hugh **Latimer** and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Lambert frustrated every attempt by the sympathetic prelates to arrange a compromise whereby they could quietly release him. He therefore remained in prison until 1538, when, following a sermon on the **Eucharist** by John Taylor, future bishop of Lincoln, Lambert sought out the preacher to dispute his remarks. Taylor told him to put his objections in writing, which, when submitted, were handed by Taylor to Robert **Barnes**, then sitting on a commission to eradicate sacramentarian heresy (i.e., the denial that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Eucharist). Barnes found Lambert's views sufficiently troubling to pass them on to Cranmer, who examined Lambert before allowing him to appeal his case directly to the supreme head of the English Church, Henry VIII.

Anxious, at the moment, to convince Catholic Europe of his doctrinal orthodoxy, Henry personally presided over Lambert's trial on 16 November 1538. Bullied by the king, badgered by a team of bishops, and taunted by a hostile audience, Lambert nevertheless acquitted himself well for five hours until exhaustion caused him to ask Henry for mercy. Because Lambert had admitted his sacramentarian views, Henry, having achieved his display of Catholic orthodoxy, ignored the plea and condemned the defendant for heresy. For professing beliefs that Cranmer would entertain himself in time, Lambert was burned to death at Smithfield on 22 November 1538.

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Lancaster, House of (1399–1461, 1470–1471)

The House of **Tudor** derived its claim to the English throne from the House of Lancaster. In the fifteenth century, the Houses of Lancaster and **York**, branches of the royal family of Plantagenet, which had ruled England since 1154, contended with one another for the English Crown in the civil conflict known as the **Wars of the Roses**. When the direct male line of Lancaster ended in 1471, the family's claim to the throne passed to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, through his mother, became the Lancastrian heir.

The family of Lancaster descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340–1399), the third son of Edward III (r. 1327–1377). The Lancastrians became the ruling dynasty in 1399 when Henry of Bolingbroke, Gaunt's son, deposed his childless cousin Richard II (r. 1377–1399) and assumed the Crown as Henry IV. Because Henry's usurpation broke the normal line of succession, he spent much of his reign (1399–1413) quelling uprisings launched on behalf of the legal heirs, the Mortimers, who descended from Gaunt's older brother. However, Henry IV survived and in 1413 was peacefully succeeded by his son Henry V (r. 1413–1422), who secured the dynasty on the throne by reviving the Hundred Years War and uniting England against its ancient enemy, **France**.

On Henry V's death in 1422, the Crown passed to a nine-month-old infant, **Henry VI**, whose mother was Catherine of Valois, the daughter of Charles VI of France. By the 1420 Treaty of Troyes, Henry V was recognized as heir to the French Crown. Thus, upon Charles VI's death in October 1422, Henry VI was proclaimed king of both England and France while still less than a year old. In the 1450s, Henry VI, who was politically inept and easily led by **favorites**, fell victim to ongoing mental illness and proved himself unfit to rule. Royal weakness revived the long dormant claim of the Mortimers, now embodied in Richard, Duke of York, whose mother had been a Mortimer. York was heir presumptive to the throne until the birth of Henry's son, Prince Edward, in 1453. In the mid-1450s, York, believing himself excluded from the political power that was his right by birth, sought to govern on behalf of the stricken king. The Wars of the Roses erupted as nobles, seeking either to retain the influence they exercised as royal favorites, or, like York, to force their way into the circle of royal favor, formed factions around the king and the duke. Long-standing local feuds intensified the struggle as rivals merged their quarrels into the national conflict. In 1460, York claimed the Crown outright, and in 1461, his son **Edward IV** overthrew Henry VI and set the House of York on the throne. Although Henry VI was briefly restored in 1470–1471, the death of his son in battle led to the ex-king's murder and the extinction of the direct male line of Lancaster in May 1471.

However, the Lancastrian claim to the Crown survived. Although Henry VI had no full siblings, and his uncles were childless, the dynasty had a collateral branch

that figured prominently in the Wars of the Roses. In 1396, John of Gaunt had married his longtime mistress, Katherine Swynford (d. 1403). Richard II had then legitimated Gaunt's children by Swynford under the name of Beaufort, although Henry IV later barred his half siblings from the succession. During Henry VI's minority, the leading member of the **Beaufort family** was Henry Beaufort, cardinal-bishop of Winchester (c. 1376–1447). During the Wars of the Roses, Edmund Beaufort and his sons Henry and Edmund, all successively dukes of Somerset, were leaders of the Lancastrian party. Although all three dukes of Somerset died in the civil wars, ending the male line of Beaufort in 1471, their cousin Margaret **Beaufort** survived and eventually transmitted the Lancastrian claim to the throne to the House of **Tudor**.

Henry VII, Margaret Beaufort's son and the first Tudor monarch, was the grandson of an obscure Welshman, Owen **Tudor**, who in the late 1420s secretly married Queen Catherine, Henry VI's widowed mother. The children of this union, Edmund **Tudor**, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper **Tudor**, Earl of Pembroke, were thus half siblings of Henry VI. The Tudors' claim to the English Crown derived from Richmond's 1455 marriage to Margaret Beaufort, and it was this claim that Margaret's son realized in 1485, when, as the last male descendent of the Lancastrian and Beaufort lines, he defeated **Richard III** and overthrew the House of York at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**. Henry then symbolically ended the Wars of the Roses by marrying **Elizabeth of York**, Edward IV's heir; their son **Henry VIII**, a descendent of both Lancaster and York, peacefully succeeded to the throne in 1509.

John A. Wagner

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Lancaster, Sir James (1554–1618)

An early organizer of the East India Company, Sir James Lancaster was the first English trader and privateer to penetrate the Indian Ocean and the East Indies. Lancaster's father was a husbandman who apprenticed his son to a member of the

Skinner's Company in 1571. Lancaster became a freeman of the company in 1579 and spent much of his early life plying his trade in Portugal. In 1588, Lancaster served against the Spanish **Armada** under Sir Francis **Drake**.

In 1591, he set sail as part of the first English expedition to the East Indies. Of the three ships that began the voyage, only Lancaster in the *Edward Bonaventure* reached the Indian Ocean, sickness and storms having turned back or destroyed the other vessels. Lancaster finally reached Penang on the Malay Peninsula, off which he captured several Portuguese vessels filled with pepper and other valuable cargoes from India. The return voyage was plagued by storms and lack of supplies. Lancaster sailed for **Spanish America**, where part of his crew mutinied and left him marooned on an island until a French ship carried him to **France**. Lancaster finally reached England in May 1594. Within six months, Lancaster was at sea again, in command of a three-vessel fleet financed by London merchants. Sailing to Pernambuco in Portuguese Brazil, he seized the port and loaded all the merchandise in the warehouses on his ships, returning to England in July 1595 with a rich haul.

After helping to organize one of the **privateering** expeditions of George **Clifford**, Earl of Cumberland, Lancaster obtained command of the first **East India Company** expedition in 1601. Sickness again took a severe toll, although Lancaster's experiment of carrying along bottles of lime juice helped his crew better withstand the effects of scurvy. After reaching the East Indies, Lancaster captured a rich Portuguese vessel, opened trade relations with local rulers, and established the first English factory (trading post) in the region. He returned to England in September 1603 after a difficult voyage. **James I** knighted Lancaster, who devoted the rest of his life to building the East India Company and supporting efforts to discover a **Northwest Passage**. He died a wealthy man in June 1618.

See also Liveried Company

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Lane, Sir Ralph (d. 1603)

Ralph Lane was the governor of Sir Walter **Raleigh's** first Virginia colony. As a young man, Lane exhibited a desire for travel and adventure, unsuccessfully proposing various expeditions to William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. In 1583, the government sent Lane to **Ireland** to supervise the building of fortifications. In 1585, Lane

joined the colonization expedition sent to Virginia by Walter Raleigh. The expedition was under the command of Sir Richard **Grenville**, Raleigh's cousin, but the settlement to be established in North America was to be directed by Lane. Grenville and Lane quarreled bitterly, and when the former sailed for home to gather more supplies and colonists, Lane, anticipating Grenville's accusations against him, sent along a letter denouncing Grenville.

After the fleet's departure, Lane moved the colony of about 100 men from Wokankan Island to the north end of Roanoke Island (off present-day North Carolina). Lane and his men explored the surrounding region for profitable commodities and quick sources of wealth, traveling as far north as Chesapeake Bay. Having arrived too late in the year to plant a crop, the colony soon found itself short of food and at odds with the local Indians, who grew increasingly unwilling to trade with the Englishmen as their own food supplies dwindled. When a fleet under Sir Francis **Drake** stopped at Roanoke in June 1586, Lane and his colonists, then engaged in full-fledged hostilities with the Indians, eagerly boarded Drake's vessels and returned to England. When Lane and his men landed in July 1586, they likely brought ashore the first tobacco and potato plants seen in England.

During the **Armada** Crisis of 1587–1588, Lane was employed in raising troops and strengthening coastal defenses in Norfolk. In 1589, Lane served in the **Portuguese expedition** under Drake and Sir John **Norris**, and in 1590 he was part of a similar expedition under Sir John **Hawkins**. Lane was posted to the army in Ireland in 1592 and was knighted for his services there in 1593. Although appointed keeper of Southsea Castle in Portsmouth, Lane exercised the office by deputy, for from 1595 until his death in October 1603, he resided in **Dublin**, where he continued to serve with the army.

See also Roanoke Colony (1585)

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Langside, Battle of

The Battle of Langside ended any hope for Mary **Stuart**'s restoration to the Scottish throne. After her confinement in Lochleven Castle in June 1567, Mary was forced to abdicate, and power passed to her half brother James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, who ruled as regent for Mary's year-old son, James VI. In the summer of 1567, the Confederate Lords, who had overthrown the queen, were united in their

opposition to her continued rule, but by the end of the year, many of their number had second thoughts and began to speak for Mary's restoration. Mary's growing body of supporters attempted to blame her difficulties on her third husband, the exiled James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell.

To counter this rising Marian sentiment, Moray used the meeting of **Parliament** in December 1567 to openly accuse the ex-queen of complicity in the murder of her second husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. Although Moray hinted at the existence of the **Casket Letters**, which would later seem to prove Mary's involvement in the murder, this first public accusation of the queen had little effect on Mary's supporters. Thus, when Mary escaped from Lochleven in May 1568, a large army quickly formed around her. Refusing offers to negotiate, Moray met the queen's army at Langside near Glasgow on 13 May. Mary's army was larger, perhaps by as many as 3,000 men, but at a critical point in the battle, Mary's commander, Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, failed to lead the main body of the army forward. Argyll later claimed that he had fainted or suffered an epileptic fit, but it is more likely that he had again come to doubt Mary's fitness to rule or had come to some treacherous agreement with Moray.

Watching from a nearby hill, Mary rode forward to encourage her troops, but many were already scattering, and the battle was lost. The queen panicked; instead of regrouping to fight another day, she fled south, crossing into England two weeks later, against the advice of her supporters. Believing that **Elizabeth I** would quickly restore her, Mary instead found herself placed into a confinement that ended only with her execution in 1587.

See also Darnley Murder; James I; Scotland

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Lanier, Emilia (1569–1645)

Identified by some modern historians as the “dark lady” described in some of William **Shakespeare**'s **Sonnets**, Emilia Lanier is best known as England's first published woman poet of the Jacobean era. She was the daughter of Giovanni Baptista Bassano, a **court** musician of Italian Jewish descent, and a woman named Margaret Johnson, who may not have been Bassano's wife. The Bassano family of musicians and instrument makers had served the English court since the 1530s, when they emigrated from Venice. Because her father died when she was young,

Emilia was raised by Susan, the dowager Countess of Kent and daughter of the great Protestant patron Katherine **Bertie**, Duchess of Suffolk. Nothing is known of Emilia's education, though the connection with the duchess makes it likely that she received rather more training, particularly in reading and writing, than most girls of the period.

By the late 1580s, when only in her teens, Emilia became the mistress of Henry **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, who was lord chamberlain and cousin to **Elizabeth I**. When she became pregnant, presumably by Hunsdon, in 1593, she was given jewels and a handsome pension and then married off to Alphonso Lanier, a member of another prominent family of court musicians. By 1597, the Laniers were in financial straits, leading Alphonso to take service with Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Anxious about Alphonso's prospects, the Laniers consulted the astrologer Simon **Forman**, with whom Emilia began some sort of physical relationship once Lanier had left on the **Islands Voyage** with Essex. According to Forman, she sent repeatedly to him to know if she should be a lady and teased him with her sexual availability, for although he "felt all parts of her body willingly and kissed her often," she refused him intercourse (Rowse, *Sex and Society*, 101). However, Forman likely achieved his purpose, for he later wrote of spending whole nights with Emilia. The relationship, whatever its nature, apparently ended in January 1600, when Forman, in his last written reference to Emilia, asked, following a summons to her house, "whether she intendeth any more villainy" (Rowse, *Sex and Society*, 102).

Based on Forman's descriptions of her personality; her supposed dark Italian coloring; her musicality; her connection with Hunsdon, who as chamberlain arranged court **entertainments**, including plays; and her seeming promiscuity, Emilia Lanier has been proposed as the "dark lady" of Shakespeare's sonnets, whose eyes were described as "raven black" (Sonnet 127) and her hair as "black wires" (Sonnet 130). The evidence supporting this claim is intriguing, but insufficient to confirm it.

In 1611, Emilia published a volume of religious poetry entitled *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, which essentially describes and vindicates prominent women in the **Bible**, from Eve to the Virgin Mary. The book was dedicated to prominent contemporary women, including Queen Anne and Princess Elizabeth, the wife and daughter of **James I**. Appended to the book as a dedicatory verse is the poem "Description of Cookham," which is the first country-house poem published in England. A prominent literary genre in the seventeenth century, the country-house poem complimented the country estate of the poet's wealthy patron. "Description of Cookham" extols the country home of Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, as a haven for women writers and poets, but also laments the instability of literary **patronage** relationships, a circumstance that may have characterized Emilia's position as poet and musician.

After her husband's death in 1613, Emilia again fell on hard times and sought unsuccessfully to support herself by opening a school for **gentry** children in **London**. She was arrested for debt in 1619 but thereafter seems to have been supported, until his death in 1633, by her son Henry Lanier (the presumed son of Hunsdon), who was court musician to Charles I. Thereafter, she sued her brother-in-law for maintenance for herself and her two orphaned grandchildren and eventually obtained some sort of pension from the king. She died in April 1645.

John A. Wagner

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Latimer, Hugh (c. 1485–1555)

A onetime bishop of Worcester and a martyr for the Protestant faith, Hugh Latimer was also the most famous and influential preacher of the English **Reformation**. Born in Leicestershire, Latimer was educated at Cambridge, where he became a fellow of Clare Hall in 1510 and took an MA in 1514. After his ordination in 1516, Latimer continued at Cambridge, completing a bachelor of divinity degree in 1524. Already noted for his preaching, he was licensed to do so anywhere in England in 1522. He preached against **Lutheranism** in 1524 but soon thereafter came under the influence of Thomas **Bilney** and quickly adopted reformist views. Although examined on suspicion of **heresy** in 1525, Latimer escaped any formal charges. By 1529, his public condemnation of pilgrimages and other orthodox practices earned him great notoriety, although his equally public support for **Henry VIII's divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon** won Latimer royal favor, and he was invited to preach at **court** in 1530.

In 1532, Latimer again fell under suspicion of heresy for denouncing the invocation of saints and the existence of **purgatory**. Cited before the bishop of **London**, Latimer eventually submitted to **Convocation**. By 1534, perhaps through the influence of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** or the lingering benefits derived from his support of the royal divorce, Latimer became a regular preacher at court. Named bishop of Worcester in 1535, Latimer reinforced his reputation as a reformer by openly condemning the wealth of English clerics, ordering all priests in his diocese to possess an English **Bible** or New Testament, and placing great emphasis

on preaching. In 1536, this reputation made Latimer a target of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels, who demanded his banishment.

Parliament's passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** in 1539 prompted Latimer to resign his office, and in 1540 he was arrested and released only on condition that he leave London and stop preaching. Latimer's whereabouts during the next six years are uncertain. In 1546, he was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** but was released on the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547. Latimer declined restoration to his bishopric but became influential as a court preacher. His sermons increasingly condemned such social and economic evils as **enclosure** and debasement of the **coinage**. Involved in the 1549 deprivation and imprisonment of Bishop Edmund **Bonner** of London, Latimer was himself arrested in September 1553 after the accession of **Mary I**. Although given an opportunity to flee, he refused to take it and in 1554 was sent to Oxford to stand trial for **heresy** with Cranmer and Nicholas **Ridley**. On 16 October 1555, Latimer was burned at Oxford. At the stake, Latimer turned to Ridley, who also died that day, and said, "We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out" (Loades, *Oxford Martyrs*, 220).

See also Commonwealth Men

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Law

See Canon Law; Civil Law; Common Law

Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity

Richard **Hooker's** eight-volume work the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* is both a brilliant defense of the **Anglican Church** against Puritan criticisms and a systematic statement of Anglican philosophy. In the 1590s, Archbishop John **Whitgift** appointed Hooker to a pair of quiet country parishes where his clerical duties would not interfere with his writing. By Hooker's death in 1600, the first five volumes of the *Laws* had been published, and their arguments were being used by English Church leaders to influence debate in **Parliament** on various bills involving

the treatment of Puritan nonconformists. The last three volumes, which were still undergoing revision when Hooker died, were not published until 1648 (sixth and eighth volumes) and 1662 (seventh volume). Because of this delay, questions were raised about the authenticity of these volumes, although most scholars today accept them as the work of Hooker.

In the *Laws*, Hooker refuted the Puritan claim that the presbyterian form of church government was mandated by scripture. Hooker accepted the **Bible** as the guide for human spiritual life, but denied that it expressly prescribed any particular type of church government. He believed that the form church governance took was an indifferent matter that could be whatever human reason found to be convenient and appropriate. Hooker saw reason as the instrument by which humans could know and understand God's natural law, that is, the set of divine principles by which humans could order their lives and societies. Although a part of medieval philosophy, natural law was a concept still widely accepted in humanist and Protestant thought, and it thus gave Hooker a firm basis on which to defend the practices and ceremonies of the Anglican Church.

Although **Puritans** had attacked the Anglican **Book of Common Prayer** as filled with unscriptural corruptions derived from Catholic practice, Hooker argued that ceremonies were also indifferent matters that could be ordered in any way Anglican Church officials thought proper. Hooker's acceptance of natural law also led him to defend both bishops and the **royal supremacy**, not as absolute necessities, but as acceptable forms of church government hallowed by tradition and reason. Through the clarity, logic, and grace of Hooker's writing, the widely influential *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* gave the Anglican Church a set of philosophical principles by which it could distinguish itself from both **Catholicism** and Puritanism.

See also Adiaphora; Humanism; Presbyterian Movement

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Lectureships

Lectureships were salaried preaching appointments endowed by towns, parishes, or individuals that were instrumental in the development of Elizabethan

Puritanism. The regular parish clergy were required by law to conduct worship services according to the **Book of Common Prayer**, a form of liturgy that many advanced Protestants, especially those **Marian exiles** who had experienced the reformed churches of Europe, found to be entirely too conservative. By obtaining a lectureship, a Protestant reformer whose views were too extreme to acquire a regular Anglican **benefice** could earn a livelihood and preach freely without interference from Church authorities. The lecturers did not conduct worship services but instead preached sermons after the regular Sunday service or in the morning or evening during the week.

By the early years of **Elizabeth I**'s reign, several **London** parishes had already engaged lecturers who delivered sermons six mornings a week. In provincial towns, civic magistrates hired lecturers to preach weekday sermons; the town of Coventry engaged the reformer Thomas **Lever**, and by the late 1570s, the town of Ipswich was employing two lecturers at the handsome stipend of £50 per year. Many reformers were also appointed to lectureships under the **patronage** of Protestant noblemen or gentlemen; John **Foxe** preached for a time under the patronage of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk. Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and other prominent political figures of Puritan leanings employed preachers who had been expelled from their regular benefices for nonconformity.

In the 1560s, many lecturers initiated local **prophesyings**, unauthorized conferences of Puritan preachers at which passages from the **Bible** were read and discussed. Because parishioners were allowed to attend prophesyings, Puritan ideas were spread widely among local Anglican congregations. By allowing Puritan preachers opportunities to teach and deliver sermons—and so to circumvent the queen's and the official Church's opposition to radical preaching—lectureships did more than any other agency to establish and maintain Puritanism in Elizabethan England.

See also Anglican Church; Gentry; Puritans

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Lee, Rowland (d. 1543)

Rowland Lee (or Legh), bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was lord president of the **Council in the Marches of Wales**. Born into a Northumberland **gentry** family, Lee was educated at St. Nicholas Hostel, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor of laws in about 1510 and his doctorate in about 1520. He was ordained in about 1512 and thereafter acquired a number of Church livings, probably through the influence of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**. In 1528, Lee, working with Stephen **Gardiner**,

suppressed several monasteries to provide Wolsey with an endowment for his new educational foundation at Ipswich. After Wolsey's fall, Lee attached himself to Thomas **Cromwell**, a former associate in Wolsey's service, who made frequent use of Lee on matters pertaining to the royal **divorce**. In May 1533, Lee persuaded the recalcitrant **Convocation** of York to officially recognize the invalidity of the king's marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, and, in 1534, Lee tried unsuccessfully to persuade both Bishop John **Fisher** and the future **Carthusian martyrs** to acknowledge the Boleyn marriage. In late 1533, Lee also investigated the activities of Elizabeth **Barton**, the Nun of Kent. For such services, and for taking charge of the education of Cromwell's son Gregory, Lee received numerous rewards, including a royal chaplaincy and a mastership in **Chancery**. Although later writers claimed that he also performed the secret marriage between **Henry VIII** and Anne **Boleyn**, Lee's presence at the 1533 ceremony is uncertain.

In December 1533, Henry named Lee to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, and in May 1534, the king appointed Lee to the presidency of the Welsh council. In the latter post, Lee's main charge was to pacify the borderlands, which had fallen into serious disorder. To aid him in this task, Lee, although a churchman, was allowed to employ capital punishment, while the council as a whole was given a more summary jurisdiction to deal with lawlessness. Although rumors that Lee hanged over 5,000 men during his presidency are probably exaggerated, they indicate the vigor with which the bishop performed his office and the reputation his conduct of the presidency won him in **Wales**. Although Lee was Cromwell's man, and he consulted closely with the minister on Welsh affairs, the bishop opposed the Welsh reform statute that Cromwell steered through **Parliament** in 1536. The act divided Wales into shires and, as in England, placed local administration and law enforcement in the hands of local **justices of the peace**. Believing that Welsh justices would not act against Welsh offenders, Lee thought the measure would only increase disorder. Although Lee retained his post after Cromwell's fall in 1540, the bishop's credit with the government was thereafter much reduced, and his execution of his office became less effective. Lee died in Shrewsbury on or about 28 January 1543.

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Le Havre Expedition

The Le Havre expedition (also known as the Newhaven expedition) was **Elizabeth I's** first formal military involvement in a continental conflict. In September 1562, England

and the French **Huguenots** signed the Treaty of **Hampton Court**, which obligated Elizabeth to supply the Huguenots with a large subsidy and 3,000 troops for their war against the extremist Catholic forces led by the **Guise family**. Pressured to aid the Huguenot cause by Protestants in her government—like William **Cecil**, Robert **Dudley**, and her ambassador in Paris, Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**—Elizabeth accepted the agreement to prevent the Guises from winning the civil war and invading England. In return for her help, Elizabeth demanded that the Huguenots give her the port of Le Havre, which she hoped to exchange for **Calais** when the war ended.

On 1 October 1562, Elizabeth appointed Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick (Robert Dudley's brother), to command the English forces. Warwick took control of Le Havre on 4 October, and English garrisons were sent to assist the Huguenots in defending Dieppe and Rouen. However, Rouen fell to the Catholics on 26 October and the English garrison in Dieppe had to be withdrawn. The Privy **Council** sent reinforcements to Warwick, and the queen reaffirmed her support for the Huguenot cause with more money. But the death in battle of Anthony of Navarre, the Huguenot leader, and the assassination on 24 February of the Catholic leader, Francis, Duke of Guise, allowed the French queen mother, Catherine de **Medici**, to negotiate a settlement and unite all parties against the English.

Undaunted by the betrayal of the Huguenots, who had made peace without consulting her, Elizabeth decided to keep Le Havre. The combined French forces laid siege to the town, but Warwick held out until the **plague** struck his men in early June. In late July, the French captured the harbor, closing off the possibility of reinforcement by sea and dooming the English garrison. With the queen's permission, Warwick surrendered on 29 July, thus ending the Newhaven expedition in humiliation and failure. The French allowed Warwick and his survivors to return to England, but the costly fiasco left Elizabeth wary of any further foreign entanglements until the threat of Spanish invasion compelled her to intervene in the **Netherlands** in the mid-1580s.

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Leicester, Earl of

See Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester

Leicester's Netherlands Expedition

See Netherlands Expedition

Leland, John (c. 1503–1552)

A poet and antiquary, John Leland traveled throughout England and **Wales** cataloging British antiquities. Although his cataloging work was never completed, the notes and records of his travels later served as models and sources for such Elizabethan historians as William **Camden**.

Born in **London**, Leland attended St. Paul's School, where he studied under William **Lily**, and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he earned his BA in about 1522. He briefly tutored a son of Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, before returning to his studies at All Soul's College, Oxford, where he took holy orders in about 1525. He thereafter lived for three years in Paris, where he associated himself with a distinguished group of French scholars, having earlier befriended such English humanists as John **Colet**, William **Grocyn**, Thomas **Linacre**, and Sir Thomas **More**. Leland returned to England in about 1529, proficient in both Latin and Greek and knowledgeable in French, Spanish, and Italian. In the early 1530s, Leland acquired several ecclesiastical positions, as well as a papal dispensation to hold all simultaneously.

In 1530, Leland became library keeper to **Henry VIII**. Although he did not, as is sometimes claimed, receive appointment as royal antiquary, he used his position as keeper to undertake the cataloging of both the manuscript and archaeological remains of British history back to Celtic and Roman times. From 1534 to 1543, Leland traveled the country making detailed notes, by county, of any manuscripts, coins, inscriptions, or other artifacts he came across. In his *Itinerary*, Leland recorded the distance between towns and sites, explained the best way to reach a place, and noted all objects of interest to a historian, including significant architecture, archaeological sites, and documentary collections. In his *Collectanea*, Leland kept careful record of local genealogy. Because the **dissolution of the monasteries** led to the destruction of many antiquities, Leland procured what he could, especially manuscripts, for the royal library.



John Leland, a poet and early antiquary, kept careful records that served as models for later historians like William Camden. (*The Lives of Those Eminent Antiquaries John Leland, Thomas Hearne and Anthony Wood . . .*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1772 [frontispiece])

In the late 1530s, Leland engaged in a heated debate with the historian Polydore **Vergil** over the historicity of King Arthur, whose existence Vergil denied in his *Anglica Historia*. Leland wrote several defenses of the historical Arthur, including his *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (1544), which was prepared using modern research techniques, such as the careful study of relevant manuscripts and etymologies. The *Assertio* remained popular into the Elizabethan period, when it influenced such works as Edmund **Spenser's** *The Faerie Queene*. Leland was also an accomplished Latin poet, writing verses to commemorate the coronation of Anne **Boleyn** in 1533, the birth of Prince Edward in 1537, and the death of Sir Thomas **Wyatt** in 1542. Leland's cataloging work ended in 1547 when the antiquary fell into insanity and was placed by the **council** in the custody of his brother. Leland never regained his reason, and died on 18 April 1552.

See also Antiquarianism; Edward VI

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Lennox, Countess of

See Douglas, Margaret, Countess of Lennox

Leslie, John (1527–1596)

John Leslie (or Lesley) was the most active and loyal supporter of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, during her long imprisonment in England. Although the illegitimate son of a Scottish country priest, Leslie was educated at various Scottish and French **universities**. He taught **canon law** (i.e., church law) at King's College, Aberdeen, in the early 1550s and was ordained a priest in 1558. In January 1561, he was among the Catholic clerics who debated religion with John **Knox** and other reformers at **Edinburgh**. A group of Catholic nobles sent him to **France** later in the year to persuade Mary to return to **Scotland**. The queen took an immediate liking to him and brought him back to Scotland with her in August. He became the queen's chief ecclesiastical advisor in 1561, a privy councillor in 1565, and bishop of Ross in 1566.

After Mary's abdication in 1567 and flight to England in 1568, Leslie defended her before the English commissioners convened in York to examine the charges brought against her by the government of her Protestant half brother, James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray. Leslie then spent some months with Mary at Tutbury, her place of confinement, before coming to **London** to represent her at the English **court**. In 1569, he used an assumed name to publish *A Defense of the Honor of the Right High, Mighty and Noble Princess Marie, Queen of Scotland . . .*, which was suppressed by the English government but later reprinted in Europe.

As the sole means of secure communication between Mary and her supporters, Leslie involved himself on Mary's behalf in the **Northern Rebellion** of 1570 and the **Ridolfi Plot** of 1571. Imprisoned in the **Tower of London** for the Ridolfi conspiracy, he was forced to give evidence against Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, one of the principals of the plot. Leslie was released in 1573 but ordered to leave England; he immediately began an unsuccessful search for support for Mary among the Catholic princes of Europe. In 1578, he published in Rome a Latin history of Scotland to the early fifteenth century. Leslie spent the last years of his life in France and the **Netherlands**, dying near Brussels on 31 May 1596, nine years after Mary's execution in England.

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Levant Company

The Levant (or Turkey) Company was an English **joint-stock company** chartered in 1581 to conduct trade with the Turkish-controlled eastern Mediterranean. The company had the exclusive right to trade with the empire of the Ottoman Turks, which in the late sixteenth century controlled not only Turkey, but Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and much of the Balkan Peninsula of eastern Europe. The company shipped English linens and woolens to its factories (trading posts) at Smyrna (the modern town of Izmir) on the Aegean in western Turkey and to Aleppo on the Mediterranean in western Syria. In return, Levant Company traders brought back to England spices, silks, carpets, fruits, currants, and other Eastern products.

In 1593, when the Levant Company merged with the Venice Company, the queen granted a new charter expanding the company's monopoly area to include the Venetian Republic in northern **Italy** and the overland trade route to India. In 1595, the Levant Company transformed itself into a **regulated company**. The Levant Company remained profitable into the seventeenth century, paying the salaries of

the English ambassador in Turkey and of the English trade representatives in the Middle East. The company's annual trading fleets faced many difficulties, including Barbary pirates (from North Africa), Venetian rivals in the Middle East, French rivals in Turkey, and, after 1585, Spanish hostility in the western Mediterranean. Although the company's monopoly ended in 1753, it continued to pay the salaries of the ambassador and trade representatives until 1803.

See also Cloth Industry; Monopolies

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Lever, Thomas (1521–1577)

Thomas Lever (or Leaver) was one of the leading Puritan preachers of Elizabethan England. Born in Lancashire, Lever took his degrees at St. John's College, Cambridge, becoming a college preacher in 1548. A friend of Roger **Ascham**, the Protestant tutor to Princess Elizabeth, Lever was also a member of a circle of extreme reformers at Cambridge. After his ordination in 1550, Lever was invited several times to preach at **court** before **Edward VI**. At the king's death in 1553, Lever supported the unsuccessful attempt to place Jane **Grey**, a Protestant, on the throne, and fled to Europe when Princess Mary, a Catholic, was proclaimed queen. In 1556, after spending time in Geneva and experiencing the church of John **Calvin**, Lever became minister of an English exile community in Germany.

On his return to England in 1559, Lever won appointment to several **benefices** in the **Anglican Church**, including archdeacon of Coventry (1559) and prebendary at Durham Cathedral (1564). By consistently refusing to wear the clerical dress prescribed by **Elizabeth I** and **Parliament**, Lever was deprived of the latter position in 1568. Because Lever continued to preach in Coventry and **London** in the simple black gown preferred by **Puritans**, he was called before an ecclesiastical court in 1571 to answer for his nonconformity.

In the 1570s, Lever encouraged the holding of **prophesyings** throughout his archdeaconry. These meetings of Puritan ministers and believers, which were occurring all over the country, angered the queen, and she ordered the bishops to suppress them. Because Lever received the unwelcome order to close all such gatherings in his archdeaconry in June 1577, only a month before his death, he was likely spared further difficulties with his ecclesiastical superiors.

See also Marian Exiles; Mary I; Northumberland's Coup; Universities; Vestiarian Controversy

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Liberties

See Franchises and Liberties

The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey

See Cavendish, George

The Life of Sir Thomas More

See Roper, William

Lily, William (c. 1468–1522)

A noted grammarian and first high master of St. Paul's School, William Lily was also a prominent member of the **London** circle of early Tudor humanists. Born in Hampshire, Lily entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1486. About 1488, he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, stopping to study Greek at Rhodes and to attend humanist lectures in Rome. Returning to England about 1492, Lily soon became closely associated with such leaders of London **humanism** as William **Grocyn** (who was Lily's godfather), John **Colet**, and Thomas **Linacre**. Another group member, Thomas **More**, was Lily's partner in the translation of a number of Greek epigrams, which were published in 1518 and frequently reprinted thereafter.

In 1510, Lily was Colet's choice for high master of St. Paul's School, for which Lily, in collaboration with Colet and Desiderius **Erasmus**, created a series of humanist textbooks. Lily's particular contributions were a Latin syntax in English, a syntax in Latin, and two Latin poems. Believing, like Colet, that Latin was best learned by reading and imitating classical authors, not by memorizing rules, Lily kept his textbooks on grammar simple and brief. Mindful of the need to combine training in the classics with moral and religious instruction, Lily also produced

the *Carmen de Moribus*, a series of simple Latin verses that dictated acceptable behavior in the classroom. In the 1530s, a royal commission charged with creating a standard Latin grammar based its work on the Lily/Colet texts and produced a composite version that became known as *Lily's Latin Grammar*. Officially authorized for use in English schools in the 1540s, the Lily grammar was required in all schools until 1604 and used in some schools until the eighteenth century.

Under Lily's leadership, St. Paul's reputation for humanist studies was unmatched, and the school became a model for other English **grammar schools** founded in the Tudor period. Among Lily's students at St. Paul's were the antiquarian John **Leland** and the politician William **Paget**. In the early 1520s, Lily engaged in a debate with fellow grammarian Robert Whittinton, who disagreed with Lily on the best methods for teaching Latin. The controversy led to Lily's publication of the *Antibossicon* (1522), a verse attack on Whittinton. Lily also wrote much Latin poetry; a collection of his *Epigrammata* (1522) appeared in the year of his death. Of Lily's many children, a daughter married John Ritwise, the second high master at St. Paul's, and his son George became chaplain to Cardinal Reginald Pole. Lily's grandson John **Lyly**, the author of *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* (1579), became a popular and influential Elizabethan writer.

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Limning

"Limning" was the Elizabethan term for the art of miniature painting, a highly popular art form among Elizabethan courtiers, nobles, **gentry**, and merchants, especially after 1570. **Henry VIII** had commissioned miniature portraits of family members and of prospective spouses from miniature painters in Flanders, but the leading Elizabethan miniaturists were an Englishman, Nicholas **Hilliard**, and a French émigré, Isaac **Oliver**. Hilliard's work was technically stunning and highly popular. He was the greatest exponent of the art, writing his *Treatise on the Art of Limning* and refining his technique to the point of only painting in silk clothes to prevent any contamination of his work by dust.

During the course of **Elizabeth I's** reign, miniatures evolved from small intimate portraits of friends and family members, or tokens of love and dalliance, to more elaborate romantic, theatrical, allegorical, and patriotic works of art worn

as personal adornment. In the 1560s, miniatures were still precious objects meant mainly for royalty and nobility. In 1564, Elizabeth showed Sir James **Melville**, the Scottish ambassador, her miniature portrait of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, part of a collection of miniatures kept neatly wrapped in paper in the royal bedchamber. By the 1590s, Hilliard's studio was mass-producing miniatures for a much wider clientele. These later works glorified the state and the monarchy through allegorical and symbolical representations of the **Virgin Queen**.

Oliver fell into disfavor by painting the aging Elizabeth as he saw her in the 1590s, but Hilliard painted the so-called Mask of Youth, an idealized image of the queen as a young woman. The much-praised and sought-after painting both pleased the monarch and fit perfectly into the growing cult of Elizabeth as the embodiment of the state. Limning helped put the Renaissance fascination with personality at the service of the state by identifying the state with the personality of the monarch, and by glorifying the individual as a member of the state and a servant of the queen.

See also Art

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Linacre, Thomas (c. 1460–1524)

A grammarian and humanist scholar, Thomas Linacre was physician to **Henry VIII** and is best known for his advancement of medical knowledge. A principal founder of the College of Physicians, Linacre also endowed lectureships in **medicine** at both Oxford and Cambridge.

Little is known about Linacre's ancestry and early life. Resident at Oxford from about 1481, Linacre became a fellow of All Souls in 1484 and traveled to **Italy** in about 1487. After studying Greek and Latin in Florence, Linacre went to Rome in about 1490 and thereafter undertook the study of medicine at Padua, where he took his MD in August 1496. Linacre also spent time in Venice, where he befriended the Italian printer Aldus Manutius, who, in about 1499, published Linacre's Latin translation of Proclus's *De Sphaera*. Back in Oxford by the late 1490s, Linacre taught Greek to Thomas **More** and sought a post as tutor to Prince Arthur **Tudor**, although it is unclear whether he ever got the position. Although a close friend of such leaders of English **humanism** as William **Grocyn**, John **Colet**, and Desiderius **Erasmus**, Linacre's chief interest was medicine, not classical scholarship.

In 1509, he moved to **London** to accept appointment as Henry VIII's physician at £50 per year. In the capital, Linacre soon developed a thriving medical

practice, treating such patients as Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and Archbishop William **Warham**, as well as More and his other humanist friends. In 1518, Linacre helped found the College of Physicians and, beginning in 1517, published a series of Latin translations of the works of the Greek physician Galen, including *De Sanitate Tuenda* (1517), *Methodus Medendi* (1519), *De Pulsuum Usu* (c. 1522), and *De Naturalibus Facultatibus* (1523). Ordained in 1520 (probably as a deacon), Linacre had for some years previously held a number of ecclesiastical **benefices**, none of which he filled himself. Linacre also wrote several Latin works of grammar, including a text for St. Paul's that Colet, the school's founder, refused to adopt. Two of Linacre's grammars were written in English—*Progymnasmata Grammatices Vulgarian* (1515) and *Rudimenta Grammatices* (c. 1523). The latter work was dedicated to Princess Mary, whom Linacre was appointed to tutor in 1523. Linacre died on 20 October 1524 and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. His Latin treatise *De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, published posthumously in 1524, influenced grammatical studies into the seventeenth century.



Thomas Linacre was appointed physician to Henry VIII in 1509 and is known for his contributions to medical knowledge and the founding of the College of Physicians. (William Osler. *Thomas Linacre*. Cambridge: University Press, 1908)

See also Mary I

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Lincoln, Earl of

See Pole, John de la, Earl of Lincoln

Lisle, Lord

See Plantagenet, Arthur, Lord Lisle

Liveryed Company

The liveryed companies of **London** were the Tudor successors to the medieval guilds, the civic associations of merchants and craftsmen that controlled the trade and industry of the city. Although Tudor London had almost 100 liveryed companies, the 12 most powerful were the Mercers (dealers in textiles), Grocers (dealers in foodstuffs), Drapers (dealers in **cloth**, clothing, or dry goods), Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers (dealers in small wares and personal items), Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners (wine merchants), and Clothworkers. The Stationers' Company, the association of printers and booksellers, maintained the **Stationers' Register** of published works but, having been founded only in 1557, never acquired the power and prestige of the 12 great companies.

The companies regulated work conditions and practices within their trade, established rules of **apprenticeship**, administered benefactions, provided almshouses and other charities for the local poor, and encouraged the religious worship of their membership, usually at a specific company church. The liveryed companies administered city courts, collected taxes, and organized civic celebrations. They also provided financial assistance to the widows and orphans of deceased members, as well as to members and their families during times of illness or other economic hardship.

Besides regulating the economic life of London, the liveryed companies also dominated the city government by controlling access to the "freedom" of the city, in other words, to citizenship. Only by being a member of a company could a Londoner become a citizen, and only by being a citizen could a Londoner vote, start a business, and exercise other political and economic rights. The lord mayor of London was always chosen from among the senior leadership (known as the "livery") of the most important companies. While roughly 75 percent of Tudor London's male residents were freemen, or citizens, few of the city's female residents held citizenship.

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Local Government

In the sixteenth century, England and Wales were divided into 53 shires (or counties), which served as the main units of local government. Because the Crown had no professional and salaried bureaucracy, it relied on the social and political elite of each county (i.e., the local **gentry**) to administer the shires in the royal interest. Through a series of largely unpaid local offices, the gentry implemented government policy in the shires by enforcing royal proclamations and parliamentary statutes.

In Tudor times, the most important local officials were the **justices of the peace** (JPs), who had both administrative and judicial functions. Each year the Crown appointed a commission of the peace for each county that included between 30 and 60 men selected on the basis of their social, political, and economic position within the shire. Most of the work of the commission was undertaken by the quorum, a specially nominated inner circle of JPs that was often centered on members with legal experience. The *custos rotulorum* was a member of the quorum appointed to keep the records of the commission. Another important county official was the sheriff, an ancient office that, by the Tudor period, conferred more prestige than power. The sheriff supervised local prisons, impaneled juries, and carried out criminal sentences imposed by the JPs.

Other shire officials included the coroner, who investigated suspicious deaths; the escheator, who enforced the Crown's feudal rights; the customer, who collected certain taxes; and the constable, who kept peace within the hundred, an administrative subdivision of the shire. A more recent local office was that of lord lieutenant, a military official responsible for supervising the county militia, storing and maintaining stocks of arms and ammunition, and organizing local defenses. Local noblemen were often named lord lieutenant for a group of counties, with deputy lieutenants under them responsible for one county each. Lord lieutenants were appointed on an ad hoc basis until the war with **Spain** in the 1580s demanded more regular arrangements for local defense; thereafter, lord lieutenants were appointed for life. Working under the JPs in the shires were such parish officers as the constables, who kept the peace within a parish; watchmen, who assisted the constables; and surveyors of the highways and overseers of the poor, who maintained roads and supervised poor relief within each parish.

See also Fiscal Feudalism; Poor Laws; Revenue and Taxation

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Lodge, Thomas (c. 1558–1625)

Thomas Lodge was a dramatist, poet, satirist, and physician. He was born about 1558 to the first lord mayor of **London** to have a beard, Sir Thomas Lodge, and his second wife, Lady Anne Lodge. The date and place of Lodge's birth are not precisely known though most often he is suggested to have been born in West Ham, Essex (baptismal records do not survive), though his family also had a country house at Plaistow in London.

Lodge was sent to live as a page in the aristocratic household of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, and three years later went on to be educated (1571–1573) at the Merchant Taylors' School under headmaster Richard Mulcaster and then at Trinity College, Oxford, where he earned a BA in 1577. Lodge then studied law at Lincoln's Inn but never received the degree, nor his inheritance from his mother, who died in 1579. She had stipulated in her will that it would only be granted him should he remain diligent at his law studies. On 23 December 1579, *An Epitaph of the Lady Ann Lodge* was registered by a T. Lodge—a copy of this poem no longer exists, but it is thought to be his first publication. One modern theory argues that Lodge's turn to **Catholicism** put him out of favor with his family. Lodge's brothers received his portion of the inheritance, which led to a great deal of acrimony between them and even an attempt on his life. Lodge's Catholic sympathies subjected him to criticism from both his family and others.

In 1580, Lodge settled in London and became involved with the University Wits, a group of literary men with university backgrounds that included Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, Robert **Greene**, John **Lyly**, Christopher **Marlowe**, Thomas **Nashe**, George **Peele**, and Thomas Watson. Lodge turned to writing **poetry** and prose, and his family disinherited him. Around this same year, he anonymously published *A Defence of Music, Poetry, and Stage Plays* when London magistrates sought to close down theaters due to the **plague**. Lodge went on to receive his MA from Trinity College, Oxford. In 1582, Stephen **Gosson**, once a dramatist, who now considered the theater immoral, published *Plays Confuted* and named Lodge as the author of *A Defence*. Gosson dedicated his own piece to Sir Francis **Walsingham**, who was **Elizabeth I**'s chief intelligencer and prosecutor of Catholics. Lodge perceived Gosson's work as a religious attack and responded with *Alarum against Usurers* (1584), dedicating it to Sir Philip **Sidney**, who was related to important members of the royal government. Sidney accepted the dedication, which afforded Lodge with some protection from further attacks. In 1584, Lodge wrote his first prose piece, a romance entitled *The Delectable Historie of Forbo-nius and Priscilla*.

Beset with financial difficulties, Lodge left London on a buccaneering expedition in the Canary Islands with Captain Clarke; it is unclear which voyage Lodge joined as there were three separate voyages in 1585, 1587, and 1590. In 1589, he

published *Scillaes metamorphosis*, a minor English Ovidian epyllion (a classical love poem), which influenced William **Shakespeare**'s *Venus and Adonis*. Lodge's best-known work, *Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie*, was published in 1590. It is from *Rosalynde* that Shakespeare created *As You Like It*. Shakespeare also drew on *Rosalynde* for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Winter's Tale*.

In 1591, Lodge started a military career, joining Sir Thomas **Cavendish**'s expedition to Brazil. Before leaving, Lodge published the historical romance *The History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robert the Divell* (also known as *The Famous, True and Historicall Life of Robert Second Duke of Normandy*), which may have influenced Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Lodge left behind *Catharos, Diogenes in His Singularity*, a discourse on immorality, for publication in his absence. Both texts were published in 1591. Lodge sailed from Plymouth with Cavendish on the *Desire*. Lodge remained in Brazil until January 1592, spending most of his time among Jesuits; meanwhile, Greene published *Euphues' Shadow* on Lodge's behalf. By 1593, Lodge and the remainder of Cavendish's crew returned home, and Lodge published *Phillis: Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets, Elegies and Amorous Delights* and *The Life and Death of William Longbeard*. Contributing to the theater in 1594, Lodge coauthored *A Looking-Glass for London and England* with Greene and also wrote *The Wounds of Civil War*. In 1595, he published *A Fig for Momus: Containing Pleasant Varietie, Included in Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles*.

Written during his voyage with Cavendish, *A Margarite of America* was published in 1596. This book also contained several poems. Some modern scholars consider *Margarite* to be Lodge's most important work. Lodge continued his literary career by writing such moralizing pamphlets as *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse*, *Prosopoeia: Containing the Tears of the Mother of God*, and *The Divel Conjured*, all published in 1596.

Lodge converted to Catholicism in 1597 and left England for **France** to learn **medicine**. He received his degree in Avignon in about 1599. It is unclear why Lodge left London. In 1601, *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* was published; the book was Lodge's translation from Latin of Luis de Granada's text. In 1583, Lodge had married a woman named Joan, and they had a daughter named Mary. In 1600, Lodge returned to England and remarried; his second wife, Jane Aldred, was 12 years older and the widow of a double agent who had worked for both the pope and Walsingham. In 1602, Lodge received his MD from Trinity College, Oxford, and his translations of the works of Josephus were completed and published in *The Famous and Memorable Works of Josephus*. In 1603, Lodge's *A Treatise on the Plague* was published. Following the Gunpowder Plot, anti-Catholic feelings were high, and Catholic physicians were forbidden from practicing medicine, so Lodge left England, possibly to follow Irish troops fighting on **Spain**'s behalf or to Brussels, where he could safely practice. Lodge would not return to London

until 1609, and in 1610, the Royal College of Physicians granted him the right to practice medicine again. In 1611, he swore an oath of allegiance to **James I**. In 1612, Lodge's brothers died, leaving him to finally inherit the family property. By 1614, Lodge completed his translations of Seneca in *The Workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca*. His last text would be *A Learned Summary upon the Famous Poem of William of Saluste Lord of Bartas*, published in 1621, though he did compile *The Poor Man's Talent* that same year. *The Poor Man's Talent* was a medical textbook intended for his wife's past patroness, the Countess of Arundel, but it was not printed until 1881.

Lodge died in 1625 at his house on Old Fish Street. Some scholars suggest it was from the **plague**. He was 67 or 68. His wife survived him and was granted his property.

Michelle M. Martínez

See also Inns of Court

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Lok, Michael (c. 1532–1615)

As the main financial backer for Sir Martin **Frobisher's** voyages of American exploration, Michael Lok was instrumental in furthering the Elizabethan search for a **Northwest Passage**. Lok's father, a **London** merchant, sent his son to **France** and the **Netherlands** in about 1545 for training in languages and commerce. While engaged in trade in **Spain** and Portugal in the 1550s, Lok witnessed firsthand the lucrative Iberian trade with the New World and conceived a desire to travel and see new lands himself.

Lok spent the next 20 years traveling around Europe and commanding numerous trade voyages to the Middle East. Having a facility for languages, Lok studied the history, culture, and trade potential of every land he visited, spending large sums on books and maps. In 1576, Lok's imagination was fired by Martin Frobisher's enthusiastic belief in the existence of a Northwest Passage around North America to Asia. At his own expense, Lok purchased most of the supplies for Frobisher's first voyage. When Frobisher returned with what seemed to be gold ore, Lok helped

form (and became governor of) the Cathay Company, a **joint-stock company** created to finance Frobisher's next two voyages.

When the ore proved worthless and the 1577 and 1578 expeditions failed to find a Northwest Passage, Lok went bankrupt and was forced to beg the Privy **Council** for relief for his large family. Lok never recovered more than a small portion of the money he had invested, and he found himself financially embroiled with Cathay Company creditors and investors for the rest of his life. For a time, Lok was even imprisoned in the Fleet Prison for failure to pay for one of the vessels used on Frobisher's third voyage. After his release in about 1587, Lok engaged for a time in trade in **Dublin**, and in 1592 he served as consul in Syria for the **Levant Company**, a joint-stock enterprise trading in the Middle East. He died in 1615, still involved in legal actions arising from the unpaid debts of the long-defunct Cathay Company.

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Lollardy

Lollardy was a native English movement of religious reform that originated in the late fourteenth century. When Protestant ideas and practices reached England from Europe in the sixteenth century, they found ready acceptance among the small clandestine Lollard cells that still existed in various English towns. These groups helped provide a strong popular foundation upon which the Crown and Protestant **humanism** eventually built a reformed English Church.

Centered at Oxford University, where the scholar John Wyclif (c. 1328–1384) emerged as its primary spokesman, Lollardy began in the 1370s as a protest against the wealth and political power of the higher clergy. Believing that the institutional Church had abandoned the teachings of Christ and his apostles, Wyclif and his followers denounced such clerical abuses as nonresidence (i.e., not living in one's diocese or among one's congregation) and **pluralism** (i.e., holding several ecclesiastical offices simultaneously), as well as compulsory tithes, fees for services, and anything else that promoted clerical wealth. Lollards also advocated the creation and distribution of an English **Bible** as the best means to secure meaningful reform. Wyclif and other Oxford scholars completed an English translation from the Latin Vulgate in 1384. Although relying only upon hand reproduction, the Lollard Bible was widely read—more than 100 copies are still in existence.

Although the clergy condemned Lollard teachings, which were spread by itinerant preachers, Richard II was friendly to the movement until 1395, when

sympathetic members of **Parliament** proposed adoption of a Lollard reform program. Summed up in a document known as the *Lollard Conclusions*, this program, which contained many provisions later advocated by Protestants, called for stricter adherence to scripture, abolition of nonbiblical rituals, and renunciation of the doctrine of **transubstantiation** (i.e., God's transforming of bread and wine into Christ's body and blood through priestly mediation). Richard rejected these proposals, and active persecution of Lollards began under Henry IV in 1401, when Parliament passed the statute *De Heretico Comburendo* ("Concerning the Burning of a Heretic"), which authorized the execution of unrepentant Lollards. Thereafter, the authorities purged Oxford of Lollards, and Henry V deprived the movement of **gentry** leadership by executing Sir John Oldcastle in 1417.

By Tudor times, Lollardy was an underground movement of the lower classes; it comprised loosely connected groups of townspeople who secretly read forbidden Bibles and condemned clerical wealth and influence. When English Protestants, encouraged by **Henry VIII's** break with Rome, began to press for thoroughgoing reform of the Church, they found Lollards receptive to their arguments and eager for their leadership. In the 1520s, Robert **Barnes** sold William **Tyndale's** English New Testaments to Lollards, while Tyndale was himself influenced in his work by Lollard ideas. Lollardy was thus an important factor in the ultimate success of the **Reformation** in England.

See also Heresy Law; Lutheranism; Pluralism and Absenteeism

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London

Tudor London was the seat of English government and the largest and richest city in the British Isles. The city grew steadily during the Tudor period, not only in population, but in economic power, political influence, and cultural sophistication.

In 1485 at the accession of **Henry VII**, London had a **population** of about 60,000, but by the death of **Elizabeth I** in 1603, London had become one of the largest cities in Europe, with a population of about 200,000. It was far more populous than the second-largest city in the realm, Norwich, which had about 15,000 people in 1603. Economic opportunity drew people from all over Britain to London; about one-eighth of the population of midcentury England lived in London at some time in their lives, and only about 20 percent of the adult inhabitants of



This detailed map of London is from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, a sixteenth-century atlas covering important cities around the world. (The National Library of Israel, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography/Historic Cities Research Project)

London had been born there. Because high infant and child death rates nullified a relatively high fertility rate, London's population growth could only be achieved by high levels of immigration, both from abroad and from the English countryside. Historians have estimated that Elizabethan London received more than 4,000 immigrants a year, with more than 3,000 of these being young men coming to the capital to begin apprenticeships in a craft. The influx of foreigners, mainly from **France** and the **Netherlands**, angered some citizens, although the only serious antiforeign disorder of the period was the **Evil May Day** riot of 1517.

London was the chief port of the realm and handled the bulk of British **cloth** exports. In the 1490s, about 40,000 cloths left London each year, bound mainly for the continental cloth entrepôt at Antwerp. By the 1550s, that figure had risen to almost 110,000 cloths. Elizabethan London handled almost 90 percent of British cloth exports and about 75 percent of all trade, while the membership of cloth-related guilds comprised about 40 percent of the city's freemen (i.e., citizens). The city was also the nation's economic capital, its political influence deriving from its great wealth. Over half the Crown's tax revenue from towns came from London, as did more than two-thirds of the Crown's customs revenue. The city's merchants also made large loans to the Crown and often provided security for

loans negotiated in continental money markets. In return for these financial services, the Crown granted the privileges that allowed such trading companies as the **Merchant Adventurers** to conduct their business.

London's growth was also tied to its status as the political and legal capital of England; **Parliament** and the courts of **common law** were situated only a mile outside the city at Westminster. By 1560, the Courts of **Common Pleas** and **King's Bench** were handling over 5,000 cases at any one time, thus drawing many people into the capital and stimulating demand for food and lodging services. So large were the crowds collected by the courts, historians estimate that London's grain consumption increased by over 10 percent during the legal terms when **court** was in session. London was also the center of the royal court, and city merchants catered to the many petitioners who arrived seeking **patronage**. As London became a part-time home for wealthy courtiers, it gradually developed an **entertainment** industry that reinforced the city's status as social and cultural capital of the realm. Outside the university towns of Cambridge and Oxford, London was England's most important educational center, housing the **Inns of Court**, Gresham College, and the country's finest **grammar schools**, such as John Colet's institution at St. Paul's.

The city was divided into 25 wards (with a 26th added for Southwark across the Thames in 1550), which were subdivided into 242 precincts. Each ward was administered by an alderman, and each precinct by a common councilman. The Courts of Aldermen and Common Council approved taxation and performed important legislative and judicial functions within the city government. Aldermen and councilmen were usually drawn from the most prosperous 10 percent of city merchants. London was also divided into 112 parishes and contained 55 **liveried companies**. The companies regulated the city economy, collected taxes, and provided various social services. Only company members were freemen, and only freemen could vote, establish a business, or enjoy other civic and economic rights. However, in the early sixteenth century, the terms for company membership were liberalized so that almost 75 percent of adult male residents became freemen by the Elizabethan period.

See also Gresham, Sir Thomas; Printing

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London, Treaty of

Promoted by **Henry VIII** and his chief minister Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, the 1518 Treaty of London was an international peace agreement that encompassed most of the powers of Europe. The treaty bound all signatories to keep the peace and to unite with one another against any aggressor nation.

In 1517, the collapse of Henry's anti-French alliance left England diplomatically isolated. After the death in 1516 of Henry's father-in-law, Ferdinand of **Spain**, the new Spanish monarch, Charles I, negotiated a peace treaty with **France**. Charles's other grandfather, Emperor **Maximilian I**, similarly made peace between France and the empire. To prevent the French from increasing their influence in **Scotland**, Wolsey was also forced to open negotiations with them. Anxious to show himself a major figure in European diplomacy, Henry realized that the tide of trends and events was favorable to peace. The spread of **humanism** among the European intellectual community gave rise to a movement advocating peace and unity among Christian states. More practically, two decades of war had left the major powers militarily and financially exhausted, and the growing threat to eastern Europe from the Ottoman Turks made plain to all the need for a united Christian front.

Thus, in 1518, when Pope Leo X dispatched representatives to Christian rulers to urge them to make peace among themselves and war on the Turks, Henry and Wolsey hijacked his plan. They transformed the pope's five-year truce into an alliance for perpetual peace brokered by themselves. To do this, Henry pressured the pope to make Wolsey a papal legate by denying Leo's envoy—Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio**—admittance to England until the grant was made. Wolsey then used the ceremony surrounding Campeggio's visit as cover to begin negotiating with the French, with whom he concluded a peace accord by 2 October. The French granted Henry a pension in return for the surrender of Tournai (captured by Henry in 1513), and Henry promised Princess Mary as bride for the French dauphin. This Anglo-French agreement soon became the basis for a much wider international alliance, operating under the presidency of Wolsey and including **Spain**, the empire, the papacy, and 20 lesser states. The members of the alliance agreed to perpetual peace with each other and to common action against any aggressors.

Although the agreement substantially enhanced the international prestige of Henry and Wolsey, it preserved the peace for less than three years. In 1519, Charles of Spain's election to the Imperial Crown as **Charles V** threatened the encirclement

of France by the emperor's territories and sharpened the rivalry over Italy between Charles and **Francis I**. The Franco-Imperial war that began in 1521 wrecked the Treaty of London and left England to be courted by both sides. Despite the courtesy and ceremony that surrounded the Anglo-French meeting at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520, Henry and Wolsey opted for an Imperial alliance that was subsequently created by the treaties of **Calais** (1520) and **Bruges** (1521).

See also Ferdinand and Isabella; Mary I

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Longland, John (1473–1547)

Although a doctrinal conservative who vigorously suppressed **heresy**, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, firmly supported the **royal supremacy** and the break with Rome. Born in Oxfordshire, Longland was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. Ordained into the priesthood in 1500, Longland was appointed rector of an Essex parish in 1504. Completing his doctorate of divinity in 1511, he was named dean of Salisbury in 1514 and a canon at Windsor in 1519. In 1521, he became confessor and almoner to **Henry VIII**. Later rumor identified Longland as one of the team that helped the king compile the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (*The Defense of the Seven Sacraments*), Henry's treatise attacking the writings of Martin Luther. Although Longland's involvement in the project is uncertain, his elevation to the bishopric of Lincoln in May 1521, shortly after the *Assertio*'s completion, is suggestive. Upon entering his see, Longland initiated a campaign to eradicate **Lollardy** in the diocese. Almost 350 people from the Amersham area in Buckinghamshire were accused of heresy and brought before Longland, who, according to the Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe**, obtained 50 abjurations and 6 executions.

Longland was later said to have been the man who first brought to the king's attention the famous verse in Leviticus that seemed to forbid marriage to a dead brother's wife, the text of which became the scriptural basis for Henry's claim that his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** was invalid. Longland later denied this claim, acknowledging that it was the king who brought the verse to the bishop's attention, perhaps as early as 1522 or 1523. By 1530, Longland was part of a commission that visited Oxford to elicit support for the king's **divorce** case and

in the following year was in Oxford again to suppress the distribution of heretical writings, an effort that eventually involved a commission charged with searching the stalls of booksellers. This activity against reform and for the divorce caused Longland to be stoned when he came to Oxford in 1532 to take up his new post as the university's chancellor.

Although Longland gave only qualified support to **Convocation's** submission to the king in 1532, hedging his approval with several reservations, he zealously enforced the royal supremacy in his diocese after the **Reformation Parliament** abolished papal authority and separated the English Church from Rome in 1533–1534. He issued a series of episcopal injunctions that strictly enjoined the diocesan clergy to conform to all royal mandates and to suppress any references to the pope. Although unpopular in his diocese for his persecution of heresy, Longland was a scholarly and upright man whose charity and learning were praised by Sir Thomas **More**. Longland died on 7 May 1547.

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Lopez, Roderigo (d. 1594)

A Portuguese Jew living and practicing medicine in England, Roderigo Lopez was destroyed by the vanity of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, and immortalized by the genius of William **Shakespeare**. Born into a Jewish family, Lopez fled his native Portugal in 1559 to escape the Catholic Inquisition. Trained as a doctor, he settled in **London** and served until 1580 as house physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. His professional reputation grew rapidly in the 1580s, and his patients soon included William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis **Walsingham**. In 1586, he was appointed chief physician to **Elizabeth I**. His position at **court** and his growing wealth combined with his foreign Jewish birth to make him many enemies. By 1593, the chief among these was the Earl of Essex, the royal **favorite**, who hated Lopez because he had severely criticized the earl's policies and conduct toward Don Antonio, the claimant to the Portuguese throne (which **Philip II** of **Spain** had seized in 1580). Lopez may even have revealed to Don Antonio that Essex had contracted syphilis.

Lopez first became involved with court politics in 1589 when he helped persuade Elizabeth to back the **Portugal expedition**, an ultimately unsuccessful naval enterprise that sought to put Don Antonio on the Portuguese throne. When Don Antonio came to England in 1590, Lopez, acting as interpreter between him and

Essex, Antonio's chief political ally, became aware of the earl's attempts to use the Portuguese issue to further his own position at court. In 1594, Essex used rumors of Lopez's involvement in Spanish plots against Don Antonio and Elizabeth to press for the physician's arrest and trial for **treason**. Although doubtful of Lopez's guilt and suspicious of the earl's motives, Elizabeth eventually consented to the physician's execution, which occurred at Tyburn on 7 June 1594. Lopez's declaration on the scaffold that he loved the queen "as well as he loved Jesus Christ" elicited much ridicule from the anti-Semitic crowd that witnessed his death; for although outwardly a practicing Christian, Lopez had long been suspected of being a practicing Jew in secret. Indeed, it is likely that Shakespeare used the well-known London physician as the model for the character of Shylock, the vengeful Jewish moneylender in *The Merchant of Venice*.

See also Jews; Lopez Plot; Shakespeare, Works of

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Lopez Plot

The Lopez plot was an obscure and dubious Spanish conspiracy against **Elizabeth I** that supposedly centered on the queen's physician, Roderigo **Lopez**, a Portuguese **Jew**. Uncovered and pursued furiously by Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, the queen's young **favorite**, the plot probably had more to do with political rivalries at **court** between Essex and the Cecils than with any actual treason by Lopez.

Essex hated Lopez, whose foreign and Jewish birth made him an easy target, because the physician had severely and publicly criticized Essex's policies and conduct. In 1594, sensing an opportunity for revenge, Essex ordered the arrest of a Spanish agent who had visited Lopez. Under interrogation, the agent revealed the existence of a Spanish conspiracy to kill Don Antonio, a claimant to the Portuguese throne (held by **Philip II** of **Spain**) then resident in England. Further investigation led to the capture of other Spanish agents, one of whom confessed that he had been sent to England to bribe Lopez to work for Spain. Essex and the Cecils arrested Lopez and subjected him to intense questioning. Lopez ably defended himself, and Robert **Cecil** reported to Elizabeth that Essex was persecuting her physician. The queen angrily rebuked Essex, an occurrence that likely did not improve the earl's opinion of Lopez.

Several days later, Essex announced that he had uncovered a plot by Lopez to poison the queen. The earl coerced the captive Spanish agent into backing up his story and sent his own agents out to stir up anti-Spanish and anti-Semitic feeling among the people—the popular earl was to prove himself dangerously adept at arousing public opinion in his favor. Under further interrogation, Lopez broke and admitted guilt. Despite later recantations, Lopez was quickly tried and convicted of **treason**, but Elizabeth, doubtful of his guilt and suspicious of Essex, delayed signing the death warrant for three months. She finally gave in to pressure from Essex and public opinion, and Lopez was executed before jeering crowds at Tyburn in June 1594.

See also Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury; Cecil, William, Lord Burghley

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Lord Chamberlain's Men

See Chamberlain's Men

Lord Strange's Men

See Stanley, Ferdinando, Lord Strange

Lost Colony

When John **White** returned to England in 1590 without being able to ascertain the whereabouts of the settlers of the second English colony on Roanoke Island, the missing colonists passed into the English imagination as the Lost Colony. Established on Roanoke Island (off present-day North Carolina) in 1587, Sir Walter **Raleigh's** second Roanoke colony suffered immediately from the enmity the first colony had created among the local Indians. Heavily dependent on Raleigh for supplies, the colonists sent White back to England to ensure regular shipments. Prevented by the **Armada** Crisis from returning to Roanoke until 1590, White found no trace of the colony and was prevented by storms from investigating further.

The Roanoke colonists were thus abandoned to their unknown fates. When the first permanent English settlement was established at Jamestown (in what is now

southern Virginia) in 1607, the settlers tried to find the lost colonists, who, if still alive, could greatly assist the survival of the new colony with their 20 years of experience in the region. Hope rose in 1608 when local Indians reported a fair-haired, light-skinned people living south of Jamestown; however, later reports said the Roanoke colonists were dead, having recently been massacred in an Indian war.

The story of the lost colonists as reported in 1612 in *History of Travel in Virginia Britannia* by William Strachey, former secretary of the Jamestown colony, was that the colonists had left Roanoke for the Chesapeake Bay, their original destination. There they had lived peacefully with the friendly Chesapeake Indians until about 1607, the year of Jamestown's founding, when Powhatan, the leader of the most powerful tribal confederation in the region, slaughtered the Chesapeake and their English guests to forestall a prophecy that declared a rival to Powhatan's rule would arise from the Chesapeake. Rumors said seven colonists—four men, two boys, and one girl—survived the massacre and fled south to live with friendly Indians to whom they taught the arts of building with stone and working copper. Although rumors of their existence persisted, no Roanoke colonists were ever found by the English. Today, the Lumbee tribe of central North Carolina, descendants of the Croatoan tribe that lived near Roanoke in the 1580s, claim that the colonists settled and eventually amalgamated with their people.

See also Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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Louis XII (1462–1515)

King of **France** during much of the reign of **Henry VII** and the early years of **Henry VIII**, Louis XII of the House of **Valois** was also briefly the husband of Henry VIII's sister, Mary **Tudor**. The son of Charles, Duke of Orleans, cousin to King Louis XI, the future Louis XII had little expectation of ascending the throne. In 1476, Louis XI forced the 14-year-old Louis, now Duke of Orleans, to marry Princess Jeanne, the king's deformed daughter. Hoping the marriage would be childless and thus eventually bring the duchy of Orleans to the Crown, the king compelled the young couple to consummate the marriage so as to rob Orleans of any later grounds for annulment. Upon the king's death in 1483, Orleans's attempt to become regent for his young cousin **Charles VIII** was thwarted by the new king's elder sister, Anne of Beaujeau. Orleans then led a group of disaffected nobles in a prolonged

armed resistance known as the “Fools’ War,” which came to an end with the duke’s defeat at Saint-Aubin in 1488. Imprisoned for three years, the duke, who had been displaced as heir to the throne by the birth of Charles’s son, accompanied the king on his invasion of Italy in 1494. However, the death of the prince in 1495 made Orleans king upon Charles’s sudden death in April 1498.

Louis XII’s first action was to secure an annulment from his invalid wife, which was readily granted by Pope Alexander VI after Louis bought the pope’s compliance with a French wife and title for Alexander’s son, Cesare Borgia. Louis then married his predecessor’s widow, Anne of Brittany, by whom he had two daughters. In 1499, Louis invaded **Italy**, attempting to



Louis XII was king of France from 1498 to 1515 and an important figure in European and papal politics. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

make good his claims to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan. Despite initial successes, Louis was expelled from Italy in 1503 by Ferdinand of Aragon. For the next few years, Louis concentrated on internal reforms, reducing taxes and codifying French law. Louis also encouraged the French Renaissance by bringing Italian humanists to his **court** and by employing Italian architects and artists to rebuild and refurbish some of the royal residences.

In 1509, Louis joined an anti-Venetian alliance crafted by Pope Julius II. When Louis defeated the Venetians at Agnadello, Julius formed an anti-French alliance that included Henry VIII. After an inconclusive naval campaign, Henry invaded France in 1513. Although the English king captured the towns of Théroutanne and Tournai, the death of Julius allowed Louis to make peace with the **papacy** and with Henry’s allies, Ferdinand of **Spain** and **Maximilian I** of the empire. In August 1514, Louis and Henry concluded a peace agreement whereby Louis undertook to pay Henry the arrears of the pension due the English Crown under the 1492 Treaty of **Etaples**, while Henry gave his sister Mary in marriage to Louis, who was 34 years her senior. Celebrated in October 1514, the marriage lasted less than three months, for Louis died on 1 January 1515. Having no sons, Louis was succeeded by his young cousin, **Francis I**.

See also Ferdinand and Isabella

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Lovell, Sir Thomas (1453–1524)

Serving as chancellor of the **Exchequer** and treasurer of the royal household, Sir Thomas Lovell was, especially in financial matters, one of the principal councilors of **Henry VII**. Born the fifth son of a Norfolk **gentry** family, Lovell entered Lincoln's Inn, one of the **Inns of Court** in **London**, in about 1473. He pursued a career as a **common law** lawyer until 1483, when he joined Buckingham's Rebellion, an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow **Richard III**. Attainted by **Parliament**, Lovell joined Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, in exile. In August 1485, Lovell fought for Richmond at **Bosworth Field**, where the earl won the Crown as Henry VII. The new king quickly demonstrated his confidence in Lovell by appointing him chancellor of the Exchequer on 12 October and esquire of the body (a royal servant in personal attendance on the king) on 27 October. Lovell also became treasurer of the king's household and a member of the royal **council**. On 8 November, Lovell was chosen Speaker of Henry's first Parliament, in which Lovell sat as member for Northamptonshire. As Speaker, Lovell, on 10 December, led the Commons delegation that requested Henry to marry **Elizabeth of York**. Although he likely sat in all Henry's Parliaments, Lovell never again served as Speaker.

Knighted after the Battle of **Stoke** in 1487, Lovell became constable of Nottingham Castle and eventually acquired various other offices. By 1499, Lovell, with Reginald **Bray**, was one of the most active royal ministers, being the most frequent attendee (behind Cardinal John **Morton**) of **council** meetings and so heavily involved in royal finance that the Venetian ambassador described him as Henry's "chief financial officer" (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 111). He was present at the celebrations surrounding the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494, accompanied the king to his meeting with Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1500, and was made knight of the Garter in 1503. Despite his association with the late king's harsh and unpopular financial demands, Lovell, unlike his colleagues Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, was favored by **Henry VIII**, who, upon his accession in 1509, reappointed Lovell as chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1510, Dudley, while awaiting execution for **treason**, addressed a request to Lovell and Bishop Richard **Foxe**, as executors of Henry VII's will, to rectify a long list of unjust exactions for "help and relief [of] the dead king's soul" (311).

Named constable of the **Tower of London** in 1509 and master of the Court of Wards in 1513, Lovell remained an influential royal advisor until about 1516,

when the rise of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** may have led him to retire from active involvement in government, although he retained most of his major offices until his death. Lovell died at his home in Middlesex on 25 May 1524.

See also Attainder; Empson-Dudley Affair; Wards and Liveries, Court of

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Lovell-Stafford Uprising

The Lovell-Stafford uprising of 1486 was the first significant Yorkist rebellion against the new regime of **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. In April 1486, eight months after the defeat and death of **Richard III** at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, three Yorkist survivors of the battle, Francis Lovell, Viscount Lovell, and the brothers Sir Thomas and Sir Humphrey Stafford, left sanctuary at Colchester Abbey and began inciting rebellion against Henry VII. Lovell focused his efforts on the area of Yorkshire around Middleham Castle, a former stronghold of Richard III, while the Staffords based themselves in Worcestershire. Henry VII received news of the uprisings in Lincoln, while traveling north with a large retinue on the first royal **progress** of his reign. Fearing that Lovell would inspire a strong response in traditionally Yorkist areas, Henry hurried northward to deal with the Yorkshire phase of the rebellion, reaching the city of York by 23 April. However, the rebels, lacking any member of the House of **York** around whom to rally, had difficulty recruiting supporters. The king sent his uncle, Jasper **Tudor**, Duke of Bedford, into Yorkshire to offer pardons to everyone but Lovell, an action that effectively ended the northern uprising and forced Lovell into hiding.

In Worcestershire, the Staffords, having no better success than Lovell, tried to keep their adherents together with rumors that Lovell had captured Henry VII. When these tales were replaced with definite news of Lovell's flight and the king's imminent arrival with an armed retinue, the uprising collapsed, and the Staffords fled again to sanctuary at Culham Abbey. Henry had the brothers dragged from the abbey and tried for **treason** before the Court of **King's Bench**, the justices finally concluding that sanctuary was unavailable in cases of **treason**. Although both men were convicted, only Sir Humphrey was executed. After finding temporary refuge with several Yorkist gentlemen in the north, Lovell fled to Burgundy and the court of Duchess **Margaret of York**, the sister of Richard III. In the following year, Lovell involved himself in the Lambert **Simmel** plot, a larger and better organized Yorkist attempt to overthrow Henry VII.

Inspired by the Lovell-Stafford uprising, several smaller Yorkist rebellions broke out in England in 1486. Although these were all quickly suppressed, many centered on the former lands and followers of the Neville family and thereby confirmed for Henry the wisdom of his decision to imprison Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, who was a Neville on his mother's side and the last direct male descendent of the House of York.

See also Netherlands

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Lumley, John, Lord Lumley (c. 1534–1609)

John Lumley, Lord Lumley, was a wealthy and important patron of learning and the arts in Elizabethan England. Born in Yorkshire, Lumley was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. In 1549, he inherited the family title and wealth, which came largely from income derived from numerous coal pits (mines) scattered across the Lumley lands in the county of Durham in northern England. In 1569, he was suspected of involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot** and briefly imprisoned. Thereafter, he avoided politics, although he came south each year to exercise his office as high steward of Oxford University, a post he held from 1559 until his death, and to take part in meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was an active member along with such antiquarian scholars as William **Camden**.

Lumley enlarged and embellished his residence at Lumley Castle in Durham and refurbished **Nonsuch Palace**, the former residence of **Henry VIII** that Lumley inherited from his father-in-law, Henry **Fitzalan**, Earl of Arundel. In 1592, Lumley, heeding Elizabeth's none-too-subtle hints, presented Nonsuch to the queen, who had long coveted it. For this wise generosity, Lumley received other lands from the queen.

In 1583, he established the Lumleian lectures at the College of Physicians and in 1588 was one of the sponsors of the public lectures given by the mathematician Thomas Hood. The Privy **Council** endorsed Hood's lectures, hoping that seamen would attend them and thereby improve their mathematical and navigational skills. Lumley was also a collector of books and works of art, amassing large holdings of both, including over 250 paintings. In 1603, Lumley entertained **James I** at Lumley Castle as the new king made his way south to **London**. Lumley subsequently became a tutor for James's eldest son, Prince Henry, who purchased Lumley's fine library of Latin books after Lumley's death in 1609.

See also Antiquarianism; Universities

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Lupset, Thomas (c. 1495–1530)

The English humanist Thomas Lupset wrote a number of influential devotional works that advocated moderate reform. The son of a **London** goldsmith, Lupset displayed an intellect that attracted the attention of John **Colet**, who sent Lupset to study under William **Lily** at St. Paul's School. Colet also supported Lupset's studies at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where, in about 1514, Lupset helped Desiderius **Erasmus** prepare for publication his editions of the New Testament and the letters of Jerome. A few years later, while studying at the University of Paris, where he took his bachelor's degree in about 1519, Lupset supervised the printing of Thomas **Linacre**'s translations of Galen and the second edition of Sir Thomas **More**'s *Utopia*. Upon returning to England in about 1520, Lupset, through the influence of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and Bishop Richard **Foxe**, became a lecturer in the classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He obtained his master's degree from Oxford in 1521 and soon after acquired his first ecclesiastical living, a chantry chapel in Essex. In 1523, Lupset joined Reginald **Pole** at the University of Padua, where the two English students acquired a high reputation for scholarship. While in **Italy**, both Lupset and Pole spent time in Venice with Richard **Pace**, the English ambassador, who tutored them on the intricacies of Anglo-Italian diplomacy.

In the 1520s, Lupset wrote several treatises, irenic in tone and conservative in thought, that address questions of devotion and spirituality but also display a concern for social issues such as **education** and the state of the commonwealth. In his *Exhortation to Young Men*, Lupset urged **Bible** study but also advised his readers to "ever conform your consent to agree with Christ's church" (McConica, *English Humanists*, 197). All his works, including the well-known *Treatise on Charity* and *A Compendious and Very Fruitful Treatise, Teaching the Way of Dying Well*, were published by Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer, in 1546. Lupset also appears as a character in the *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, Thomas **Starkey**'s famous work on the nature of a true commonwealth. Whether or not the treatise has any basis in actual conversations is unclear; in the *Dialogue*, Pole is the central character, with Lupset serving mainly to put forward propositions that Pole, for the most part, refutes.

After his return from Italy in about 1525, Lupset spent some time in Paris tutoring Wolsey's natural son, Thomas Winter. On his return to England in 1526, Lupset acquired a number of Church livings, including the London rectory of St. Martin,

Ludgate. Given the distaste for heterodoxy and social disorder that appears in his writings, it is uncertain how Lupset, who died in December 1530, would have reacted to **Henry VIII**'s break with Rome and the **dissolution of the monasteries**.

See also Chantries; Humanism

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Lutheranism

The term “Lutheranism” refers to the teachings of the German reformer Martin Luther and to the doctrines and practices that arose out of those teachings in Germany and elsewhere. In England, the theological **Reformation**, as opposed to the change in Church governance initiated by the Crown, was begun and advanced by reformers influenced by the ideas of Luther.

The introduction of **humanism** into England by Desiderius **Erasmus** and others at the turn of the fifteenth century created a reform movement among English scholars and churchmen who were determined to educate the clergy and laity in Christian doctrine and tradition and thereby reform ecclesiastical abuses. By the 1520s, the writings of Luther and of continental scholars who supported him began to circulate in England, where the ideas they espoused found ready acceptance among the adherents of **Lollardy**. Many reform-minded English churchmen and scholars also adopted these notions, especially the principle of justification by faith alone (rather than by faith and good works), which Luther had gleaned from the writings of Saint Paul, and the idea that traditional doctrine and practice should be judged solely on the basis of scripture. The latter idea encouraged study and teaching of the **Bible**, particularly at Cambridge, where a group of scholars meeting informally at the **White Horse Tavern** acquired the name “little Germany” for their openness to Lutheran thought.

By the late 1520s, when the importation and distribution of Luther's works were banned in England, reformers began splitting into two groups: those like Erasmus who accepted some role for humans in their own salvation adhered to Catholicism, while those like Luther who believed humans unable to contribute to their salvation became Protestants. Among the latter group, the most important Englishmen were Robert **Barnes**, William **Tyndale**, and John **Rogers**. Barnes, a leader of the

Die Epistel sanct Pau- li zu den Römern.

Das Erst Capitel.

I



Paulus ein knecht Jesu Christi: beruffen zum
Apostel/außgesündert zu predigen das Evangelion
gottes (welchs er zuvor verheissen hat/durch seine pro-
pheten /in der heyligen schrift/vō seinem sun/der im
geborn ist von dem samen Daud/nach dem fleisch/vnd krefftig:

The ideas of Lutheranism were spread in England by men such as Robert Barnes and William Tyndale who would have studied Luther's New Testament while exiled from England. (iStockphoto)

White Horse group, was arrested for preaching Lutheran doctrines; he eventually escaped to Germany where he joined other English exiles in a closer study of Lutheran ideas. Tyndale, through the publication of his English New Testament and his theological treatises, was instrumental in spreading Lutheran doctrines throughout England. Rogers completed Tyndale's English Old Testament and in

1537 published it with Tyndale's New Testament as part of the Matthew Bible. After spending more than a decade in Luther's Wittenberg, Rogers returned to England in 1547 to help frame the Edwardian Protestant Church. All three men were eventually burned for **heresy**.

Lutheran ideas also influenced such Henrician formulations of faith as the **Ten Articles** of 1536 and the **Bishops' Book** of 1537. They also exercised an increasing influence over Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and other English bishops. Under **Edward VI**, Lutheran ideas appeared in Cranmer's **Book of Common Prayer** and in the **Forty-two Articles**, the Edwardian statement of faith that later became the doctrinal basis of the Elizabethan Church. However, under Edward, and especially among the **Marian exile** communities in Germany and Switzerland in the 1550s, Calvinist doctrines, especially concerning such contentious issues as the **Eucharist**, eventually gained prominence and under **Elizabeth I** superseded Lutheranism as the basis of English Protestantism.

See also Anabaptism; Calvinism, English

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Lyly, John (c. 1554–1606)

Grandson of the noted grammarian William **Lily**, John Lyly was the most popular English writer of the 1580s and a strong influence on several prominent writers of the 1590s, including Robert **Greene** and Thomas **Lodge**. Born in Kent and educated at both Oxford and Cambridge, Lyly went in 1575 to **London**, where he served for several years as secretary to Edward de **Vere**, Earl of Oxford. The publication in 1579 of *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, the first part of his great romance novel, brought Lyly immediate acclaim. *Euphues and His England*, the second part of the work, was equally heralded on its publication in 1580. The distinct style of *Euphues*, which was elaborate, artificial, and marked by much alliteration and numerous historical, philosophical, and mythological allusions, heavily influenced various writers of the next decade, especially Thomas Lodge, who wrote several works in the euphuistic style. *Euphues* also brought Lyly to the attention of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, who employed the writer in his household until 1582.

Lyly next turned to writing plays and became vice-master of Paul's Boys, a company of child actors that frequently performed at **court**. In the 1580s, Lyly wrote a series of plays for the company, including *The Woman in the Moon*, *Galathea*, *Endimion*, *Love's Metamorphosis*, and *Mother Bombie*. Most of these plays were not published until the 1590s, and all except *Woman in the Moon* were prose works. When Paul's Boys disbanded in 1590, Lyly sought the court post of master of the revels, but the longevity of the incumbent, Edmund **Tilney**, frustrated this ambition. In 1589, Lyly entered the **Marprelate Tracts** controversy on the side of the bishops by publishing a tract entitled *Pappe with a Hatchet*.

In the 1590s, he served in **Parliament** for various constituencies. His fame faded after 1590 as the popularity of euphuism declined, and the court turned its attention to the new works of Christopher **Marlowe**, Thomas **Kyd**, and William **Shakespeare**. Lyly spent his last years on the publication of his plays and in a largely unsuccessful search for court **patronage**. He died in London in November 1606. Edward **Blount**, the printer of Shakespeare's **First Folio**, brought out an edition of Lyly's works in 1632.

See also Drama; Universities

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Machyn, Henry (c. 1498–1563)

Henry Machyn, a **London** merchant tailor and furnisher of funeral ornaments, is best known as the author of a diary that has become a valuable source for political and religious events in London during the reigns of **Edward VI** and **Mary I**. Machyn's diary was preserved in the library of Robert **Cotton**, which eventually became the basis of the British Library; the manuscript, which was damaged by an earlier fire at the Cottonian collection, first came to light in 1829 and was first edited and published in 1848. Running from July 1550 to August 1563, the diary begins with entries detailing the funerals Machyn supplied; however, in February 1551, Machyn noted the imprisonment of Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** in the **Tower of London**. Thereafter, Machyn's descriptions of funerals and family and local events are interspersed with notices of important public events, especially city pageants, pilloryings, executions, and religious incidents. Machyn was extremely interested in crime and punishment, recording everything from simple cases of prostitution and notorious local murders, to the trials and executions that followed the fall of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, in 1550; the collapse of **Wyatt's Rebellion** in 1554; and the violent exchanges that occurred between Spaniards and Englishmen after Prince **Philip**'s arrival in 1554. The diary is mainly a chronological listing of events, like a medieval chronicle, and the style is spare and detached, recording facts but betraying little emotion, even when family events are related. The diarist himself appears only rarely, and then only in impersonal third-person references.

Little is known of the man Henry Machyn. Although he is famous as a Londoner, studies of his handwriting have placed his origins in Yorkshire. Certain entries indicate that Machyn was conservative in religion and pleased with the restoration of Catholic worship under Mary. For instance, he records with interest the rousing welcome given to Bishop Edmund **Bonner** of London upon his return to the city after being released from confinement by Mary. Machyn also makes frequent mention of the fading of Catholic worship and the destruction of religious images after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. Machyn's most notable personal appearance in the diary occurs in November 1561, when he was forced to make public penance

at **Paul's Cross** for circulating a libelous story about the sexual doings of a French Protestant preacher. Machyn's last diary entry, written on 8 August 1563, notes the outbreak of **plague** in London, and the merchant's death on the following 11 October may have been a result of that epidemic.

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Madrigal

The madrigal was one of the most important musical genres of the Renaissance, although the English madrigal was a later derivative of the influential Italian madrigal of the mid-sixteenth century. In simple terms, a madrigal is a secular song conceived for several independent voice parts, often setting amorous or pastoral texts.

The sixteenth-century madrigal initially developed in **Italy** during the 1530s and 1540s and is unrelated to the fourteenth-century Italian poetic form of the same name. The earliest sixteenth-century madrigals seem to have had a limited circulation in England, and it was only during the 1580s that the Italian madrigal became widely popular there. A number of volumes of Italian madrigals fitted with English texts were published to cater to a growing middle-class amateur market, notably Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) and Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590).

The 1590s saw a flurry of activity by composer and publisher Thomas Morley, a key figure in the development of the English madrigal. Morley was largely responsible for introducing lighter styles of Italian madrigal such as the *balletto* and *canzonetta* to England. His *First Booke of Balletts* (1595) was published in both English and Italian editions and included transcriptions of works by the Italian composer Giovanni Gastoldi alongside his own compositions in a similar style. These works typically feature clear contrasts between imitative contrapuntal writing and simpler chordal textures and, most strikingly, a bipartite structure in which both sections conclude with a refrain setting the syllables "fa la la."

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, younger composers such as Thomas Weelkes and John Wilbye had begun to develop a weightier madrigal style, setting more serious texts and employing increasingly complex contrapuntal textures. Their works also featured some attempts at harmonic chromaticism, although nothing to rival the more concentrated experimentation of Italian contemporaries such as Gesualdo. In 1601, Morley published *The Triumphes of Oriana*,

an important anthology of madrigals by various composers compiled in honor of **Elizabeth I**. Following Morley's death in 1602, the English madrigal fell into a gradual decline, supplanted by the emerging lute-song as the secular song genre of choice for the amateur market.

The English madrigal represents an intense, short-lived burst of creativity whose lasting significance is as an example of the absorption and adaptation of Italian models—just one example of the broader influence of Italian culture in England during this period. It became one of the cornerstones of the early-twentieth-century revival of Tudor music, notably through Edmund Fellowes's monumental edition of the repertory (*The English Madrigal School*, 1913–24, 36 vols.). Despite the continued popularity of selected works with amateur vocal groups and choirs, however, the modern-day reception of the English madrigal is still very much overshadowed by that of its more illustrious Italian cousin.

Michael Gale

See also Music

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Maitland, William (c. 1528–1573)

William Maitland of Lethington was secretary to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and **Scotland's** most capable diplomat. In the late 1550s, Maitland served the Catholic regent of Scotland, Marie de **Guise**, who sent him on diplomatic missions to England and **France**. He abandoned the regent and joined the Protestant Lords of the Congregation in 1559, having become alarmed at the growth of French power in Scotland. He negotiated the Treaty of **Berwick** with England in February 1560 and then in July 1560 helped negotiate the Treaty of Edinburgh. Maitland was instrumental in persuading the Scots lords to support the **Edinburgh** agreement, being convinced that an English alliance was of greater benefit to Scotland than a French one.

On Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, she named Maitland her secretary and gave him the management of Scottish relations with England. Not strongly attached to either **Protestantism** or **Catholicism**, Maitland endeavored to stabilize the Scottish monarchy by winning recognition from **Elizabeth I** of Mary's right of inheritance to the English throne. Maitland hoped that a firm promise of the English



William Maitland was a Scottish diplomat and secretary to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; his loyalty to her led to his downfall. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

Crown would prevent Mary from trying to restore Catholicism in Scotland. But Elizabeth's refusal to recognize Mary as her heir; the Scottish queen's marriage to Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley; and Mary's increasing reliance on David **Rizzio**, her Catholic secretary, reduced Maitland's influence with the queen by early 1566. Maitland probably knew of the plot to murder Rizzio, but he did not directly participate. He was also probably aware of the conspiracy, a year later, to murder Darnley, but again was not directly involved.

Although opposed to Mary's subsequent marriage to James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, Maitland supported her until June 1567, when fear of Bothwell led him to join the Protestant opposition. When Bothwell fled after the Battle of **Carberry**, Maitland worked quietly for the imprisoned queen's restoration and continued to support her even after her flight to England in

1568 after the Battle of **Langside**. Maitland sought to effect the marriage of Mary to Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, a scheme that led eventually to Norfolk's execution and Maitland's imprisonment by the Scottish regent, James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray. Maitland was released after Moray's assassination in 1570, but in April 1571, during the civil war between supporters and opponents of Mary, he joined the pro-Mary forces holding **Edinburgh** Castle. Although suffering from increasingly bad health, Maitland stood siege in the castle until May 1573. He avoided execution only by dying in prison a few weeks later.

See also Darnley Murder

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Margaret, Queen of Scotland

See Tudor, Margaret

Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy (1446–1503)

After 1485, Margaret of York, sister of **Edward IV**, used her wealth and influence as Duchess of Burgundy to support plots to overthrow **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. The daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, Margaret married Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in 1468 as part of a political and commercial alliance between Burgundy, England's chief trading partner, and the politically insecure House of **York**. In October 1470, after being overthrown by the Lancastrians, Edward found refuge with his sister and brother-in-law in Burgundy, from where he launched a successful restoration bid six months later. Meanwhile, Margaret was instrumental in detaching her favorite brother, George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, from his alliance with the Lancastrians; when Edward returned to England, Clarence rejoined him with a large body of troops.

As Duchess of Burgundy, Margaret was a noted patron of the arts and the Church. By 1471, the English merchant William **Caxton** had entered her service, probably as a financial advisor. Caxton showed the duchess his half-finished English translation of Raoul Lefevre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troie*, a retelling of the legends of Troy. Margaret corrected Caxton's English and encouraged him to complete the work. By late 1471, Caxton was on the duchess's service in Cologne, where he learned the use of the new movable-type **printing** press. The duchess was thus partially responsible for the first book ever printed in English, Caxton's 1476 edition of *The History of Troy*.

After the death of her brother **Richard III** at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485, Margaret, whose husband had died in 1477, became an eager and persistent supporter of efforts to dethrone Henry VII and restore the House of York. Her **court** at Malines in Burgundy became a haven for Yorkist exiles, many of whom joined Lambert **Simmel** in **Ireland** in 1487. Margaret provided Simmel, who claimed to be her nephew Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, with men and money. She gave similar support to Perkin **Warbeck**, who claimed to be Edward IV's son Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. In 1492, Margaret met and publicly recognized Warbeck as York, whom she had last seen in 1480, three years before he disappeared in the **Tower of London**. Whether her acceptance of Warbeck rested more on hope than belief is now difficult to gauge; however, she wrote letters to the courts of Europe affirming her belief and helped sustain Warbeck for six years as a significant threat to the House of Tudor.

Margaret's pro-Yorkist activities were curtailed after 1496 by the **Intercursus Magnus**, a treaty between Henry VII and her stepdaughter's husband, **Maximilian**, Duke of Burgundy, who sought Henry's assistance against **France**. Also, Warbeck's 1497 capture and confession of his imposture forced Margaret to ask Henry for pardon, although she remained a staunch partisan of York until her death in November 1503.

See also Netherlands; Princes in the Tower

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Marian Exiles

The term “Marian exiles” refers to the English Protestants, both clergy and laity, who fled England during the reign of **Mary I** (1553–1558), the staunchly Catholic daughter of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon**. Although some of the exiles were political refugees, most were religious dissenters escaping the persecution of Protestants officially initiated by the Marian regime in 1555. Settled mainly in Germany and Switzerland, most of the exiles returned home after 1558 to become part of the Protestant Church of **Elizabeth I**.

When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, she began the process of restoring Roman Catholicism. To limit opposition, the queen’s government encouraged prominent Protestants to leave the country. Although told to expect arrest, most were given sufficient time and opportunity to escape. By 1554, almost 1,000 English men, women, and children had fled to Europe to preserve their lives and their right to worship as they chose. Most exiles settled in the Protestant cities of Germany and Switzerland, such as Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Emden, Wesel, Zurich, and Geneva. Each community had its own social complexion. Frankfurt included many of **Edward VI**’s bishops and councillors, and Zurich attracted many young reformers who later became leaders of the Elizabethan Church. The wealthy Emden community contained many gentlemen and merchants, while the Wesel group comprised less wealthy craftsmen and artisans. Several exile communities experienced religious disputes that foreshadowed later conflicts between **Puritans** and moderates in Elizabeth’s Church. In Frankfurt, arguments between those who wished to worship as ordained by the Second Edwardian **Book of Common Prayer**—led by Dr. Richard **Cox** and known as Coxians—clashed so severely with those who wished more radical reforms—led by John **Knox** and known as Knoxians—that the community split, with the reformist group retiring to John **Calvin**’s Geneva in 1555.

The exiles were heavily involved in writing and distributing Protestant literature. They smuggled into England more than 100 different works that explained Protestant beliefs and encouraged Protestants in England to hold to the faith, especially after the Marian government began burning heretics in 1555. Among the works produced were Knox’s *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, the first edition of John **Foxe**’s “**Book of Martyrs**,” and the Geneva **Bible**. Although some exiles left for political reasons, such as Sir Peter **Carew**, who fled for involvement in **Wyatt’s Rebellion**, most were religious refugees who returned soon after Mary’s death, determined to give England the reformed religion

they had practiced in Europe. Knox, unwelcome in England because of the queen's anger over *First Blast*, returned to **Scotland** where he became an influential leader of the Scottish **Reformation**. Many Marian exiles later served the Elizabethan church and state, such as Edmund **Grindal**, who became archbishop of Canterbury, and Francis **Walsingham**, who became secretary of state. Others became the founders of the Puritan movement, which sought throughout Elizabeth's reign to carry out greater reform of the English Church.

See also Catholicism, English; Marian Martyrs; Protestantism

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Marian Martyrs

The term “Marian martyrs” refers to a group of English Protestants who were burned to death for **heresy** by the Catholic regime of **Mary I** between 1555 and 1558. Thanks to the compelling, if biased, accounts of their deaths in John **Foxe's** “**Book of Martyrs**,” the faith and suffering of the Marian martyrs lingered in the English national memory for hundreds of years, creating a deep and lasting hatred of the pope and Roman Catholicism.

When **Parliament** restored the English Church to papal allegiance in 1554, it also revived the government's authority to execute persons convicted of heresy in ecclesiastical courts. The statute granting this authority, known as *De Heretico Comburendo* (“Concerning the Burning of a Heretic”), had been passed in 1401 but was revised under **Henry VIII** in 1534 and repealed under **Edward VI** in 1547 (and was to be repealed again under **Elizabeth I** in 1559). Determined to rid her realm of Protestants, Mary sanctioned the opening of heresy trials in January 1555. The first condemned heretic to suffer was John **Rogers**, who died at Smithfield on 4 February. Because many upper-class Protestants had been encouraged to leave the country, most of the men and women tried for heresy were of the lower classes—craftspeople and shopkeepers, especially from **London** and the towns of the southeast where **Protestantism** was strongest. A few leaders of the Edwardian Protestant Church were also brought to trial, the most notable being Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, the author of the **Book of Common Prayer**; Hugh **Latimer**, a Henrician bishop of Worcester; and Nicholas **Ridley**, the Edwardian bishop of London. Latimer and Ridley died in October 1555, with Latimer telling his companion, “We shall this day light such a candle . . . in England as I trust shall never be put out” (Loades, *Oxford Martyrs*, 220). Cranmer died in March 1556, after first recanting his Protestantism and then recanting his recantation.

Almost 300 people died for their Protestant faith in Mary's reign. This number was far fewer than the numbers being burned for heresy elsewhere in Catholic Europe, but it was unprecedented in English experience. Instead of instilling a horror of heresy in the populace as the government intended, the burnings only aroused sympathy for the victims and anger against the government, earning for the queen her later appellation of "Bloody Mary." **Philip of Spain**, Mary's husband, advised his wife to stop the burnings because of the damage they were doing to her popularity. In Elizabeth's reign, when almost as many people died for their Catholic faith, the memory of the Marian martyrs was immortalized by John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (known popularly as the "Book of Martyrs"), which transformed Protestant heroes into English national heroes and turned Catholicism into the great enemy of English Church and state.

See also Marian Exiles

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Markets

See Fairs and Markets

Marlowe, Christopher (1564–1593)

Except for William **Shakespeare**, Christopher Marlowe is today considered the greatest Elizabethan dramatist. The son of a Canterbury shoemaker, Marlowe was educated at Cambridge, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1584. In 1587, university authorities delayed granting Marlowe his master's degree until they were assured by the Privy **Council** that his recent visit to William **Allen**'s Catholic seminary at Reims involved "matters touching the benefit of his country." Marlowe had been employed by Sir Francis **Walsingham**, the secretary of state, to spy on Englishmen at Reims for the government. Marlowe probably came to Walsingham's attention through the secretary's kinsman Thomas Walsingham, who was Marlowe's literary patron.

Marlowe moved to **London** about 1587, the year his play *Tamburlaine the Great* was first performed by the Admiral's Men. With its sweeping story, exotic

Asian settings, and powerful blank verse, *Tamburlaine* was an immediate triumph, and Marlowe's plays were soon in demand by both theater owners and well-known actors like Edward **Alleyn**. Marlowe's other successes included *The Jew of Malta*, which later inspired Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, *Edward II*, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, and *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, which was jointly written with Thomas **Nashe**. Left unfinished at Marlowe's death, the poem *Hero and Leander* was possibly written in competition with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* for the **patronage** of Henry **Wriothesley**, Earl of Southampton. Marlowe is perhaps best known today for his poem "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," which begins, "Come live with me, and be my love."

Given to drinking and frequenting taverns with his writer friends, Marlowe was often in trouble with the law; he spent two weeks in jail in 1589 for involvement in a brawl that left one man dead. In May 1593, his fellow playwright and roommate Thomas **Kyd** was interrogated for certain atheistic writings found in his room. Under torture, Kyd incriminated Marlowe, who was summoned before the council but otherwise not punished. On 30 May, Marlowe spent the day at a London tavern drinking and talking with three associates of Thomas Walsingham. After dinner, a quarrel erupted over the bill between Marlowe and one of the men. Marlowe drew a weapon, and the man stabbed him in self-defense, killing the playwright instantly. Given Marlowe's intelligence work for the government and his recent interrogation by the council, both contemporaries and modern historians have theorized that the quarrel was devised to hide the fact that Marlowe was, for unknown reasons, murdered. Many of Marlowe's literary contemporaries paid tribute to his talent; Shakespeare, whose own plays have been attributed to Marlowe by some in the twentieth century, remembered Marlowe in *As You Like It*.

See also Universities

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Marprelate Tracts

Between 1587 and 1589, three men, Job Throckmorton, Robert Waldegrave, and John **Penry**, secretly distributed a series of seven devastating printed attacks on the bishops of the **Anglican Church** throughout **London** and England. The three

published the tracts under the pseudonym “Martin Marprelate” (a wordplay based on “mar a prelate”). Throckmorton was probably the author of the tracts, Waldegrave was the printer, and Penry acted as business manager. The Marprelate tracts aimed at thoroughly discrediting bishops and other ecclesiastical officials who were opposing **Puritan** reforms in the Anglican Church.

The tracts attacked the bishops personally, ridiculing their learning, mocking their writing style, and taunting them with their inability to uncover the identity of Martin Marprelate. Because the tracts were written with power and conviction, they found a large audience in anticlerical circles. When the bishops launched an investigation into the source and authorship of the tracts, they uncovered much of the classical structure that English Puritanism had been illegally and covertly developing within the sanctioned episcopal structure of the Anglican Church in the 1580s. These discoveries caused alarm within the government and gave substance to the bishops’ claims of the existence of a subversive Puritan threat to the stability and order of the English Church and state. When many of the leaders of the classical movement were discovered to be friends and associates of the Marprelate group, the bishops were able to arrest and prosecute the classics leaders and so root out the movement.

In 1589, the authorities discovered and destroyed the Marprelate press. Penry and Waldegrave fled to **Scotland**, where the latter became printer to the Scottish king. Penry returned to England and was executed in 1593 for being a **Separatist**. Throckmorton was tried for being the author of the tracts, but he admitted nothing and was eventually freed after friends and relatives interceded on his behalf with **Elizabeth I**.

See also Anticlericalism; Classical Movement; James I

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Marriage

Marriage was an important social milestone in Tudor England because it marked the official passage to adult independence. To be a householder, a man had to be married; few economically independent bachelors existed, even within the nobility and **gentry**. Because marriage required that a couple be able to support themselves, the average age of marriage in Tudor England was high—27 for men and 24 for women among the lower classes, and about three to four years younger

among the upper classes and the citizens of **London**. Parental permission was required for anyone under 21 to marry, but many marriages, even of older children, were arranged by parents. Such arrangements were particularly common among the peerage and gentry, where landed estates were involved and political alliances were as important as social and economic considerations.

The bride's parents were expected to provide her with a dowry, a settlement of money or property that came under her husband's control and that often determined her attractiveness as a prospective marriage partner. Betrothal was a legally binding contract, and any breach of a promise to marry was prosecuted in the **church courts**. Prior to the wedding, marriage banns were called in the parish church on three successive Sundays. The banns were a type of marriage announcement designed to provide time and opportunity for uncovering impediments to the match. Such impediments might be the existence of a prior betrothal or marriage or the discovery that the couple was too closely related, a real possibility within the relatively small and highly intermarried landed classes.

The wedding itself was celebrated in the parish church with an exchange of rings. In the absence of a modern marriage certificate, legal recognition of the union was achieved by recording it in the parish register. Upon marriage, a woman took her husband's surname. Once married, a couple was legally required to live together, with separations permitted only by court order and then only for such extreme circumstances as cruelty and adultery. Divorce was rarely granted, although annulment (which ended **Henry VIII's** first marriage) could be granted for good cause, such as discovery of a prior marriage.

See also Women

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Marriage Question (Elizabeth I)

When **Elizabeth I** came to the throne at age 25 in 1558, the necessity for her to marry quickly was almost universally acknowledged. This urgency arose from a practical need to secure the succession—Elizabeth required an undisputed heir.

The heir apparent in 1558 was Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, a foreign and pro-French Catholic whose possible succession greatly troubled Protestants. Beyond the succession, the assumption of the age was that a woman could not rule a kingdom and required a husband to rule for her, a view accepted by **Mary I**, who quickly took **Philip II** of Spain as her spouse. But Mary's loveless match, resulting in the loss of **Calais** during a war fought as Spain's reluctant ally, and the later disastrous marriage of Mary Stuart to Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley (resulting in the **Darnley murder** and Mary's overthrow), taught Elizabeth the great dangers to queens of taking the wrong husband.

Complicated by the question of religion and the need for a useful alliance, foreign marriages could make England a mere pawn to another country's interests. Marriage to a subject deprived England of a valuable foreign alliance and threatened the creation of internal political factions. Even though Elizabeth's Privy **Council** urged her to marry in 1559, and the **Parliaments** of 1559, 1563, 1566, and 1576 petitioned her to marry, both councillors and members of Parliament were seriously divided over which of the queen's many suitors would make the best husband. Thus, although there was strong agreement with the general principle that the queen must marry, there was much contradictory advice offered her as to whom, in particular, she should marry.

Many candidates were proposed, including Philip II, Archduke Charles of Austria, and Charles IX of France, all of whom were rejected for religion (all were Catholic) or age (Charles IX was 14). Eric XIV of Sweden was Protestant, but alliance with his small country brought no great political or military benefits. Elizabeth's two most serious marriage suits involved Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, in the early 1560s, and Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, in the late 1570s. For political and personal reasons, neither marriage occurred, and Elizabeth defied the expectations of her times and remained unmarried to her death.

See also Dudley Marriage Suit; Virgin Queen

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Mary, Queen of France

See Tudor, Mary

Mary, Queen of Scots

See Stuart, Mary, Queen of Scots

Mary I (1516–1558)

Mary I was the daughter of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon** and the fourth monarch of the House of **Tudor**. Born at Greenwich on 18 February 1516, Mary, as her parents' only surviving child, was given a thorough humanist **education**, as befitted the heir to the throne. She was tutored for a time by the Spanish scholar Juan Luis **Vives**, who wrote *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (*Instruction of a Christian Woman*) to guide her schooling. However, because she was female, the princess was given no training in politics or government, for as both the king and Vives believed, governing was a male occupation. Although he used his daughter as a diplomatic pawn, betrothing her at various times to the son of **Francis I** or to the Emperor **Charles V**, Henry never fully accepted her as heir, and rumors even circulated that the king meant to be succeeded by his bastard son, Henry **Fitzroy**, Duke of Richmond. In 1525, the king established Mary in her own household at Ludlow, where she served as nominal head of the **Council in the Marches of Wales**. She was not, however, created Princess of **Wales**, since such title would have formally recognized her as heir to the throne. After about 1526, the king's determined quest to annul his marriage to Catherine and contract a new marriage with Anne **Boleyn**, an effort that led eventually to the abolition of papal authority in England, was undertaken to replace Mary as heir with a legitimate son.

From 1527 to 1533, while the validity of her parents' marriage was being debated, Mary retained her own household and continued her education. However, she increasingly identified herself with her mother's cause and like her mother came to view Charles V, acting through his ambassador Eustace **Chapuy**s, as her friend and protector. In 1533, Mary was forced to reside in the household of her infant sister Elizabeth, who was recognized as the king's true heir. Even after her mother's death in January 1536, Mary refused to accept this demotion, or the marital and religious changes that had accompanied it. In May 1536, the execution of Anne Boleyn raised Mary's hopes for a reconciliation with her father. Instead, Henry demanded that Mary formally endorse the Act of **Supremacy** and the Act of **Succession**, which proclaimed the break with Rome and her own illegitimacy. When her refusal drove the king to consider executing her for **treason**, Mary, overwhelmed by grief, fear, and illness, submitted, thus saving her life but wrecking her conscience. Through the subsequent efforts of Jane **Seymour** and Katherine **Parr**, Mary eventually established good relations with her father and siblings. In 1543, **Parliament** restored Mary to the succession, placing her next after her brother, Edward.

Upon **Edward VI**'s accession in 1547, Mary was recognized as heir to the throne. Despite increasing pressure from Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, the leaders of Edward's regency governments, Mary refused to abandon Catholic rites and practices. She again sought



Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, is remembered for her unpopular marriage and her attempt to return England to the Roman Catholic Church. (Library of Congress)

the protection of Charles V, even attempting to persuade him to help her flee the country. This uncompromising Catholicism led King Edward and Northumberland to replace Mary as heir with the king's Protestant cousin Jane **Grey**. When Edward died in July 1553, loyalty to Mary and to the established succession foiled the king's scheme and allowed the princess to ascend the throne as Mary I.

The new queen appointed a **council** composed of experienced Henrician and Edwardian ministers, who were largely Protestant, and loyal, longtime Catholic servants, who were largely inexperienced. Given her past dependence on Charles V, Mary initially placed great confidence in the Imperial ambassador, Simon **Renard**, who had little trouble in persuading her to marry the emperor's son, Prince **Philip**. Although the match was unpopular, even sparking a major uprising in January 1554, the queen married Philip in July. Hopes that the union would produce a Catholic heir were dashed by the queen's age and ill health. Two false pregnancies convinced Philip, who found his wife unattractive and his authority limited, to spend little time in England. In 1557, he persuaded the reluctant English government to declare war on **France** as **Spain's** ally, an action that led to the French seizure of **Calais** in 1558.

Although the Marian government has traditionally been depicted as divided and ineffective, it achieved several economic and administrative successes. The regime encouraged trade, including explorations that opened the Russian, African, and Baltic markets; attempted to reform the coinage and reduce inflation; revised the customs system; and reorganized the revenue courts. However, these successes have been overshadowed by the failures of the queen's religious policy. Working through Parliament, Mary reversed the Henrician and Edwardian **Reformations**. While the restoration of Catholic worship was generally popular, the return of papal authority was not, and the queen was forced to abandon any hope of recovering former monastic properties. Working with her kinsman Reginald **Pole**, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1556, Mary sought to create an effective and educated clergy as the foundation for a strong English Catholic Church.

Unable to accept the continued practice of **Protestantism** among her subjects, Mary revived the **heresy laws**, and almost 300 Protestants, including such high-profile figures as former Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, died at the stake. The burnings generated great odium for the queen, whom later English Protestants called "Bloody Mary," and for English Catholicism, which for centuries was haunted by the memory of the **Marian martyrs**. The queen's religious policies also drove many English Protestants into exile in Germany and Switzerland, where they adopted the continental **Calvinism** that eventually became the basis of Elizabethan Puritanism.

Mary died at age 42 on 17 November 1558. Her Church was doomed by the brevity of her reign and her inability to produce a Catholic heir. Blessed with more time, Mary's Protestant sister, **Elizabeth I**, completely and permanently reversed her sister's religious policies.

See also Coinage, Debasement of; *Devise* (of the Crown); Dissolution of the Monasteries; Divorce, Royal; Exchequer; Exploration and Discovery; Marian Exiles; Northumberland's Coup; Wyatt's Rebellion

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Mary Rose

The *Mary Rose*, one of the premier warships in **Henry VIII's navy**, sank in Portsmouth Harbor in 1545, becoming one of the worst naval disasters of Tudor times. Named for the king's sister Mary **Tudor**, the *Mary Rose* was constructed in Portsmouth in 1509–1510. A large ship of 600 tons, the *Mary Rose* was probably the first English ship designed to carry heavy guns on a special gun deck that allowed for firing through lidded (or closable) ports cut in the side of the vessel, an innovation in ship design developed during the last years of **Henry VII**. The *Mary Rose* may also have been carvel-built, a newer construction method using smooth edge-to-edge planking fastened to the ship's frame with oaken nails. In service by the late summer of 1511, the *Mary Rose* saw action in the **Anglo-French War** of 1513, serving as the flagship of Sir Edward Howard, who praised the vessel for its speed and handling. In 1520, the *Mary Rose* helped clear the seas in preparation for Henry VIII's journey to **France** for the **Field of Cloth of Gold**. Refitted several times over the next decade, the ship was rebuilt and uprated to 700 tons in 1536.

The sinking of the *Mary Rose* occurred on 19 July 1545, as the ship, commanded by Sir George **Carew**, vice admiral of the fleet, maneuvered to meet a French force sailing into Portsmouth Harbor. Flying the red-crossed flag of St. George and trailing green Tudor streamers, the ship came around before the wind. As the breeze caught her sails, the *Mary Rose* began to heel and was soon leaning so much that Carew's uncle, Gawen **Carew**, commanding another vessel, came in close to ask his nephew what was amiss. Carew responded that he "had a sort of knaves he could not rule" (McKee, *King Henry VIII's Mary Rose*, 66). From Southsea Castle, just over a mile away, Henry VIII watched the *Mary Rose* heel over and slip under

the waves until only two tilted masts protruded from the sea. The horrified watchers are said to have heard a long wail issue from the doomed ship as it carried its crew below the water with remarkable speed. The vice admiral's wife fainted at the sight, the king himself helping to comfort her. Although it normally carried just over 400 men, the *Mary Rose* on this day bore 600–700, having taken on a large complement of infantry. Only about 35 of the lighter-armed sailors were able to swim to safety; anyone in armor, such as Carew, had no chance.

Although the French later claimed their guns had sunk the *Mary Rose*, the disaster probably stemmed from a combination of overloading and poor discipline. The weight of the extra men brought the ship's open gunports too close to the waterline, causing water to rush in when the ship heeled over in a gust of wind. Although attempts were made to raise the ship in 1545, the *Mary Rose* remained on the bottom of Portsmouth Harbor until 11 October 1982, when the surviving portion of the vessel was lifted from the sea, many of its valuable artifacts having already been excavated in the previous decade. The *Mary Rose* can today be seen in a special dry dock in Portsmouth.

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Masque

Masque was a form of courtly **entertainment** that developed out of the English tradition of mummings and disguisings. Since the reign of **Henry VIII**, Shrovetide and **Christmas** celebrations at court featured masques, and masques also became an important part of royal and political celebrations, as for instance the celebration of a royal wedding, a dignitary's visit, or the signing of a treaty.

As an artistic genre, masque became more defined with the collaborative creations of Ben **Jonson** and Inigo Jones for the **court** of **James I** and Anne of Denmark. Before Jonson, a "mask" or "masking" might refer simply to an entertainment featuring an entrance of disguised dancers who performed a prepared piece before drawing courtiers into the **dance**. With Jonson and Jones's 1605 *The Masque of Blackness* came a new form that fully integrated performance with spectacle. While professional players would play the speaking parts, members of the court



Masques began as groups of costumed and masked individuals who mingled at court celebrations, but evolved in complexity of form, costuming, and scenery throughout the sixteenth century. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

wealth, and power. They celebrated the notion of a divinely ordained hierarchy and order with the monarch at its pinnacle. They often emphasized the monarch's "natural" and benevolent governing power by showing the triumph of virtue, intellect, and reason, qualities the monarch embodied perfectly according to the masque's representation, over unruly elements in nature. By "creating heroic roles for the leaders of society to fill" masques held the capacity to educate and persuade through "praise" (Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, 40). Monarchs could also employ masques and other courtly entertainments to forward a particular image of themselves and to make political statements. **Elizabeth I** was particularly attuned to the power of court spectacle to project the proper image and frequently participated in them.

performed the dances, as skilled dancing, unlike acting, was not only a suitable activity for persons of rank, but an expected and valued accomplishment. Jonson and Jones turned the division of parts between professional actors and courtly dancers into a "metaphysical conceit," organizing the production into an antimasque—the presentation of "a world of disorder or vice" performed by the professionals—and masque—the presentation of "the ideal world" to "overcome and supercede" the first, and performed by the dancers (Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, 40).

Although masques could vary significantly "in form," among their "constant" features were the centrality of the monarch to the masque's allegoric vision, the "roles for members of the court within an idealized fiction," and a "climactic moment" in which "the fiction opened outward to include the whole court" as the masquers invited the audience to join the dance (Orgel, *Illusion of Power*, 39).

With elaborate sets, impressive stage mechanics, and ornate costumes, masques were rich displays of majesty,

Sarah E. Johnson

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Mass

The Communion service and central ritual of the Roman Catholic Church is known as the Mass. The name derived from the Latin formula of dismissal at the end of the service: *Ite, missa est* ("Go, it is ended"). According to Catholic teaching, the Mass is a sacramental reenactment of the death and resurrection of Jesus. The Mass celebrant, who must be an ordained priest, is the agency whereby God transforms the bread and wine (without altering their physical appearance) into the body and blood of Christ, a doctrine known as **transubstantiation**. Each Mass is seen by Catholics as a repetition of the sacrifice Christ made on the cross at Calvary.

Protestant reformers strongly objected to this sacrificial character and to the belief that the bread and wine became the actual body and blood of Christ. Although Protestant views of the nature of the Communion elements varied, most reformers shared John **Calvin's** belief that the bread and wine were merely commemorative of Christ's Last Supper. For this reason, many reformed churches distributed both bread and wine to congregants at Communion, a departure from the Catholic tradition of distributing only the bread. The Protestant wine, being only wine, was more easily administered than the precious blood of Christ that was the Catholic wine. To encourage greater participation by the congregation, Protestants favored the use of the vernacular over the use of Latin; and to reduce the role of the priest, Protestants rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In England, the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 repudiated the Mass and restored the 1552 **Book of Common Prayer** with its English Communion service. The settlement specifically denied transubstantiation, but **Elizabeth I** insisted on the addition of the following sentence (to be uttered at the distribution of the bread or wine) to make the Communion service more acceptable to conservatives: "The body [or blood] of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." Because this vague formulation could be read to imply belief in the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine, **Puritans** objected to the **Book of Common Prayer** as being too close in spirit to the Mass and devoted much unsuccessful effort during Elizabeth's reign to obtaining revision of the service.

See also Calvinism, English; Catholicism, English; Eucharist; Protestantism; Sacraments

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Master of the Revels

See Officers of State

Maximilian I (1459–1519)

Although he repeatedly proved himself unreliable, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I was a frequent ally of **Henry VIII**. Playing upon the young king's desire for military glory, Maximilian several times used Henry to secure political and economic benefits for himself at the expense of England.



Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, sometime ally of Henry VIII, was another critical figure in early-sixteenth-century Europe. (Library of Congress)

The son of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III of the House of **Habsburg**, Maximilian wed Mary of Burgundy in 1477, shortly after her father's death made her ruler of the duchy. In 1493, after a long war to prevent French dismemberment of his wife's inheritance, Maximilian concluded the Treaty of Senlis with **Charles VIII**; the agreement officially recognized Philip, Maximilian's son by Mary, as ruler of the **Netherlands**, the wealthiest part of the Burgundian state. In the same year, Maximilian succeeded his father as emperor. Hardworking and ambitious, Maximilian found that his grandiose schemes were constantly thwarted by lack of funds. In 1494, he joined the **Holy League**, an anti-French alliance that eventually included **Henry VII** of England. Although anxious to check French expansion into **Italy**, the emperor's scarce resources prevented him from playing an effective role in

the peninsula. In 1495, Maximilian concluded two important marriage alliances with **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain**. The emperor's daughter Margaret married Juan, heir to the Spanish throne, while his son Philip married Juan's sister. When Juan died shortly thereafter, Maximilian's grandson Charles, who was born in 1500, became his father's heir to the Netherlands and his mother's to the Crown of Spain.

In 1512, Maximilian joined the anti-French alliance being promoted by Henry VIII. Although bound by treaty to conduct a full-scale campaign against the French, the emperor supported Henry's 1513 invasion of **France** with only a small force that he put under the command and in the pay of the English king. His men participated in the Battle of the **Spurs** on 16 August, but otherwise played little part in the capture of Thérouanne a week later. He flattered Henry by calling him "brother" and "son" and graciously allowed the English king to enter the captured town first. However, the fall of Thérouanne, and later of Tournai, which had been achieved by English arms and English gold, were of far greater importance to Maximilian, as regent for his grandson in the Netherlands, than they were to England. When Henry handed Thérouanne to his ally on 27 August, Maximilian had achieved an important objective at the cost of a little flattery. In 1514, much to Henry's chagrin, Maximilian followed Spain out of the anti-French alliance, leaving England isolated. A similar betrayal occurred in 1517, when a French bribe convinced the emperor to join a French league, even though he had just accepted an English subsidy to support an anti-French alliance.

Although forced to accept the virtual independence of Switzerland with the Treaty of Basle in 1499 and acknowledge French control of Milan in 1516, Maximilian, at his death on 12 January 1519, left the House of Habsburg in possession of various Crowns and kingdoms. His grandson Charles, who had become Duke of Burgundy in 1506 and king of Spain (as Charles I) in 1516, succeeded Maximilian on the Imperial throne (as **Charles V**) in 1519.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

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Medici, Catherine de (1519–1589)

Catherine de Medici, daughter of a powerful Florentine merchant family and cousin to Pope **Clement VII**, became the wife of one French king, the mother of three

others, and a powerful force in French politics during the reign of **Elizabeth I**. Hoping, with the pope's aid, to extend French influence in Italy, **Francis I** accepted Catherine as a bride for his second son in 1533. When the pope reneged on his promises, the French **court** dismissed Catherine as a low-born daughter of Italian shopkeepers, an unfit consort for a French prince. She became queen at **Henri II**'s accession in 1547 but had no influence with her husband, who was dominated by his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. After a decade of childlessness, Catherine gave birth to 10 children in rapid succession after 1544. In 1559, her husband's accidental death during a tournament initiated a period of civil and religious war in **France**.

In 1560, after the brief reign of her eldest son, **Francis II** (husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots), Catherine became regent for her nine-year-old second son, Charles IX. She dominated him but failed to impose either peace or order on a kingdom increasingly divided by religion. A decade of civil wars, in which even Elizabeth intervened on the Protestant side, culminated in 1572 in the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre**, in which more than 10,000 Huguenots perished. Catherine, fearing that the **Huguenots** meant to murder her and kidnap Charles IX in retaliation for an assassination attempt on their leader, instigated the bloodshed as a way to deprive the Protestants of their political and military leaders. Although celebrated in Catholic Europe, the massacre only turned the Huguenots against the monarchy and destroyed Catherine's credibility with Protestant rulers, especially Elizabeth.

After the 1574 accession of her third son, **Henri III**, Catherine's political influence gradually waned. In the 1570s and early 1580s, she supported the ultimately unsuccessful suit of her youngest son, Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, for the hand of Elizabeth, but her encouragement of the match rested mainly on a desire to remove the unruly duke from the kingdom and to obtain English financing for his political ambitions in the **Netherlands**. After the duke's death in 1584, Henri of Navarre, a Protestant, became heir to the throne, and France sank deeper into religious war and civil turmoil. Catherine died in January 1589, only months before an assassin slew Henri III and ended the **Valois** dynasty.

See also Blois, Treaty of; Hampton Court, Treaty of; Henri IV; Le Havre Expedition

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Medicine and Disease

Although most people continued to rely on folk healers and a variety of popular and magical treatments for their medical needs, the practice of medicine in Tudor

England was marked by increasing professionalization and increasing government regulation. Like the rest of sixteenth-century Europe, Tudor England experienced recurring outbreaks of epidemic disease, especially **plague**.

Tudor medicine was practiced by three types of specialists—physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries—as well as by a variety of healers, midwives, and outright quacks. The highest-ranking medical practitioner, both socially and professionally, was the physician, who was a university-trained specialist thoroughly grounded in the works of Galen and other ancient doctors.

Physicians rarely saw patients personally, preferring to diagnose illness from a sample of the patient's urine. Medical theory was based upon the ancient idea that the human body was composed of four humors of differing properties—blood (hot and moist), phlegm (cold and moist), yellow bile (hot and dry), and black bile (cold and dry). These humors corresponded to the four elements—air (blood), water (phlegm), fire (yellow bile), and earth (black bile)—and to four dispositions—sanguine (blood), phlegmatic (phlegm), choleric (yellow bile), and melancholic (black bile). Disease resulted from an imbalance of the humors, which physicians treated by prescribing medicines and foods that were thought to possess the opposite properties of the excessive humor. Thus, an overabundance of phlegm was treated with foods possessing the hot, dry qualities of yellow bile. Another way to restore balance was to bleed a patient, drawing off the excess or ill humors in the blood by having a surgeon apply leeches or make an incision in a vein. Focusing on how to maintain good health rather than on how to treat disease, humanist physicians such as Thomas **Linacre** worked to secure oversight of all medical practitioners. In 1512, **Parliament** passed an act empowering bishops and several distinguished physicians in each diocese to examine and license medical practitioners. Anyone practicing medicine without a license could be fined £5 per month.

In 1518, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** helped found the College of Physicians in **London**. Formed around a faculty of three royal physicians and three prominent London physicians, including Linacre, the College sought to prevent the practice of medicine from being usurped by quacks and folk healers (who were often women). The College gained the right to limit the practice of medicine in and around London to its members; any nonmembers who practiced within the proscribed area would be assessed the fine of £5 per month. In 1523, **Parliament** required all medical practitioners, except university graduates, to obtain letters testimonial from members of the College before being licensed by their local bishop. An act of 1540 further extended the rights and privileges of physicians and clearly proclaimed their responsibility for scrutinizing the character and acts of all medical practitioners.

Considered tradesmen, surgeons stood lower down the social scale than physicians. Surgeons had little formal **education** and learned their trade by performing operations at the direction of physicians. Barbers also practiced simple forms of surgery and dentistry. In 1518, the Surgeons and Barbers companies merged to



Apothecaries were one of the three types of medical specialists in Elizabethan England. (Dover Pictorial Archive)

form a regulatory body for the practice of surgery. Although among the most privileged tradesmen in England, apothecaries also occupied a lower social class than physicians, whose prescriptions for medicines the apothecaries provided. Women could not practice medicine as physicians, but many had some basic medical training and served as country healers and midwives. Because physicians' fees put their services beyond the reach of most commoners, many people turned to charlatans and sorcerers of both sexes for medical advice, a circumstance that encouraged further physician oversight.

Like their medieval forebears, the people of Tudor England viewed epidemics as divine punishment for sin or

for disobedience to God's will. Lacking any understanding of microorganisms, Tudor medicine ascribed the spreading of epidemic disease to unusual celestial events, such as comets, or to the spread of a miasma, a foul, poisonous body of air thought to arise from rotting corpses or vegetation. The deadliest and most persistent form of epidemic disease in Tudor England was the bubonic **plague**, the terrible Black Death that had swept Europe in the late 1340s. Although far less virulent and more localized than earlier plague visitations, Tudor outbreaks still caused high mortality rates in certain towns or regions. Carried by a type of flea that usually lives on rats, the plague could erupt when rat populations increased and fleas transferred to human hosts. Poor sanitation, ignorance of the cause, ineffective medical treatments, and the government's inability to control the movement of infected persons spread the disease once an outbreak started. The mortality rate of plague was usually about 50 percent but could climb to near 100 percent if the pneumonic plague was present. The deadliest form of the disease, the pneumonic plague attacked the pulmonary system and could be transmitted directly from person to person. The most widespread and serious eruptions of plague in Tudor England occurred in 1498, 1535, 1543, 1563, 1578–1579, 1582, 1592–1593, and 1603.

Several other types of epidemic disease also struck Tudor England, claiming a few lives almost continually but erupting at irregular intervals into more deadly and widespread outbreaks. A mysterious illness known as the "sweating sickness," or simply "the sweat," caused great fear because it killed quickly and struck the

wealthy and powerful as frequently as the poor. The worst visitations of the sweat occurred in 1485, 1507–1508, 1517, and 1551. The 1517 eruption nearly killed Wolsey, and a 1528 outbreak struck Anne **Boleyn**, causing a worried **Henry VIII** to send the royal physician, Dr. William **Butts**, to attend her. The king, who had a great fear of infection, kept his distance and gave himself up to religious devotions. Bad harvests in the mid-1550s caused the outbreak of various famine-related fevers in 1556 and 1557, which in turn led to the eruption of a serious influenza epidemic that lasted until 1560 and killed nearly 6 percent of England's **population**. Another serious influenza outbreak accompanied the poor harvest of the mid-1590s. Smallpox also periodically attacked Tudor England, with a serious outbreak in 1562 almost carrying off **Elizabeth I**.

See also Witchcraft

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Medina del Campo, Treaty of

Concluded on 27 March 1489, the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of Medina del Campo was the first major foreign alliance into which **Henry VII** entered and the first significant sign of foreign acceptance of the House of **Tudor**. The most important provisions of the agreement concerned the exclusion of Yorkist pretenders from Spanish territory and the promise of a future marriage between Prince Arthur **Tudor** and a daughter of **Ferdinand and Isabella**.

By 1489, Henry VII had numerous reasons for an alliance with **Spain**. He hoped to curb **France**, which was threatening **Brittany** and the considerable military and commercial interests England had in the duchy; he wished to deny foreign refuge to his Yorkist rivals; and he sought, through a marriage link, to create a foreign interest in the succession of his heir and the rule of his family. To achieve the last two

goals, Henry accepted unfavorable terms on the first. Should Spain fight France, Henry agreed to support Spain and to remain at war until England reconquered her ancient possessions in Normandy and Aquitaine—a near-impossible goal. Spain could make peace anytime after retaking Roussillon and Cerdagne—much more realistic objectives. Henry therefore received no Spanish aid when he tried to foil French designs on Brittany. When Henry invaded the duchy in 1492 to uphold the obligations he had accepted in the Anglo-Breton Treaty of **Redon**, he did so alone.

The commercial clauses of Medina del Campo were more favorable. The treaty called for merchants of each country to be treated as natives in the other country, for customs duties to be lowered to 1459 levels, and for new regulations to be established regarding the issuance of letters of marque and the giving of bonds for settlement of damage claims. Even more important, given the enterprises of such Yorkist impostors as Lambert **Simmel** and Perkin **Warbeck** and the plots of such real Yorkists as **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy, and Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, was the provision calling for each party to deny protection to the other party's enemies, a clause that closed Castile and Aragon to Yorkist intrigues.

The most significant provision of the agreement, which required much haggling over dates and dowries, called for the betrothal of Prince Arthur to **Catherine of Aragon**, the Spanish monarchs' youngest daughter. Negotiations for the marriage were concluded in 1496, the betrothal accomplished in August 1497, and the marriage celebrated by proxy in 1499, the same year Henry calmed Spanish fears for his son's succession by executing the Yorkist prince Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick. Catherine arrived in England with her dowry in October 1501 and was married to the prince a month later. Because Arthur died the following April, allowing Catherine to eventually marry her former brother-in-law, **Henry VIII**, this clause of the treaty had even more momentous consequences in the future.

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Medina Sidonia, Duke of

See Guzman el Bueno, Alonzo Perez de, Duke of Medina Sidonia

Melville, Sir James (1535–1617)

Sir James Melville was a leading Scottish diplomat of the Elizabethan period, serving several times as Scottish ambassador to England. The third son of a Scottish

gentry family, Melville went to the French **court** at age 14 to serve as a page to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. By 1559, he had entered the service of **Henri II** of **France**, who sent Melville to **Scotland** to ascertain whether Mary's half brother James **Stuart**, future Earl of Moray, had any designs on his sister's Crown. In the early 1560s, Melville was engaged in diplomacy in Germany, seeking unsuccessfully to arrange a marriage between Mary of Scotland and Archduke Charles of Austria and between Charles IX of France and a daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor.

By 1564, Melville was in Scotland, where Mary made him a privy councillor and granted him a generous pension. To win **Elizabeth I**'s support for her marriage to Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, Mary sent Melville to England, where the Scottish ambassador ingratiated himself with the English queen. After his return to Scotland, Melville sought unsuccessfully to prevent the March 1566 murder of David **Rizzio**. After the birth of Mary's son in June 1566, Melville carried the official tidings to Elizabeth but was back in **Edinburgh** in December for the prince's **baptism**. After the murder of Darnley in February 1567, Melville tried to dissuade the Scottish queen from marrying James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, but succeeded only in winning the earl's enmity. Occurring in May 1567, the Bothwell **marriage** led within the year to Mary's abdication, flight from Scotland, and confinement in England.

Melville served as a diplomat for the various regency governments of James VI. When he came of age, James took his imprisoned mother's advice and asked Melville, then in retirement, to return to court as a royal advisor and ambassador. Melville served James loyally for the rest of the king's reign in Scotland but refused the king's requests to accompany him to England in 1603 when James succeeded Elizabeth. Melville retired to his estates to write his autobiography and to live quietly until his death in November 1617.

See also Darnley Murder; Foreign Relations and Diplomacy; James I

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Merchant Adventurers

The Merchant Adventurers were the **regulated company** that controlled the export of woolen cloth in sixteenth-century England. The Merchant Adventurers, a company in **London**, asserted that their privileges derived from a charter granted by Henry IV in 1407, although this charter did not distinguish between Londoners and

other Englishmen. The Adventurers carried not only woolen cloth but also leather, hides, tin, lead, and other goods. Cloth, however, was by far the most important English trade item, accounting for 80 percent of the value of exports by 1542. Since the export of unwrought cloths to be dyed and dressed in the Low Countries jeopardized the cloth manufacturing industry in England, statutes were enacted that prevented the export of both undressed and dyed cloths above a set price. During the first half of the sixteenth century, the company thus regularly petitioned the Crown for relief from the operation of laws that required cloths above a certain price to be fully manufactured in England. When the soaring price of cloth exceeded the price limit set by the statute of 1542, the Crown authorized the export of cloth under license only, a practice that prevailed during the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

The Merchant Adventurers of England established control over their membership in both the English House in Antwerp and the Mercers' Hall in London through the election of a governor and a Court of Assistants. The chief rivals of the Londoners for the woolen cloth trade remained the men of the outports, often **Merchants of the Staple** that saw a formerly profitable trade in wool vanishing with the increase in English draperies, and the once-mighty German Hansa. During the course of the sixteenth century, the London company either excluded the merchants of the outports from the lucrative cloth trade with the assistance of the Crown or admitted them to membership in the company for an entry fee (but with the inferior status of "redemptioners"). With the contraction of trade after the collapse of the Antwerp cloth market in 1551, the redemptioners found themselves excluded from the trade altogether by the Londoners.

The Hanseatic League proved a more formidable adversary. Drawing their privileges from a charter extracted from **Edward IV** in 1474, the Hansards enjoyed a favored status not extended to other merchant strangers or to native merchants. These "Easterlings" paid only three pence poundage on goods carried into England (Englishmen paid 12 pence) and a charge of 12 pence upon each exported cloth (compared to the 14 pence due from natives). The most frequent accusation concerned the "coloring" of the goods of other merchants, that is, carrying the goods of denizens or native interlopers who thereby benefitted from the lower customs duties paid by the league. Although Edward IV predicated the grant of privileges upon a vaguely worded promise of reciprocal rights for English merchants in Hansa towns, especially Danzig, this pledge went unfulfilled during his reign and those of the Tudors. The London Company's usefulness to the Crown in standing surety for Crown loans negotiated in the **Netherlands** and their assistance in maintaining the price of sterling at an acceptable rate led an appreciative Crown to suspend the Hansa's privileges temporarily in 1552 and then revoke them totally in 1560.

The Adventurers conducted their trade to the Low Countries under the terms of the **Intercursus Magnus**, a treaty negotiated by **Henry VII** with the emperor **Maximilian** in 1496. This treaty established the trade largely on the terms that

had prevailed for the previous 50 years. Although the vagaries of dynastic politics and the course of the English **Reformation** produced interruptions of the “inter-course,” mutual economic interest maintained the London-Antwerp trade nexus for most of the sixteenth century. In 1564, however, the Adventurers petitioned for a charter of incorporation as they prepared to abandon Antwerp and establish the staple at Emden. Despite the reservations that some councillors had regarding the monopoly the charter conferred upon the company (notably William **Cecil**, who retained sympathy for the staplers), a worried Crown now acted to protect the company’s position during a time of worsening relations with **Philip II of Spain** and a decaying cloth market. Although the merchants returned to Antwerp in January 1565, the company sought safer haven for their cargoes when the **Netherlands Revolt** endangered the mart at Antwerp. The Adventurers transferred the staple to Hamburg in 1567, but the enmity of the Hansa drove them back to Emden in 1579. They later settled at Middelburg in the United Provinces in 1598 but moved to Hamburg again in 1611.

Douglas R. Bisson

See also Cloth Industry

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Merchants of the Staple

Known officially as the Mayor and Company of the Staple at Calais, the Merchants of the Staple was a company of English wool exporters established in 1343 and based, since 1363, at the wool staple in **Calais**. The staple was the fixed place of export through which all English wool was channeled for sale on the Continent. Having a near monopoly of the English wool trade, the Merchants of the Staple were an important part of English government finance, providing loans to the Crown and assuming the cost of defending Calais.

The Merchants of the Staple were a **regulated company**, meaning that the members of the company, unlike investors in a **joint-stock company**, traded with their own capital at their own risk and profit. After meeting the specific requirements set by the company for membership, traders in a regulated company paid an entrance fee and followed the general rules and guidelines of the company, but otherwise conducted their own business largely in their own way. At the accession of the House of **Tudor** in 1485, the Merchants of the Staple were an important

trading enterprise, controlling the traffic in English wool. Under **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII**, the company entered into agreements with the Crown known as acts of retainer, which required the merchants to make fixed payments at fixed times to meet the expenses of garrisoning and fortifying Calais. Because the early sixteenth century saw a decrease in the wool trade in relation to trade in woollen cloth, declining wool prices left the staplers unable to meet their obligations under the acts of retainer. In 1527, the staplers, having defaulted on payments required by the 1515 act of retainer, forfeited both lands and money to retain control of the wool trade.

From 1534, acts of retainer were replaced by annual licenses from the Crown, which allowed the staplers more freedom to conduct their business. However, the company's profits and importance continued to decline largely due to the growth of the English **cloth industry**, which was in part stimulated by the high export duty charged on wool in Calais. As a consequence, the **London-based Merchant Adventurers**, who controlled the cloth trade, supplanted the staplers as the chief commercial source for government loans. The Merchants of the Staple also suffered from their rigid adherence to the staple system. Besides the increasing activity of wool smugglers, Italian and individual English merchants obtained royal exemption to trade wool outside Calais, while the Merchant Adventurers denied the staplers any entry into the cloth trade. With the loss of Calais to the French in 1558, the staple was transferred to the towns of Middleburgh and Bruges in the **Netherlands**. In 1584, the Privy **Council** ended the staple system, although the company continued its dwindling trade in wool until 1614, when a proclamation prohibiting English wool exports forced the staplers to enter the domestic wool trade.

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Mildmay, Sir Walter (c. 1520–1589)

Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was one of **Elizabeth I**'s most experienced and trusted financial officers. The youngest son of an Essex mercer, Mildmay attended Christ College, Cambridge, for about two years, beginning in 1538, but took no degree. His long career in financial administration began in 1540 with his appointment as clerk in the Court of **Augmentations**, a position likely attained through the **patronage** of his elder brother, who was the court's auditor. In 1543, Mildmay became coauditor in the Court

of **General Surveyors**, where he handled the raising and disbursing of funds for **Henry VIII**'s French wars, in which capacity he traveled to **France** in 1544 with war treasurer Sir Richard **Rich**. In 1545, likely through the influence of his brother-in-law, who was auditor for Queen Katherine **Parr**, he sat in **Parliament** for a Cornish **borough**. He also became coauditor in the Court of Augmentations for **London** and several eastern counties and in 1546 won a lifetime appointment as auditor for duchy of Lancaster Crown lands north of Trent. Although he was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1546, his main focus after January 1547 was a commission charged with reforming and reorganizing the Crown revenue courts. Renewed in 1552, this commission issued recommendations that resulted in the incorporation of the Court of Augmentations and the Court of **First Fruits and Tenths** into the **Exchequer** in 1554.

Knighted by **Edward VI** in 1547, Mildmay embarked on a series of major financial commissions, including inventorying the goods of the late king and overseeing the collection and dispersal of revenues from dissolved **chantries**. A firm Protestant who was eager to suppress chantries on religious grounds, Mildmay was also sympathetic to the educational and charitable goals of some reformers, who wished to use the confiscated chantry properties to refound schools and hospitals. Mildmay and his brother were members of a group that successfully petitioned the Crown for license to establish a **grammar school**, which opened in Chelmsford in 1551 as the King Edward VI Grammar School.

Mildmay's financial expertise made him indispensable to any government, and neither the overthrow of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, in 1549, nor the accession of **Mary I** in 1553 prevented his appointment to various fiscal commissions. However, his **Protestantism** did limit his political advancement under Mary, who removed him from the Essex quorum of the peace in 1554 after he associated himself with the opposition to her religious policies in the Parliament of 1553. Within weeks of the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, Mildmay was named to various commissions to inventory Crown property and discover the land alienations made by Queen Mary. In 1559, at the request of the lord treasurer, William **Paulet**, Marquis of Winchester, Mildmay was appointed chancellor of the **Exchequer**, and in 1566 he was sworn of the Privy **Council**. He sat in Parliament as knight of the shire for Northamptonshire from 1558 until his death, becoming a leading government spokesman in the Commons, and he was **justice of the peace** for Middlesex and Northamptonshire from 1559 and for Huntingdonshire from 1564. Under the treasurership of Winchester and that of his successor, William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, Mildmay spearheaded a large-scale overhaul of the Exchequer, instituting reforms that made the office more honest and efficient. He also played a leading role in the 1561 reform of the country's debased **coinage**, having been a member of the 1551 commission that undertook the last debasement and recoinage.

In 1570, Mildmay, with Burghley, negotiated with Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, regarding the terms for her return to the Scottish throne. Mildmay did so again in 1583, but both times the refusal of the Scottish government to accept Mary's restoration ended the discussions. In 1572, Mildmay attended the **treason** trial of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, for conspiring with Mary, and in 1586 he carried to Mary Elizabeth's letter informing her cousin that she would be tried for treason.

A **Puritan** who believed that more and better preaching was needed to advance the faith, Mildmay in June 1583 purchased a dissolved Dominican friary in Cambridge, at which he intended to found a new college for the better training of clergy. The queen granted a license for the new institution in January 1584, and Emmanuel College began accepting students in November. Various Protestant gentlemen, and the queen herself, contributed to Emmanuel, which soon became among the most Puritan of Cambridge colleges. By his last years, Mildmay, who apparently refused any title above his knighthood, was among the most highly compensated royal officials; he owned lands worth about £550 per year, and his entire estate, most of which was left to his son Anthony Mildmay, was said to be worth £20,000. Mildmay died at his house at Smithfield on 31 May 1589.

John A. Wagner

See also Inns of Court; Universities

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Military Forces

The standing military forces of Tudor England consisted of scattered fortress and border garrisons and small troops of royal bodyguards. Tudor armies were raised as needed to conduct foreign campaigns or suppress internal disorders. The methods by which military forces were gathered varied, from summoning the feudal host to calling out the county **militia** or hiring foreign mercenaries. During the sixteenth century, Tudor armies gradually abandoned medieval weapons and tactics, replacing the bow with firearms and employing more modern siege techniques.



A depiction of an English Army on the march in Ireland, from John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1586. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

Tudor England had no permanent, standing army and few professional soldiers. Its peacetime military forces consisted of 200 Yeoman of the Guard (the Beefeaters), a ceremonial palace guard; a 1,000-man garrison at **Calais**; and small garrisons at Berwick on the Scottish border and Dover on the Channel coast. After 1540, a growing military establishment also supported the lord deputy in **Ireland**. A small group of ordnance officers at the **Tower of London** maintained the royal armory. Under **Henry VIII**, a new royal bodyguard, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, was established as an elite force to fight with the king when he went to war. However, with a woman on the throne after the accessions of **Mary I** in 1553 and **Elizabeth I** in 1558, the Pensioners became an ornamental guard of courtiers.

To raise an army in time of war or rebellion, the governments of **Henry VII** and Henry VIII summoned the feudal levy, relying on the **peerage** and **gentry** to fulfill their ancient feudal obligation of supplying men and arms for the royal army. However, by the 1550s, the levy was no longer an effective method of raising a military force, being too slow and costly. The government could hire foreign mercenaries, especially to make up shortages of firearms and men experienced in their use, or it could contract by indenture with private citizens to supply a certain number of troops for a certain payment. Mercenaries comprised a portion of most

Tudor armies. In 1549, the government of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, was forced to divert mercenaries meant for the war in **Scotland** to the West Country to assist John **Russell**, Lord Russell, in defeating the **Western Rebellion**.

An important element in most Tudor armies was the county militia, which consisted of all able-bodied men in each county between the ages of 16 and 60. Although use of the militia was regulated, responsibility for paying and supplying the troops was only vaguely defined. In theory, the royal government could not use militia units outside their home county unless the Crown agreed to assume the cost. In practice, monarchs used county militia wherever they wanted, in England and even overseas, ignoring both geographical restrictions and financial obligations. In 1558, the last Marian **Parliament** passed two acts that reorganized the militia. The Act for the Having of Horse, Armour and Weapon required all laymen in the counties to equip themselves with weapons and armor according to their wealth. The statute clearly described the military equipage required of each income category and placed responsibility for paying the militia squarely on the county, a requirement that aroused much local opposition. To monitor fulfillment of these obligations, the Act for the Taking of Musters required local authorities to hold periodic musters of all men in the county subject to militia duty. At these musters, county militiamen reported for inspection of themselves and their horses and weapons, and for basic military training. Administration of the militia fell upon the chief county officials—the lords lieutenant, sheriffs, and **justices of the peace**.

In Tudor armies, the percentage of men carrying firearms was increasing, while the number carrying such older and less effective weapons as longbows, pikes (long wooden shafts with pointed steel heads), and bills (seven-foot wooden shafts with metal points and blades) was declining. English armies were usually divided into large wards and subdivided into companies of about 200. The company contained both infantry and cavalry and was commanded by a gentleman captain who was usually an amateur soldier. The captain was responsible for keeping his men armed, clothed, and fed, and for distributing pay, a responsibility that led to much corruption. Captains often charged the government for “dead pays,” 10 extra payments for every 100 men actually under the captain’s command. Supply contractors also frequently engaged in fraud. Tudor warfare was always an expensive undertaking. During the Elizabethan period, when the annual royal revenue from all sources was running at perhaps £400,000 to £600,000, the government spent almost £100,000 a year supporting troops in the **Netherlands** after 1585 and almost £2 million to fight the **Nine Years War** in **Ireland**.

See also Navy

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Militia

The militia provided a reserve military force to be used by the English government in case of invasion, rebellion, or other military emergency. The local **gentry** largely funded and officered the militia, and the organization underwrote their political power, both national and local. The Statute of Winchester (1285) required able-bodied Englishmen to provide the Crown with military service. **Henry VIII**, hungry for soldiers for his foreign wars, tended to erode what customary distinctions had emerged between militia duty and service in the regular army; he also oversaw the displacement of quasi-feudal militias by a militia organized by town and county. Henry's system proved insufficient as a source of men and materiel, especially for expeditions abroad, and **Mary I** therefore enacted two new statutes in 1558 to reform the militia so as to remedy these deficiencies.

The 1558 statute affirmed the liability of the entire English male population from the ages of 16 to 60, below the rank of baron, to support the militia by personal service or by financial provision for the training, equipping, and wages of the militiamen. The local gentry provided the officer class, frequently assisted by muster-masters with professional military experience. The militiamen drew disproportionately from the solid artisans and yeomen, since the gentry were reluctant to provide military training and weapons to poorer Englishmen.

The towns and counties administered and financed the militia, but the central government mandated that they support increasing numbers of men, weapons, armor, and munitions. Towns and counties alike protested the fiscal burden, which increased throughout **Elizabeth I's** reign, and all negotiated constantly to reduce

their obligations. The localities' reluctance to spend money on the militia was matched by the central government's reluctance to contribute any of its own funds. The militia remained underfunded, and thus often short of weapons and training. The central government also conceded to the militia's locally minded paymasters the hamstringing principle that each militia should not leave its home county, although in practice the government overrode this concession whenever needed.

A generation of nagging by the central government prodded the localities into upgrades in the quantity and the quality of the militia from the early 1560s, and the pace quickened after the arrival of the Spanish army in the **Netherlands** in 1567 and the eruption of the **Northern Rebellion** in 1569. During the 1570s, the central government reconfigured the militia into a smaller number of "trained bands," trained at greater length and cost, and a larger number of ordinary militia, of whom little was expected. During the 1580s, as England's relations with **Spain** deteriorated to open war, the militia reached a pitch of funding and efficiency; in 1588, during the preparations for the Spanish **Armada**, tens of thousands of armed militiamen successfully assembled to meet the prospective invaders, and large numbers successfully shadowed the armada as it sailed along the English Channel. The militia decayed during the financially exhausting wars of the 1590s, partly because the central government poached the trained bands for service abroad. Losses to the militia's men and materiel were never fully made good. A generation of war left the militia exhausted at **James I's** accession.

David Randall

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Minions

For the early years of **Henry VIII**, the term "minions" refers to young male courtiers who were the king's boon companions, taking part with him in jousts and other sports and pastimes. In an era of personal monarchy, when access to the king was vital for advancement, the minions became alternative sources of **patronage** and influence operating outside the control of Henry's chief minister, Thomas **Wolsey**.

At his accession in 1509, Henry, being young and vigorous and much given to sport and good company, quickly became the center of an informal group of six to nine courtiers who shared his **entertainments** and enthusiasms. The members of this group were generally a decade older than the king, men like Charles **Brandon**,

future Duke of Suffolk, whose well-formed personalities and physical skills were also well suited to the king's tastes and temperament. Through death—Sir Thomas Knyvett and Sir Edward Howard were slain in **France**—and loss of favor, this initial group of minions was by 1516 largely supplanted by men who were a decade younger than the king, such as Sir Nicholas **Carew** and Francis **Bryan**. Reflecting perhaps a change in Henry's perception of his own age and abilities, these younger men were the king's near-constant companions.

Although several minions—like Carew, who was royal cupbearer—held **court** posts, most were simply royal cronies. They constituted an unofficial privy chamber of camaraderie existing alongside the more formally constituted and regulated privy chamber of service that supplied the king's daily personal needs. Because his position depended on royal favor, Wolsey was anxious to limit his political opponents' access to the royal person; however, the minions represented an alternative channel of access that the cardinal could not easily control. In May 1519, Wolsey, with the backing of the **council**, seized upon the ostensible misdeeds of Carew and Bryan while on embassy in France—they rode “daily disguised through Paris, throwing eggs, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people” (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 117)—to purge the minions from the court. The whole council informed the king that certain of the young men in his privy chamber were unsuitable companions; they were “so familiar with him, and plied such light touches with him, that they forgot themselves” (Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 48). After obtaining Henry's reluctant agreement, the council banished Carew and his fellows to **Calais** and other postings far from court.

Henry, now surrounded by older, less boisterous men, such as Sir Richard Weston and Sir William Kingston, endorsed Wolsey's subsequent efforts to make the court more economical and efficient, and the monarch more attentive to business. However, Henry's new companions, while undoubtedly acceptable to him, were essentially Wolsey's men and thus never achieved the same level of intimacy enjoyed by their predecessors. By late 1519, as Wolsey's attention drifted to other matters, and the king's new attitude gave way to old habits, the minions returned to court. By the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520, they were as constant in attendance and as high in favor as ever before. The failure of this initial attempt to control the king's companions led Wolsey to try again in 1526 with the **Eltham Ordinances**, a more formal program of household reform.

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A Mirror for Magistrates

Written and edited by a series of Elizabethan poets, *A Mirror for Magistrates* is a collection of verse monologues that tell the tragic stories of figures from English history and legend. In 1555, the printer John Wayland published a new edition of John Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes* (1494), which was originally based on Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, a compilation of moralistic biographies (1355–1374). Wayland then hit upon the idea of expanding Lydgate by adding the stories of “all such as since that time were notable in England” (Ruoff, *Crowell's Handbook*, 298). However, the government of **Mary I** suppressed the project, which languished until 1559, when William **Baldwin**, who had worked on Richard Tottel's 1554 edition of *The Fall of Princes*, obtained a license from the government of **Elizabeth I** to publish a similar verse collection entitled *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Written by Baldwin and six other authors, the first edition of *Mirror* contained 19 monologues comprising the laments of such fourteenth- and fifteenth-century figures as Richard II, **Henry VI**, **Edward IV**, and James I of Scotland; Owen Glendower and Jack Cade; the earls of Cambridge, Northumberland, and Warwick; and the dukes of Suffolk, York, and Clarence. Written in various types of rhyme and meter, the monologues were drawn largely from the chronicles of Edward **Hall** and Robert **Fabian** and are prime examples of the popular “complaint literature” genre, which consisted of poems that lamented unrequited love or told tales of personal misfortune or injustice.

Connected by prose introductions, the poems take the form of melancholy speeches by each of the historical figures in which they tell readers of the sins and misfortunes that brought them to grief. Mournful and brooding, the monologues are meant to be moral tales that warn contemporary rulers to avoid tyranny and their subjects to avoid disobedience and rebellion. The title, as Baldwin explained in his introduction, derived from his desire that the work be as “a looking glass” to living “princes,” who, if they found similar faults in themselves, would see “how the like hath been punished in others heretofore; whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move to the amendment” (Ruoff, *Crowell's Handbook*, 298).

Immensely popular with Elizabethan readers, *A Mirror for Magistrates* went through seven more editions by 1610, although only Baldwin's 1563 edition is today considered of any literary merit. The 1563 edition added eight new monologues, including **Richard III** and Lord Hastings. However, the most distinguished additions were “Shore's Wife” by Thomas **Churchyard** and the “Induction” to “The Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham” by Thomas **Sackville**. In the former, Churchyard, drawing upon Sir Thomas **More's** *The History of King Richard III*, makes Jane Shore, the merchant's wife who became a mistress of Edward IV, into a compelling and sympathetic figure, a lowborn woman brought

to tragedy by the powerful men who used her. “Shore’s Wife” influenced such later examples of complaint literature as Samuel Daniel’s *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592), William **Shakespeare**’s *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), and Michael Drayton’s historical monologues. So well-known was “Shore’s Wife,” even Christopher **Marlowe** made reference to it in his *Doctor Faustus*. Sackville’s “Induction,” generally considered the most powerful and polished contribution to the *Mirror* collection, is a vivid description of a deep winter evening during which the poet meets Sorrow and other such ghostly abstractions as Revenge, Misery, Old Age, and Death.

The 1574 edition of *Mirror* was edited and written by John Higgins and entitled *The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates* because it includes the laments of historical and legendary figures from pre-Christian Britain, well before the period covered by Baldwin’s editions. Thomas Blenerhasset’s *The Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, published in 1578, included figures from the period 44 to 1066 CE, such as Vortigern, Uther Pendragon (King Arthur’s father), and Harold, the last Saxon king. In 1610, Richard Niccols published the largest of the *Mirror* editions, which contains 93 complaints, over 50 by Higgins and Blenerhasset and the rest by Niccols himself. The 1610 edition includes figures from the Elizabethan period and concludes with Niccols’s “England’s Eliza,” which glorifies the reign of the late queen. Niccols’s edition was the last to follow the original conception of the work, because by the Jacobean period enthusiasm for historical complaint literature had waned. Subsequent *Mirror* editions in 1619, 1620, and 1621 were failures both financially and aesthetically.

The chief importance of *A Mirror for Magistrates* was not the quality of its verse but the influence it exerted on other writers. Over 30 history plays written before 1600 drew upon *Mirror* as a source, and the *Mirror*’s pervasive emphasis on pride and fate heavily influenced Elizabethan and Jacobean conceptions of tragedy. The *Mirror* also inspired much popular interest in English history and helped make possible such works as Daniel’s *Civil Wars* (1595) on the **Wars of the Roses**; William Warner’s *Albion’s England* (1586), a history of England from Noah to Elizabeth; and even the history plays of Shakespeare.

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Monasteries and Monastic Orders

See Dissolution of the Monasteries

Monopolies

The Crown had an undoubted **prerogative** right to regulate trade by granting to individuals certain monopolistic rights by letters patent. The recipients of such grants were licensed to import prohibited goods or were exempted from statutes that regulated the manufacture of important commodities. The Crown could also issue patents to foreign inventors or entrepreneurs to lure them into doing business in England. Although the Crown's right to dispense or suspend parliamentary statute was questionable, most of these types of grants proved economically beneficial to the country and aroused little opposition.

However, beginning in the 1580s, the Crown's extreme need for money to carry on the war with **Spain** led **Elizabeth I** to grant monopolies as favors to courtiers, officials, and servants. Such monopolies acted as a cheap form of Crown **patronage** and as a ready source of revenue, for some monopolies were sold for cash to individuals or groups. The grantees received a monopoly on the manufacture, sale, or import of a specified commodity or were empowered to license others to engage in such manufacture or sale. For instance, Sir Walter **Raleigh** had a license on the production of playing cards, and Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, licensed the sale of sweet wines. By the 1590s, patents had been granted on such items as iron, steel, glass, vinegar, coal, salt, and soap. Because such monopolies usually led to higher prices for consumers, discontent over the grants was soon intense and widespread. Patentees also enjoyed wide search-and-seizure rights to protect their monopolies, and persons with grievances against monopolists had no remedy at law because the actions of monopolists arose from an exercise of the royal prerogative.

The **Parliament** of 1597 complained bitterly about monopolies, but the queen promised to reform the misuse of monopolistic patents, so Parliament took no action. When Parliament met again in 1601, the queen had still not acted, and an angry House of Commons sought to legislate on monopolies. Such legislation would have represented Parliament's first attempt to limit or modify a prerogative right; rather than risk such a fight, the queen agreed to review all monopolies and to cancel any that were harmful. All other monopolies were to be placed under

the **common law**. Elizabeth thanked the Commons for bringing the problem to her attention and issued a proclamation revoking certain monopolies, but she also affirmed the Crown's right to grant monopolies. In response to the parliamentary petition on monopolies, Elizabeth delivered her **Golden Speech** to a Commons deputation in November 1601.

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Montague, Lord

See Pole, Henry, Lord Montague

Moray, Earl of

See Stuart, James, Earl of Moray

More, Alice Middleton (c. 1474–c. 1551)

Mentioned or alluded to in many of the writings of her husband or his friends, Lady Alice More was the second wife of Sir Thomas More. Born probably in Essex, the daughter of Sir Richard Harpur, Alice married John Middleton, a **London** merchant, by about 1492. She bore Middleton, who died in about 1509, two daughters, Alice (d. 1563) and Helen (d. c. 1510). Alice Middleton married Thomas More in 1511, about a month after the death of Jane Colt More, More's first wife and the mother of his four children.

More's almost indecent haste to remarry has puzzled historians, who have proposed various reasons for his selection of Alice as a second wife. Certainly, More wanted a mother for his young children, and Alice, who had children of her own, filled this need. Beyond that, More, like most men of the period, viewed marriage as an economic union, and Alice was a wealthy widow, having inherited considerable property from her first husband. Alice also appears to have been a good household manager, careful with money and unafraid to deal sharply with guests who overstayed their welcome. Among the latter may have been Andre Ammonio, the king's Latin secretary, who wrote **Erasmus** of his 1511 encounter in the More

household with the “hooked beak of the harpy” (Marius, *Thomas More*, 41), which is taken to be an ungallant reference to Lady Alice. Because More is often characterized as torn between sexual desire and a longing for the clerical or monastic life, his quick remarriage to a widow older than himself, who may have been past childbearing and no longer sexually attractive, has been seen as a way to abstain from sexual relations while still living and working in the world and providing for his children. More’s sixteenth-century biographer, Nicholas **Harpsfield**, wrote that More did not marry for “bodily pleasure” (200), and one of More’s modern biographers has suggested that he and Lady Alice slept in separate chambers and never had sexual relations, since More, like the church fathers, viewed sexual intercourse merely for pleasure, that is, without the possibility of children, as unchristian.

Evidence for the exact nature of Lady Alice’s personality and her relationship with her husband is contradictory. More’s only extant letter to his wife concerns the destruction by fire in 1529 of some barns on More’s Chelsea estate, which Alice had apparently been running since the family moved there from London in 1524. The letter betrays little spousal affection but is full of questions about the running of the estate, as if More were writing to a trusted steward. Contemporary accounts often portray Lady Alice as a difficult, shrewish woman, who resisted, through lack of intellect or interest, her husband’s attempts to improve her mind. The unnamed wife who appears in many anecdotes found in More’s later literary works is usually assumed to be Lady Alice, and the picture is not flattering. The wife is depicted as a loud, foolish woman who is too dull and stubborn to benefit from her husband’s erudition. Yet, while in the **Tower of London** in 1534, More wrote to his daughter Margaret More **Roper** saying that he would “gladly . . . sometime somewhat talk with my friends and especially my wife and you” (Marius, *Thomas More*, 481), perhaps indicating a deeper affection for Lady Alice than the evidence otherwise suggests.

In Hans **Holbein**’s 1527 portrait of the More family, Alice is on the extreme right on the fringe of the group. She is well appareled and holding a book, which she does not appear to be reading, as if perhaps her husband suggested the pose. Her forehead is fashionably broad and her nose is large, though, unless Holbein discreetly retouched it, not hooked. Her face is strong, confident, and not unattractive—a woman of substance and presence.

Alice clearly did not understand More’s reasons for putting himself and his family in jeopardy by refusing to conform to the royal will. In December 1534, she wrote to **Henry VIII** pleading with him to save the family from ruin, and in the following May she begged Thomas **Cromwell** to aid her in her “great and extreme necessity” (Marius, *Thomas More*, 482). To make ends meet at home and to provide the 15 shillings per week required to maintain her husband in the Tower, Lady Alice was required to sell some of her clothes. She also requested an audience with the king, and though it is not known if this was granted, she did receive a pension

of £20 per year after More's death. Alice was not present when Margaret Roper said farewell to her father at the Tower after his condemnation, and she is not mentioned in More's last letter to his daughter, written the day before his execution. In later years, she was involved in various lawsuits, including one brought against her by her stepdaughter's husband, William **Roper**, who portrayed her as a meddling woman. She died in April 1551 and was probably buried in Chelsea.

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More, Margaret

See Roper, Margaret More

More, Sir Thomas (c. 1478–1535)

Sir Thomas More is one of the best known and most compelling figures of Tudor England. A humanist writer who eventually became world famous as author of *Utopia*, a statesman who eventually became chancellor of England, and a martyr for his beliefs who eventually became a saint of the Catholic Church, Sir Thomas More is today the subject of countless books, plays, and films about his life and thought.

The son of a lawyer, More was educated at St. Anthony's School in **London** and served as page in the household of **Henry VII's** chancellor, Cardinal John **Morton**. In the late 1490s, More attended Oxford and then studied law at the **Inns of Court**. He considered a religious vocation, living for a time in the London Charterhouse of the austere **Carthusian** order. His literary interests led him to join a circle of prominent humanists that included John **Colet**, William **Grocyn**, Thomas **Linacre**, and the Dutch scholar Desiderius **Erasmus**, whom More befriended in 1499. Forgoing the contemplative life, More began to practice law in about 1501 and married Jane Colt in about 1504. In 1510, More, who had by then held several offices at



Sir Thomas More had an illustrious career as a scholar, writer, and statesman before becoming a martyr for his religious beliefs. (Library of Congress)

Lincoln's Inn and established a thriving law practice, became undersheriff of London. Shortly after the death of his wife in 1511, More, who had four small children, married a wealthy older widow, Alice Middleton **More**.

More's political career began in 1515, when the government sent him to the **Netherlands** as part of an embassy charged with renegotiating a trade agreement. He joined the royal **council** in 1517, became undertreasurer of the **Exchequer** in 1521, was Speaker in the **Parliament** of 1523, and became chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in 1525. He was active in the work of **Star Chamber** and other legal bodies, undertook several diplomatic missions, and was in frequent attendance upon the king and Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, performing secretarial duties for both. On Wolsey's fall in 1529, More succeeded the cardinal as chancellor of England.

More's literary career began in about 1501, when he delivered a series of lectures on St. Augustine's *City of God*. He translated a Latin biography of the Italian humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in 1505 and translated four Greek works of Lucian in 1506. In 1511, Erasmus dedicated his immensely popular *Praise of Folly* to More, whose reputation as a scholar was growing rapidly in both England and Europe. In about 1513, More wrote Latin and English versions of his *History of King Richard III*, which, although never completed, heavily influenced William **Shakespeare's** classic play *Richard III*. More published *Utopia*, his most famous and influential work, in 1516, and his popular Latin *Epigrams* in 1518.

After 1520, More's literary output declined, and his chief writings were attacks on the writings of Martin Luther and other reformers. In 1521, More assisted **Henry VIII** in completing his defense of the seven sacraments, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, and in 1523, More defended the king's book with his own bitter attack on Luther, the *Responsio ad Lutherum*. In the late 1520s and early 1530s, More, who was increasingly concerned with the spread of **heresy**, wrote a series of harsh responses to the works of such Protestant and anticlerical writers as William **Tyndale**, John **Frith**, and Christopher **St. German**. Among the most

famous of these works is an attack on Lutheran doctrines titled *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

More could not support the king's **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon** because achieving it threatened the independence of the Church. While chancellor, he refrained from any show of opposition, but he grew increasingly uncomfortable with the policies of the king and Thomas **Cromwell**. On 16 May 1532, the day after the formal **Submission of the Clergy** occurred in **Convocation**, More resigned the chancellorship. Although he continued to write against heresy, More otherwise withdrew from public life and made no statement on Crown religious policy. However, his international reputation made his silence seem a deafening condemnation of the king's religious proceedings. He refused to attend Anne **Boleyn's** coronation in 1533 and was included in the bill of **attainder** that condemned Elizabeth **Barton**, the Nun of Kent, in 1534, although he was able to persuade the House of Lords to delete his name from the measure.

More was committed to the **Tower of London** on 17 April 1534 for refusing the oath required by the Act of **Succession**. During his imprisonment, More wrote a series of contemplations on hardship and consolation known as the Tower works. The most important of these are *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* and *De Tristitia Christi (The Sadness of Christ)*. Through a series of interrogations, Cromwell tried unsuccessfully to elicit from More his opinion of the **royal supremacy**, but More refused, neither affirming nor denying the king's title. When brought to trial on 1 July 1535, More was condemned for **treason**, largely on the testimony of Sir Richard **Rich**, who claimed that More had denied the king's **supremacy** to him in a Tower conversation. In a final speech to the court, More denounced the Act of Supremacy as "directly repugnant to the laws of God and His Holy Church" (Marius, *Thomas More*, 509), a pronouncement that indicated More saw himself as a martyr for his beliefs. More was beheaded on 6 July 1535. He was canonized by the Catholic Church in 1935.

See also Clement, Margaret Giggs; Humanism; Roper, Margaret More; Roper, William

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Morgan, William (1541–1604)

William Morgan was a Welsh Protestant reformer, bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. Asaph, and translator of the **Bible** into Welsh. Born in Caernarvonshire in **Wales**, Morgan was educated at St. John’s College, Cambridge, where he became proficient in both Hebrew and Greek. Between 1575 and 1588, Morgan held various church **benefices** in Wales. With the encouragement and financial support of Archbishop John **Whitgift** and the assistance of his friend Archdeacon Edmund Prys, who was a gifted poet, Morgan undertook to translate the Bible into Welsh, a project he completed in 1588. At Whitgift’s recommendation, the Privy **Council** ordered that a copy of Morgan’s Bible be placed in every Welsh parish.

The high quality of Morgan’s prose is credited not only with furthering **Protestantism** in Wales but also with standardizing the Welsh language and preventing it from falling into disuse. He became bishop of Llandaff in 1595 and was named to the important Welsh bishopric of St. Asaph in 1601. Morgan was an excellent administrator and greatly raised the quality of pastoral care provided to the faithful of his diocese. He died in September 1604.

See also Reformation, Welsh; Universities

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Morice, Ralph (d. c. 1570)

As principal secretary to Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Ralph Morice played a key role in thwarting the conservative **Prebendaries Plot** of the early 1540s, which is known to us largely from Morice’s writings. Morice was the son of James Morice of Essex, a clerk in the household of Margaret **Beaufort**, grandmother of **Henry VIII**. Little is known of Ralph Morice’s early life. He attended Christ’s College, Cambridge, in the 1520s, obtaining a bachelor’s degree in 1523 and a master’s in 1526. In about 1531, he was appointed secretary to Cranmer, then not yet archbishop, through the influence of George **Boleyn**, Viscount Rochford, brother of Queen Anne **Boleyn**.

After Cranmer became archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, Morice handled his voluminous correspondence, making and protecting copies of sensitive letters to Thomas **Cromwell** and other ministers and copying important religious documents, such as portions of the *Bishops' Book*. Sharing his master's increasingly reformist views, Morice also helped Cranmer politically, using his court connections to shield the often politically naive archbishop from the plots of his religious opponents. When a group of conservative Kentish clerics and **justices of the peace**, supported behind the scenes by Cranmer's rival, Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, sought through the so-called Prebendaries Plot to bring down the archbishop by accusing him of favoring heretics, Morice organized what has been termed a "secretary's plot" to counter them (MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 303). By alerting court evangelicals who had influence with the king, such as Sir Anthony **Denny**, chief gentleman of the privy chamber, and William **Butts**, Henry's personal physician, to the conservatives' plans, Morice helped save Cranmer and other reformist clerics, such as Richard Turner, from imprisonment or death. For instance, when Turner, in March 1543, delivered a sermon fiercely attacking Masses for the dead and other conservative ceremonies, Morice intervened to prevent Turner's arrest. In the following November, in a scene later re-created from Morice's original narrative by John **Foxe** in his "**Book of Martyrs**" and by William **Shakespeare** in his *Henry VIII*, Cranmer's conservative opponents on the Privy **Council** kept the archbishop waiting outside the door in a final act of humiliation before arresting him for **heresy**. As Cranmer waited, Morice informed Butts of what was happening, and the doctor quickly informed the king, who, having already secretly given Cranmer his protection, summoned all parties to his presence for a stern rebuke.

Although Morice himself got into trouble in 1540, being questioned before the Privy Council for gossiping about the king's failing marriage to **Anne of Cleves**, the secretary, who seems to have been both ambitious and well connected, was otherwise well rewarded for his services. In 1537, he became joint bailiff with his father for various Crown lands in Hertfordshire and Somerset, and in 1539, he petitioned the king for the lease of an estate in the former county. Before 1543, he obtained the lease to the parsonage of Chartham in Kent, the **benefice** of which he secured for Richard Turner. Through Cranmer's influence or appointment, Morice secured various other secular and ecclesiastical positions between 1540 and 1553.

During the reign of **Mary I**, when Cranmer was imprisoned and eventually burned, Morice had his house searched several times by government agents, who carried away many of Cranmer's papers. Morice finally tried to flee the country but was captured and imprisoned until about 1557. Under **Elizabeth I**, Morice supplied the martyrologist John Foxe with much information on Cranmer and other important figures and events at the Henrician court in the 1530s and 1540s. He

also supplied much information on Cranmer to both Foxe and later historians in a manuscript apparently written for Archbishop Matthew **Parker**. Although the date of Morice's death is unknown, it was not earlier than 1570, when Foxe reported that he was still alive.

John A. Wagner

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Morris Dance

See Dance

Morton, John (c. 1420–1500)

As archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor of England, John Morton was one of the most trusted and capable ministers of **Henry VII**. Morton studied law at Oxford and by the late 1440s was a noted ecclesiastical lawyer. Appointed to the **council** of **Henry VI**, Morton acquired numerous offices in both church and state throughout the 1450s. During the **Wars of the Roses**, Morton was staunchly committed to the House of **Lancaster** and spent most of the 1460s in exile in **Scotland** and **France** with the Lancastrian royal family. When the Lancastrian cause collapsed in 1471, Morton submitted to **Edward IV** and was rapidly taken into royal service. He served on various diplomatic missions and helped negotiate the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475. By the king's death in 1483, Morton was a royal councillor and bishop of Ely. Because Morton was loyal to **Edward V** and thus an obstacle to Richard, Duke of Gloucester's assumption of the throne as **Richard III**, Gloucester arrested Morton and placed him in the custody of his chief ally, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Morton encouraged Buckingham's growing dissatisfaction with Richard and put the duke in communication with Margaret **Beaufort** and Queen Elizabeth **Woodville**, the two principals in a developing plot to place their children, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and **Elizabeth of York**, on the English throne. With the failure of Buckingham's Rebellion in the autumn of 1483, Morton fled to Burgundy.

In 1484, Morton saved Richmond's life by warning him of the Breton government's secret agreement to surrender him to Richard III. Richmond then fled **Brittany** for France. In early 1485, Morton negotiated a papal dispensation for Richmond to marry Elizabeth of York. After the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485, Morton presided at the 30 October coronation of Richmond as Henry VII. In March 1486, Henry appointed Morton chancellor of England and in the

following December named him archbishop of Canterbury. In September 1493, the pope, at Henry's urging, made Morton a cardinal. Morton also became chancellor of both Cambridge and Oxford universities.

Morton served the House of **Tudor** in various capacities. He advised the king on foreign affairs and received foreign embassies and was also consulted on both secular and ecclesiastical appointments. He was influential in the drafting and passage of the **De Facto Act** in 1495, and he enunciated and defended royal policy in **Parliament**, doing so with such good effect in 1497 that he won generous grants of taxation for the war against Scotland. He also presided over the House of Lords, the upper house of **Convocation**, and, in the king's absence, the royal council.

His involvement in the formulation of financial policy has incorrectly attached his name to the invention of "Morton's fork," the argument that those who live well can obviously afford to give to the king and those who live simply must have built sufficient savings to also contribute. His perceived role in Henry's strenuous efforts to raise revenue through benevolences (forced "gifts" to the Crown) and his proposal that wealthy **London** citizens pay substantial assessments to the Crown made him highly unpopular. However, Morton deserves credit for moderating the king's harsher financial intentions and for helping stabilize royal revenues.

Morton was also a great builder, making substantial improvements at Canterbury Cathedral, the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, and both universities. Morton died in September 1500. Although some historians assigned the writing of Sir Thomas **More's History of King Richard III** to Morton, recent scholarship has clearly established More's authorship. However, Morton, in whose household More served in the late 1490s, is likely to have been at least one source for the anecdotes that comprise More's work. Morton also receives a glowing tribute in More's *Utopia*, where he is called a man of "prudence and virtue" (Routh, "John Morton," 18).

See also Netherlands

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Mountjoy, Lord

See Blount, Charles, Lord Mountjoy

Muscovy Company

The Muscovy Company was the **joint-stock company** organized in 1553 to find and exploit new markets, ostensibly by seeking a Northeast Passage to Cathay (China). The creation of the new trading fellowship was linked to the problem of the depressed **cloth** trade with the **Netherlands**. The company was the joint enterprise of the Crown and 200 men, including peers, privy councillors, officers of state, and leading **London** merchants, who subscribed £6,000 for the project. Sebastian **Cabot** was installed as governor of the “mysterie and company of the Marchaunt Adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknownen” and provided with 28 assistants. Since Cabot’s instructions to his mariners made no mention of China, the voyage was intended to gain knowledge of cold lands—then known as Scythia and Tartary—where English woollens might sell. Sir Hugh **Willoughby** commanded the first expedition of three ships, which departed in May 1553. Two ships and 70 men were lost (including Willoughby) when bad weather compelled them to winter on the Lapland coast. The third, piloted by Richard **Chancellor**, traversed the White Sea and reached the Dvina River. Chancellor traveled overland to Moscow and received favorable terms of trade from Czar Ivan IV. In 1555, the company received a charter recognizing its monopoly of trade with lands “northwards, northeastwards and northwestwards.” Although Chancellor perished at sea in 1556, he and his master pilots, Stephen **Borough** and William **Borough**, established the path through the White Sea to Muscovy as a viable commercial route.

The trade under **Elizabeth I** and Ivan proved mutually beneficial. The Russians found a ready market for hemp, cordage, train-oil, flax, furs, hides, and tallow. Ropemakers were sent from England, and soon Russian cordage was reputed the best in the world; by 1600, the English **navy** spent £10,000 per year on it. The trade also encouraged shipping; as many as 10 merchantmen were sent each year during the last decade of the century. Until the Dutch arrived in the 1570s, the English enjoyed unchallenged privileges in the White Sea. But the Russian market was not enough. In 1557, the company dispatched Anthony **Jenkinson** on the first of seven voyages intended to open trade with the Levant by outflanking the Venetians and Turks. Travel proved onerous (the first trip to Bukhara took nine months), and warfare between the Persian and Ottoman Empires discouraged hopes of stable trade. By 1600, the inroads made by the Dutch had vastly reduced the profits. In 1609, the company ceased to exist as a joint-stock company and thereafter issued licenses to trade with Russia. The Muscovy Company’s impact must be measured by more than the volume of trade. Many of the men associated with the company played leading roles in disseminating geographical information. More than a quarter of Richard **Hakluyt**’s *Principal Navigations* (1589) is devoted to Russia.

Douglas R. Bisson

See also Military Forces

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Music

Tudor music, both religious and secular, was a product of several important influences—the **Reformation**, the spread of **humanism**, the growth of English cultural and commercial contacts with Europe, and the increasing acceptance of English as a literary language. All the major developments in Tudor music grew out of one or more of these movements.

Most of the Tudors were musically inclined. Over 30 musical compositions are attributed to **Henry VIII**, including 12 carols, such as “Green Groweth the Holly,” and various other songs, such as the rousing “Pastime with Good Company.” Henry also played the organ, lute (a stringed instrument), virginals (a keyboard instrument), and such wind instruments as the recorder. The king also enjoyed singing, frequently engaging courtiers such as Sir Peter **Carew** in the performance of “fremen songs,” light, popular rounds for multiple voices. Henry also ensured that his children were well instructed in music. **Edward VI** played the lute and virginals, and perhaps also the viol (a type of violin or cello). The young king also liked singing and listening to metrical psalms—that is, the songs of David redone in rhyming English verse. **Mary I** played the lute and virginals, having been at least partly tutored in the former by her father, and also shared his love of singing. Although not as gifted at musical composition as her father, **Elizabeth I** wrote some instrumental pieces and played the virginals. In 1564, when seeking to impress Sir James **Melville**, the ambassador of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth contrived to have Melville brought secretly into her chamber so he could “accidentally” hear her playing and report its quality to the Scottish queen.

The virginals, viol, lute, and various types of flutes and recorders were the most popular Tudor instruments, especially for musical performances at **court**. Musical entertainments among the lower classes were often accompanied by the bagpipe, the fiddle, or the pipe-and-tabor (a combination of drum and recorder). The focus of the professional music establishment was the **Chapel Royal**, a choir and musical suite maintained by the Crown for the performance of music at divine service in the royal chapels. Henry VIII also maintained a large company of singers and musicians to perform secular entertainments at court. This group contained many foreign performers and was responsible for both building the royal instrument



Critical influences on Elizabethan religious and secular music included the Reformation, humanism, cultural and commercial contacts beyond England, and the growth of English as a literary language. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age* . . . , vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

collection and tutoring courtiers and members of the royal family. The most talented Tudor composers, such as the Elizabethans William **Byrd** and Thomas **Tallis**, began as musicians of the Chapel Royal.

Tudor music was known especially for development of the metrical psalm and the anthem. Cloth merchants brought back to England French texts and tunes that served as models for the development of English psalms. The development of a standardized English, which was encouraged by the **printing** and distribution of an English **Bible**, made easier the conversion of Latin psalms to English rhyming verse. The influence of humanism and the Reformation, which encouraged literacy among all classes, made the singing of psalms a popular secular pastime. In 1545, Henry VIII complained that the Word of God was being “rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern” (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 471), but the Protestant Church of Edward VI actively encouraged the singing of psalms. The anthem was an English song form in which solo verses with instrumental accompaniment alternated with generally unaccompanied choral refrains. The themes of early Tudor anthems were generally drawn from religious and scriptural sources; after the Henrician break with Rome in the 1530s, anthems tended to focus on Christ and the psalms and to shun traditional Catholic subjects such as the saints and the Virgin Mary.

From the Henrician period, the Tudor **gentry** and **peerage** became increasingly important patrons of music, with many hiring musicians for their households, commissioning new compositions, and collecting instruments and printed music. Towns, colleges, and the wealthier **London** guilds also employed musicians and singers for various events, and a whole class of variously skilled minstrels provided musical entertainment of all kinds in taverns, on street corners, and at **fairs and markets**.

The Elizabethans were particularly known for their keyboard compositions (the works of Byrd even influenced continental music) and for the development of the anthem. Although the development of Elizabethan music did not match the brilliant flowering in Elizabethan **drama** and **poetry**, the period did see the rise of important new musical forms and themes, especially in secular compositions.

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Nashe, Thomas (1567–1601)

The literary works of Thomas Nashe, a controversial and satirical English writer and pamphleteer, create an image of an England and, more specifically, a **London**, in the throes of struggle and debate. Nashe's short but intense career demonstrates his frustrated search for **patronage**, dislike of Puritanism, and rebellion against staid politeness in print. Most of the details of his life and death are unknown or mysterious at best, but from his extant texts and what little is known of his life, he appears to have been a remarkable and audacious character.

Nashe was born in Lowestoft in November 1567, the second son of a minister. Details of his early education are unknown, but in 1581 or 1582 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge. He became a Lady Margaret scholar, and in 1586 he was awarded his bachelor's degree. Although he began his studies for his MA, he departed the university in 1588 and made his way to London, where he published his first manuscript, *The Anatomy of Absurdity* in 1589, expounding his views on the importance of books and demonstrating his anti-**Puritan** sentiments.

While Nashe was in London, a writer using the pseudonym "Martin Marprelate, Gentleman," began to publish a series of pamphlets attacking the Church of England. In response, bishops of the Church employed a number of authors to write pamphlets in response, and Nashe was one of those hired. *An Almond for a Parrot*, published in 1590, was his contribution to the **Marprelate** controversy. Another of Nashe's works, his first nonpamphlet publication, entitled *Preface to R. Greene's "Menaphon,"* has attracted much current scholarly attention. How Nashe, an unpublished writer, came to pen a preface to a work by Robert **Greene**, who was already an established author at the time, has baffled scholars, but it, like *An Almond for a Parrot*, demonstrates Nashe's aggressive style.

Nashe's next work in print was a preface to a pirated copy of Philip **Sidney's** *Astrophel and Stella*. His involvement in the publication may indicate his willingness at the time to take on any project to make a living. Nashe emphasizes his financial woes through his next pamphlet, critically acclaimed, titled *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Devil* in 1592. The pamphlet, pronounced in the sixteenth century as "purse penniless," blames society for the woes of Pierce, a

poverty-stricken academic. Nashe's most successful pamphlet, *Pierce Penilesse*, was published in three editions in 1592.

Many of Nashe's pamphlets were implicated in what is now known as the Harvey-Nashe controversy. Nashe and Gabriel **Harvey** published any number of vitriolic pamphlets, each insulting the wit of the other. The exact reasons for the beginning of the debate are unclear, but both men were seeking recognition and patronage, and their argument, which is characterized by displays of rhetoric, sold many pamphlets and books. *Pierce Penilesse* formed part of the attack on Harvey. In Nashe's *Strange News*, published in 1592, Nashe is bold both in his self-defense and his lambasting of Harvey. Although the controversy was never completely resolved, Nashe's tone in his 1593 *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* is somewhat submissive. While the origins and outcome of the debate are mysterious, the Harvey-Nashe controversy demonstrates the importance of pamphlet wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the prevalence of classical rhetoric in such battles.

During the Harvey-Nashe controversy, Nashe spent some time outside London because he feared the **plague** that was rampant in the city. During his time in the country at Croydon Palace, the home of Archbishop John **Whitgift**, Nashe composed a play, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*. The play was performed in Croydon in 1592 and later published in 1600. Nashe left Croydon soon after and entered into the patronage of Sir George **Carey**, with whom he stayed at the Carey home on the Isle of Wight. On the island, Nashe composed many of his works later printed in London. One of those, *The Terrors of the Night*, published in 1594, describes, with both florid detail and skepticism, nightmares and ghosts, and as such seems disparate from his other work.

Another work published in 1594, *The Unfortunate Traveler*, stands alone among his texts. The narrative is a picaresque account of the journeys of Jack Wilton, whose travels through Europe are marked by violence, torture, and grotesquery. The genre of *The Unfortunate Traveler* is difficult to define, though some have seen it as a forerunner of the realistic novel. In 1596, Nashe continued his attack on Harvey with a satiric piece entitled *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, which was followed by his last publication, *Lenten Stuff*, in 1599.

Before the publication of *Lenten Stuff*, Nashe was forced to flee London because of his coauthorship (along with Ben **Jonson** and others) of a nonextant satiric play, *The Isle of Dogs*. Following the play's performance, by order of the Privy **Council**, Nashe's papers were searched under suspicion of sedition. Nashe's troubles continued in 1599, when Bishops Whitgift and Richard Bancroft banned the reading and writing of satires, specifically anything written by Nashe or Harvey. Nashe's death followed soon after, probably in 1601, when he was 33 or 34 years old. Nashe's life and death reveal the difficulties of surviving as an author in sixteenth-century England. His writing pictures an England full of strife and conflict, not only politically

and financially, but also textually, for Nashe, among others, contributed to the birth of new and revived genres such as biting satire and even the novel.

Deanna Smid

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Navigation Acts

Like their better-known seventeenth-century successors, the Tudor navigation acts were designed to promote and protect English shipping by restricting the terms under which both Englishmen and foreigners could transport trade goods to and from England. The first English navigation act was passed in 1381; it required English subjects to use only English ships when carrying goods for trade either into or out of England. In 1382, the statute was amended to apply only in cases where English vessels were actually available for the transport of trade items. Passed in 1486, early in the reign of **Henry VII**, the first Tudor navigation act arose from a House of Commons petition asking that no person be allowed to import wines from Gascony unless such commodities be “adventured and brought” into England in English, Irish, or Welsh ships with crews from those realms or from **Calais** (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 220). Infractions of the act were to be punished with forfeiture of the cargo, with half going to the Crown and half to the informer uncovering the violation. The act was set to expire with the next **Parliament** and was in no way to limit the king’s **prerogative** right to regulate trade. At its next session in 1489, Parliament reenacted the statute with amendments that restricted the transport of Toulouse woad to English vessels and forbade the use of foreign vessels only when English ships were available.

The next navigation statute was enacted by the **Reformation Parliament** in 1532. This act confirmed the provisions of earlier statutes, fixed the price of wine, and prohibited its importation during the stormiest season. Introduced into Parliament by Lord Admiral William **Fitzwilliam**, Earl of Southampton, the navigation act of 1540 was framed as a measure for maintaining the fleet, but was, in fact, intended to tighten the lax enforcement of previous statutes. The act restricted the privileges that **Henry VIII** had granted in the previous year to foreign merchants, who had been permitted to pay the same reduced duties charged to English traders.

The statute made these reduced rates available to foreign merchants only if they transported their goods in English ships.

In 1548, the Parliament of **Edward VI** enacted a measure for the promotion of the English fishing industry. Because the **Reformation** had removed the prohibition against eating meat on Fridays and other holy days, the demand for fish had fallen. Although in agreement with the religious reasons for the abolition of fish days, the government of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, made the eating of fish mandatory on both Fridays and Saturdays, purely, as the act was careful to state, for its economic benefits to English fishermen. After 1558, various Elizabethan statutes also attempted to promote the English shipping, ship-building, and fishing industries by requiring goods to be transported in English vessels and by extending fish days to Wednesdays. Although the extent to which the Tudor navigation acts affected the development of an English **navy** and merchant marine are much debated, the periodic reenactment of such statutes indicates a contemporary belief in their efficacy.

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Navy

The royal navy, a fleet of ships kept in regular service and controlled and financed by the Crown, was a creation of the Tudor monarchs. With the exception of Henry V, who built a fleet of over 30 ships to support his operations in **France**, medieval monarchs had no standing navy. Fleets were assembled through feudal service—the Cinque Ports of the southeast enjoyed various privileges in return for supplying the king with 57 vessels for 15 days—and through indenture with merchants, who provided ships for the royal service at a contracted rate. After his accession, **Henry VII** initiated a modest program of naval expansion. Although his fleet never numbered more than seven vessels, Henry constructed a small flotilla to hold the Channel against Yorkist invaders (the small Yorkist fleet had failed to intercept his own invasion force in 1485) and to form the nucleus of a larger fleet in time of war. He built several large vessels such as the *Sovereign* and the *Regent*, ships of almost 700 tons that were specifically designed as warships. In 1496, Henry constructed the first dry dock in northern Europe at Portsmouth. The king also promoted construction of private vessels by paying subsidies for ships over 80 tons and encouraging voyages of trade and exploration, such as the Atlantic expeditions of John **Cabot** and the merchants of Bristol.

Henry VIII significantly expanded his father's naval construction program. During the course of his reign, Henry built almost 50 ships and acquired over 30 more through purchase or capture. By 1514, the Crown had a fleet of 20 vessels, and by Henry's death in 1547, the fleet numbered 53. From the early 1530s, the Crown's ships were kept at sea all summer to suppress pirates, a policy that required the construction of such support services as docks and warehouses. In 1545, Henry established the Council of Marine, which oversaw maintenance of the fleet. Henry's shipbuilders also experimented with ship design and gunnery arrangements. The Henrician fleet included large carracks such as the *Mary Rose*, galleys with sails and oars such as the *Tiger*, and quick-moving barges. Adoption of gunports, a French innovation, allowed English vessels to carry more and bigger guns and to use them more effectively. By 1547, English ships were ceasing to be transports for soldiers fighting hand-to-hand combats between vessels and becoming floating gun platforms.

Under **Edward VI** and **Mary I**, the Crown loaned royal ships to merchants and adventurers seeking to open new markets in distant lands such as Russia, Africa, and **America**. In 1556 and 1557, Mary reorganized the Council of Marine, giving overall control of naval administration to the lord treasurer and establishing an annual naval budget of £14,000. After her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** fixed the size of the navy at 24 ships, established a naval base at Woolwich, and initiated a regular program of naval maintenance, with an annual naval budget of £10,000. Unlike Henry VIII's navy, which never ventured far from English shores, the Elizabethan fleet sailed around the world as the queen pursued a policy of loaning royal ships to private trading and **privateering** expeditions. The queen's goals were profit and the expansion of overseas trade and exploration, policies that destroyed the old idea that the navy was merely for the defense of England.

When Sir John **Hawkins** became treasurer of the navy in 1577, he initiated a naval building program, constructing almost 20 new ships. His use of progressive ship designs and innovative ideas on naval gunnery made the English fleet of the 1580s more maneuverable and better armed than any other navy of the time. Although assisted by the weather and the errors of the Spanish command, the English navy made possible by the aggressive naval policies of the Tudors, performed with distinction in the Channel battles with the Spanish **Armada** in 1588.

See also Azores Expedition; Drake, Sir Francis; Gravelines, Battle of; Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham; Islands Voyage; Portugal Expedition; Winter, Sir William

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A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man

See King's Book

Netherlands

The Netherlands comprised a loose confederation of 17 provinces in northwestern Europe bound together by the rule of the **Habsburg** dynasty. Lying across the Channel from England and economically dependent on the manufacture and trading of cloth from English wool, the Netherlands was vital to English economic and security interests.

The provinces of the Netherlands had different histories, languages, political institutions, and economies. Such southern provinces as Flanders, Brabant, Artois, and Hainault were linguistically and culturally French and characterized by great cities such as Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, which since the thirteenth century had been the largest consumers of England's main exports, wool and woolen cloth. Such northern provinces as Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland were linguistically and culturally German and more oriented toward Germany and the Baltic in their trade relations. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, this collection of territories passed, through marriage and grant, to the rulers of the French duchy of Burgundy, who constituted a junior branch of the French royal House of **Valois**. The dukes of Burgundy attempted to impose some measure of uniformity on their provinces, creating a common assembly, the **States-General**, and a central administration based in the south at Brussels. For a time in the fifteenth century, Burgundy was a powerful European state; its dukes played influential roles in the Hundred Years War and the English **Wars of the Roses**.

The death of Duke Charles the Bold in 1477 initiated the breakup of the Burgundian state. The French Crown reabsorbed the duchy of Burgundy, while the remaining provinces compelled Charles's successor, his daughter Mary, to grant concessions that strengthened the provincial states (i.e., legislatures) against the ducal government and also excluded subjects of one province from holding authority in any neighboring province. To protect her remaining territories from **France**, Mary married Maximilian of Habsburg, who in 1493 became Holy Roman Emperor

as **Maximilian I**. After Mary's death in 1482, Maximilian ruled the Netherlands as regent for his son Philip. Relations with England deteriorated after 1485 because of the support Maximilian and **Margaret of York**, second wife of Duke Charles and sister of **Richard III**, provided to Yorkist pretenders Lambert **Simnel** and Perkin **Warbeck**. **Henry VII** imposed a trade embargo that damaged the Netherlands economy and encouraged negotiation of the **Intercursus Magnus**, a 1496 treaty that restored trade relations and pledged each state to deny support to enemies of the other. In 1506, Henry concluded a new agreement, the **Intercursus Malus**, with Philip, who was now ruling the Netherlands in his own right. The new treaty was more favorable to English merchants and secured Philip's surrender of another dissident Yorkist, Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk.

After Philip's death in 1506, his sister, Margaret of Austria, served as regent of the Netherlands for her nephew Charles. Assuming power in Brussels in 1515, Charles repudiated the trade agreements, although a new treaty negotiated at **London** in 1520 again normalized relations. Charles became king of **Spain** (an inheritance from his mother) in 1516, and Holy Roman Emperor as **Charles V** in 1519. Busy with his other domains, Charles entrusted the Netherlands to his aunt Margaret and, from 1531, to his sister Mary of Hungary. Although **Henry VIII's** diplomatic relations with Charles varied, becoming especially tense during Henry's attempt to **divorce** Charles's aunt, **Catherine of Aragon**, trade relations between England and the Netherlands remained relatively stable during the Henrician and Edwardian periods.

Charles abdicated rule of the Netherlands to his son **Philip** in 1555, by which time Philip was married to Henry VIII's daughter **Mary I**. Their marriage created the prospect of a future Habsburg king of England who was also ruler of the Netherlands. However, Mary died childless in 1558, and Philip left the Netherlands for Spain, where he was now king, in 1559. Philip never returned to the Netherlands. By the 1560s, a growing minority in the northern provinces had accepted the ideas of John **Calvin**, despite the efforts of the Catholic Habsburgs to use the Inquisition to stamp out heresy in the provinces. This growing **Protestantism** and an unwillingness to continue being governed at one remove from Spain led to the outbreak of the **Netherlands Revolt** in 1566. Although **Elizabeth I** was reluctant to support rebellion against a lawful ruler, fears of the ill effects of a Spanish, Catholic Netherlands on the economy and security of England and the desire to help fellow Protestants led her to do so. This support led eventually to the outbreak of war with Spain in 1585 and to the launching of the Spanish **Armada** against England in 1588.

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Netherlands Expedition

In 1585, **Elizabeth I** turned to open war with **Spain** and sent an army under Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, to preserve the United Provinces of the **Netherlands** from Spanish reconquest. The English army fought unremarkably but saved the United Provinces from immediate collapse. England's limited political and financial commitment to the Netherlands, Dutch factional politics, and the ambition of Holland to lead a decentralized Dutch confederacy together sank Leicester's ambition to set up a centralized Dutch government under English aegis. The expedition, although in many ways a failure, preserved the United Provinces and left behind a looser, more durable Anglo-Dutch alliance for the remainder of the war with Spain.

The 1584 assassination of **William of Orange** left the **Netherlands Revolt** on the verge of collapse as the Spanish overran most of Flanders and Brabant. Elizabeth therefore reluctantly moved to open war against Spain in 1585, signed the Treaty of **Nonsuch** (1585) with the United Provinces, and agreed to send an English army of 5,000 foot soldiers and 1,000 cavalry to the Netherlands. Elizabeth also sent English garrisons to the four **cautionary towns** of Brill, Flushing, Ramekins, and Walcheren; these garrisons freed Dutch troops for field service and guaranteed England's political, fiscal, and military interests in the United Provinces. Elizabeth appointed Leicester to lead the expedition. Leicester, the queen's **favorite**, a member of the Privy Council and a longtime advocate of English intervention on behalf of the United Provinces, was the natural candidate for the position.

Leicester arrived in the Netherlands in December 1585; he stayed until November 1586 and returned again between June and December 1587. In January 1586 Leicester accepted the position of governor-general of the United Provinces, so as to forward their political centralization and provide for a more efficient organization of the Dutch armies. Leicester accepted the appointment without consulting Elizabeth and against her desire to eschew any formal English suzerainty over the United Provinces; he provoked her to a bout of fury against him, which, although temporary, permanently damaged his prestige. Leicester's tenure in the

Netherlands suffered from Elizabeth's desire to minimize her commitments to the United Provinces; she miserably underfunded Leicester's army and confined it to a largely defensive role. Elizabeth's preference for a peace treaty with Spain that preserved English interests, even one that sacrificed Dutch independence, was an open secret that alarmed the Dutch and inflamed their mistrust of Leicester.

Leicester created further conflicts with the Dutch governing elites by attempting to centralize under his own authority the government of the United Provinces; to forbid Dutch merchants (most importantly those of Holland) from selling war materiel and provisions to the Spanish enemy; and to promote a Leicesterian party throughout the United Province, heavily composed of local opposition factions, Calvinists unhappy with the Erastian tone of the Dutch religious settlement, and exiles from the Spanish-occupied southern Netherlands eager to promote an aggressive Dutch military policy. In response, the Dutch elites withheld their political and fiscal cooperation from Leicester—not least by refusing to pay the English troops—and began to promote Maurice of Nassau, the young son of William of Orange, to positions that could check Leicester's authority. Holland in particular sabotaged Leicester so as to promote its own leadership within a decentralized Dutch confederation. Leicester's final withdrawal from the Netherlands registered the failure of his policies and the triumph of Holland.

The English military effort, meanwhile, had been at best mediocre in its results. The untrained, badly paid English levies fought little, and largely defensively—partly because Elizabeth wanted them to do nothing more and partly because they were incapable of effective offense. In the summer of 1586, the Spanish took Grave, Venlo, and Neuss, but Leicester then oversaw the surprise capture of Axel and the successful storm of a Spanish fort near Zutphen. These successes, however, were followed by the treasonous surrender to the Spanish in January 1587 of the Zutphen fort and the town of Deventer by English Catholics Sir William Stanley and Rowland York—officers picked by Leicester, whose loyalty he had guaranteed. This treason outraged and horrified the Dutch and sent Anglo-Dutch relations to a nadir; English soldiers starved in the winter of 1586–1587, to great Dutch indifference. In July 1587, Sluys surrendered to the besieging Spanish despite Leicester's best efforts to relieve the town. The Dutch avoided further major losses of territory after Sluys only because the Spanish had begun to prepare for the invasion of England.

David Randall

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Netherlands Revolt

The revolt of the **Netherlands** against **Habsburg** rule was the chief cause of war between Elizabethan England and Habsburg **Spain**. In 1559, **Philip II** of Spain, ruler of the Netherlands, left the provinces never to return. Henceforth, he ruled the Netherlands from Spain through a series of governor-generals, the first of whom was his half sister Margaret of Parma. Attempts by Philip to reorganize the church in the Netherlands and to strengthen and centralize the administration at Brussels led to a revolt in 1566 of the landowning nobility and **gentry**. The success of the revolt encouraged the provinces' Protestant minority, which erupted in a series of iconoclastic riots (i.e., disorders in which religious art and images were destroyed) that left Catholic churches severely damaged.

In 1567, Philip sent Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alva, to restore order. As governor-general, Alva used his matchless Spanish troops and the Council of Troubles (or Council of Blood), a ruthless judicial tribunal, to root out and punish rebellion. Leadership of the rebellion fell upon **William, Prince of Orange**, a wealthy Dutch nobleman. Alva's military successes caused concern in England, where the government feared the presence of a Spanish army across the Channel and a strong Catholic state under Spanish control.

By 1572, rebels from the Dutch provinces took to the sea to attack Spanish shipping. Known as **sea beggars**, these seaborne raiders began committing indiscriminate acts of piracy in the Channel, forcing **Elizabeth I** to expel them from all English ports on 1 March 1572. A month later, the sea beggars fell upon the undefended Dutch ports of Brill and Flushing, seizing them as permanent bases for the rebellion. By the fall, most of the northern provinces had expelled the Spaniards, many of the southern towns were in revolt, and the States (i.e., legislature) of Holland named William of Orange stadtholder (governor and commander in chief) of the province.

In 1573, Don Luis de Requesens replaced Alva as governor-general; to impede his campaign of reconquest, the rebels of the increasingly Protestant northern provinces opened the dikes and flooded the low-lying provinces of Holland and Zeeland. In 1576, after de Requesens's death, the leaderless and long unpaid Spanish troops mutinied and sacked the wealthy city of Antwerp; over 8,000 citizens died during the three days of the "Spanish Fury." This brutal act led to the Pacification of Ghent, a treaty of peace and alliance between the Protestant north and the Catholic south against the Spanish administration. The next Spanish governor-generals,



This assault by sea beggars on the Dutch port of Brill in 1572 was part of the Netherlands Revolt. (Hulton Archive)

John of Austria (Philip's half brother) and Alessandro **Farnese**, Duke of Parma (Philip's nephew), sought to break the union. After Don John's death in 1578, Parma restored Spanish authority in the south. However, in the north in 1579, Holland, Zeeland, and the provinces of the northeast signed the Union of Utrecht, seeking some form of self-government under their **States-General**, a legislative body composed of representatives from the various provincial legislatures (states).

In 1580, the States-General accepted Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, heir to the French throne, as ruler and military leader of the Netherlands, and in July 1581 the States-General passed the Act of Abjuration formally renouncing allegiance to Philip II. In 1584, the death of Alençon and the assassination of William of Orange, along with further Spanish successes in the south, convinced Elizabeth to intervene militarily on behalf of the United Provinces of the north, even though the union, whose rule she had declined, was by then a republic governed by the States-General. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of **Nonsuch** of 1585 brought English troops to the Netherlands under Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and led to war between England and Spain. The treaty convinced Philip that the Netherlands would never be pacified until the Protestant regime of Elizabeth had been overthrown in England.

In 1588, Philip sent the **armada** against England, hoping to use the fleet to ferry Parma's troops across the Channel to depose Elizabeth and restore **Catholicism**. After the failure of the armada, the Anglo-Spanish naval war dragged on until

1604. In the Netherlands after 1590, the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic, with English assistance, regained the initiative that ensured their independence. In 1609, Spain and the United Provinces acknowledged military stalemate and agreed to a 12-year truce that partitioned the original Netherlands into the independent and largely Protestant United Provinces of the north (roughly, modern Holland) and the largely Catholic Spanish Netherlands to the south (roughly, modern Belgium).

See also Cautionary Towns; Netherlands Expedition; Protestantism

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New Bishoprics, Act Authorizing

Passed in May 1539, the Act Authorizing New Bishoprics empowered **Henry VIII** to establish and endow by royal letters patent an unspecified number of new English dioceses. Drafted by Thomas **Cromwell**, the measure attempted to use the great wealth accruing to the Crown through the **dissolution of the monasteries** to improve education, promote social welfare, and reform ecclesiastical administration.

Introduced into **Parliament** by Cromwell on 23 May 1539, the bill generated little debate or opposition and was enacted on the same day. The lengthy preamble, which was drafted in part by the king, declared the need to turn misused monastic endowments to better purposes, such as improving preaching, educating children, strengthening universities, relieving poverty, and even repairing highways. The brief enabling clauses authorized the king to create such new bishoprics as he saw fit and to modify existing diocesan boundaries as required. The king was also reconfirmed in his right to nominate the new bishops.

In the 1520s, Thomas **Wolsey** had suggested reforming the administration of large and unwieldy dioceses, but nothing was accomplished until the dissolution provided the Crown with the revenue necessary to fund diocesan expansion. Upon passage of the act, Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** undertook a study to determine how best to implement the measure. Several bishops, including conservatives Stephen **Gardiner** and Richard **Sampson**, proposed schemes whereby up to 21 new dioceses could be funded, while the king considered the possibility of establishing a bishop in each shire, an idea dating back to Anglo-Saxon times. In the end, a policy of maximum reform at minimum cost prevailed. Six new bishoprics were created: Westminster in 1540; Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, and Peterborough in 1541; and Osney (which soon moved to Oxford) in 1542. The plan saved money (and a number of beautiful medieval buildings) by raising the confiscated abbey church at each site to the dignity of a cathedral. Although the inflation of coming decades was to render it totally inadequate, an initially generous endowment of £5,000 was derived from the incomes of larger monasteries.

During its brief existence (it was incorporated into the diocese of **London** in 1550), the see of Westminster financed readerships in Greek, Hebrew, law, medicine, and divinity at both Oxford and Cambridge. The other new establishments provided similar benefits, increasing administrative efficiency, founding new hospitals and **grammar schools**, and supporting poor scholars at both **universities**. Except for Thomas **Thirlby**, the accomplished diplomat named to the see of Westminster, the new bishops appointed by Henry tended to be undistinguished men of conservative or moderate views. Paul Bush, a former royal chaplain who became bishop of Bristol, was the only appointee with reformist sympathies. Three others were former abbots: John Wakeman (Gloucester) had been abbot at Tewkesbury, John Chambers (Peterborough) abbot at Peterborough, and Robert King (Osney/Oxford) abbot at Isney. The new bishop of Chester, John Bird, was transferred from the Welsh see of Bangor.

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Newfoundland Fishery

The Newfoundland cod fishery enhanced the Tudor diet, especially of the poor; strengthened the national economy; provided the country with experienced seamen; and stimulated English interest in North America. From the beginning of the

sixteenth century, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and English fishermen left their countries' western ports in the early spring to cross the Atlantic and fish the waters off eastern Canada. English fishermen left Bristol and other ports in March or April to reach the fishing grounds by early May. Part of the crew set out in small boats called shallops to catch cod, while the rest of the crew worked onshore at St. John's or other Newfoundland harbors to clean, salt, and cure the fish. Although the crews worked until August or September, vessels called "sack ships" came out from England in midsummer to load and begin selling the early season catch.

With some 160 fast days in the Catholic calendar, fish were much in demand in Catholic Europe, and cod, the favorite European food fish, were large and plentiful in the Grand Banks and other rich fishing areas off Newfoundland and Labrador. When England's break with Roman Catholicism lessened the number of Church-mandated fast days, the Elizabethan government intervened by passing through the **Parliament** of 1563 an act declaring both Wednesday and Saturday to be fish days. By stimulating internal demand for fish, the government hoped to protect and strengthen an industry it considered vital for both the country's economy and its defense.

By **Elizabeth I's** reign, civil war in **France** and Spanish warfare in the **Netherlands** and the Mediterranean had damaged the French and Spanish fishing industries and allowed the English to dominate the Newfoundland fishery and the European trade in cod. When Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** explored Newfoundland in 1583, he found that the English fishermen controlled the best sites both for landing and curing their catch. As relations with **Spain** deteriorated, the Elizabethan government's desire to maintain this economic dominance was overshadowed by its need for large numbers of experienced seamen for the **navy**. Because the Newfoundland cod fishery was the great training ground for English sailors, protecting the fishery meant ensuring a supply of seamen who could be called upon quickly, as they were during the **Armada** Crisis of 1588 to defend England from seaborne invasion.

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Newhaven Expedition

See Le Havre Expedition

New Learning

See Humanism

Nine Years War

The Nine Years War, also known as Tyrone's Rebellion, was the longest and costliest Irish uprising of **Elizabeth I's** reign. The war was sparked by Lord Deputy Sir William **Fitzwilliam's** high-handed division of the lordship of Monaghan in the northern Irish province of Ulster, an action that threatened other Irish lords with a similar reduction of their power and territory. Led by Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, and his son-in-law Red Hugh **O'Donnell**, the chief Irish lords of Ulster bound themselves by oath in a secret alliance against the English government in **Dublin**. The war began in April 1593, as Tyrone deceived the government by pretending to assist it against Irish rebels who were actually acting under his direction. The ruse was an attempt to buy time while Tyrone's agents negotiated with **Philip II** for Spanish assistance.

In February 1595, Tyrone revealed his true intentions by destroying the English garrison on the river Blackwater. Declared a traitor in June, Tyrone surprised the government by supplementing traditional Irish guerrilla tactics with a well-trained infantry force comprising not only Irishmen and **Redshanks** but also seasoned Spanish and English veterans armed with guns purchased from Scottish and **Anglo-Irish** merchants. Better led and disciplined than most Irish armies in the Elizabethan period, and facing a series of bickering and incompetent English commanders, Tyrone's troops won major victories at Clontibret (1595) and **Yellow Ford** (1598). These successes spread the war throughout most of **Ireland** by 1598. When Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, arrived in Ireland with an army of 16,000 men in 1599, Tyrone refused him battle and played on his political ambition to draw him into an unauthorized truce that left Essex free to return to England and Tyrone free to dominate Ireland.

Unable through lack of artillery to capture the towns, Tyrone sought the support of the Anglo-Irish by appealing to their **Catholicism**. In late 1599, Tyrone sent Elizabeth a series of demands that, if accepted, would have made Ireland an autonomous Catholic state governed by the great Irish and Anglo-Irish lords. The English government responded by sending a capable lord deputy in Charles **Blount**, Lord Mountjoy, and by adopting a strategy of placing small, mutually supporting garrisons across the countryside to disrupt the Irish economy. In 1601, when Spanish troops landed at **Kinsale** to support the Irish, Tyrone risked a pitched battle and suffered a severe defeat. Sir George **Carew** then crushed the rebellion in the south, and Mountjoy's garrisons brought famine to the north, forcing most of Tyrone's allies to submit by the end of 1602. Tyrone went into hiding, finally surrendering in March 1603. The war cost the English government nearly £2 million, more than any previous Irish conflict, but it left England in complete control of Ireland for the first time in 400 years.

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Nobility

See Peerage

Nonsuch, Treaty of

The Treaty of Nonsuch created a formal political and military alliance between Elizabethan England and the Netherlands provinces in revolt against **Philip II** of **Spain**. Several events in 1584 caused **Elizabeth I** to reconsider her long-standing refusal to formally support foreign subjects in rebellion against their lawful monarch. The death of Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, in June and the assassination of **William, Prince of Orange**, in July left the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands without a leader or a constitutional head of state, a situation that threatened to tip the military balance in favor of the able Spanish governor-general, Alessandro **Farnese**, Duke of Parma. When **Henri III** of **France** refused the rule of the rebellious provinces, fear of what a Spanish victory in the Netherlands would mean for the security of Protestant England led William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, to abandon his opposition to English involvement in the provinces and to begin working with Dutch politicians to open talks between the queen and the Dutch **States-General**.

Dutch representatives arrived in **London** in March 1585, while William **Davison**, the English ambassador in the Netherlands, met with rebel leaders in Holland. Davison proposed that the towns of Flushing and Brill be surrendered to English control as pledges of good faith. Accepting this suggestion, the States-General sent a delegation to England to negotiate a formal treaty. Hurried along by the deteriorating military situation, the talks finally concluded in August 1585 with the signing of the Treaty of Nonsuch. Elizabeth agreed to supply the Dutch with 5,000 foot soldiers and 1,000 horsemen, along with garrison troops for Flushing and Brill, the towns that were handed over to the English as security. Elizabeth was also to appoint a “gentleman of quality” to command the English troops and to sit on the Dutch Council of State.

Because of the need for haste, the treaty was vague on many points, including who was to pay for the English troops and what, if any, political role the English

commander—who turned out to be Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester—should play. Although the treaty led to many misunderstandings between the new allies, it committed Elizabeth to the Dutch cause and threw England into war with Spain.

See also Cautionary Towns; Netherlands Expedition; Netherlands Revolt

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Nonsuch Palace

Built by **Henry VIII** after 1538 to rival **Francis I**'s new palace at Chambord, Nonsuch Palace was one of the most fanciful Tudor residences. Located about 12 miles southwest of **London** in Surrey, Nonsuch was one of the few Tudor palaces built on a previously undeveloped site, with no earlier structure to serve as the core of the new residence. Compared with such great residences as **Whitehall Palace** and **Hampton Court Palace**, which could house and feed the whole **court** (numbering up to 1,500 people), Nonsuch was a small house meant only for the monarch and his or her personal servants, along with a small portion of the court, consisting perhaps of the **council**, royal **favorites**, and selected guests.

Nonsuch, which covered merely two acres (in contrast to Whitehall's 23 acres), had no great hall for feeding the court and no audience chambers for the reception of ambassadors or the staging of court entertainments. Set in a 1,700-acre deer park, Nonsuch comprised a pair of two-story quadrangles with two large octagonal towers at the ends. The inner court contained a marble fountain and a large statue of Henry VIII and was entered through an ornate gatehouse crowned with a great clock. The walls of the building were covered with elaborately decorated stucco panels or a surfacing of engraved slate. Decoration of the palace was directed by Nicholas Bellin, an Italian artist stolen from the service of the French king. The palace was also surrounded by a series of formal gardens.

In the 1550s, **Mary I** granted Nonsuch to Henry **Fitzalan**, Earl of Arundel, who completed some of the construction left unfinished at the death of Henry VIII in 1547. Arundel left the palace to his son-in-law John **Lumley**, Lord Lumley, who tactfully presented it to **Elizabeth I** in 1592. The queen, who had made no secret of her desire to reacquire Nonsuch, thanked Lumley for having “garnished and replenished” the palace and granted him other property elsewhere. Nonsuch, like so many Tudor palaces, was heavily damaged during the civil war of the 1640s. In 1665, Charles II gave the palace to his mistress, Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, who had it demolished.

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Norden, John (1548–1625)

Writer and cartographer John Norden was the first Englishman to design and undertake a complete series of histories of the counties of England. Born probably in Middlesex into a minor **gentry** family, Norden in January 1593 won authorization from the Privy **Council** “to travel through England and Wales to make more perfect descriptions, charts, and maps” of each county. Norden titled his survey of the counties the *Speculum Britanniae*, and he completed the first volume in the series, covering Middlesex, in 1593. Lack of funds slowed Norden’s work, although he was much encouraged in his plans by William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Norden managed to complete full surveys only for Hertfordshire (1598), Northampton (1610), and Cornwall (1610), with partial work done for Essex and Norfolk and perhaps for Kent and Surrey (the manuscripts have been lost).

Norden’s surveys contained not only written descriptions of the counties, but finely detailed maps showing roads and pictorial details. Norden’s maps were well known and widely used; John **Speed** used the Norden maps of Cornwall, Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, and Sussex in several of his publications. Norden’s “A Description of the Honor of Windsor” (1607), which was dedicated to **James I**, contains an excellent “Plan or Bird’s-Eye View” of **Windsor Castle** and maps depicting the various surrounding forests and parks. Norden also prepared the best surviving maps of Elizabethan **London** and **Westminster Palace** and is said to have produced a map in 16 sheets showing all the sites of battles fought in Britain between the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

Norden also held several surveying positions, including the surveyorship of the duchy of Cornwall and the surveyorship of Crown lands in Berkshire, Devon,

Surrey, and other counties. In 1607, he published a manual of surveying, *The Surveyor's Dialogue*. He also published *An Intended Guide for English Travellers* in 1625 and a book of simple Protestant devotions entitled *The Pensive Man's Practice*, which was so popular that it went through 40 printings before his death.

See also Antiquarianism

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Norfolk, Duke of

See Howard, Thomas, [Second] Duke of Norfolk; Howard, Thomas, [Third] Duke of Norfolk; Howard, Thomas, [Fourth] Duke of Norfolk;

Norham, Treaty of

Concluded on 10 June 1551, the Treaty of Norham ended the period of Anglo-Scottish warfare known as the **Rough Wooing**. By 1550, John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, the leader of **Edward VI**'s second regency government, resolved to secure peace abroad both to promote internal harmony and to eliminate unsustainable expense. Accordingly, the government concluded the Treaty of **Boulogne** with **France** in March 1550 and in April 1551 appointed commissioners to negotiate a settlement of outstanding disputes with **Scotland**. Led by Bishop Thomas **Thirlby** of Norwich, and including Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonard Beckwith, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, the English commission met with a five-member Franco-Scottish delegation at Norham Castle in May. The main issues to be addressed were the disposition of the remaining English garrisons in Scotland and the resolution of the various border disputes between the two realms.

Being for the moment unwilling and financially unable to challenge French influence in Scotland, the English agreed to the surrender and dismantling of their remaining fortresses at Eyemouth and Roxburgh. The commissioners also agreed to restore the border to where it had stood in 1542, before the start of **Henry VIII**'s Scottish campaigns. The so-called debatable lands, those border areas in dispute between the two countries, were to be neutralized until an Anglo-Scottish boundary commission could meet in the following year to devise a detailed settlement. With the vexatious boundary issue thus deferred, the treaty was complete.

The boundary commission, which was one of the first bodies of its kind in Europe, met frequently in Southampton during the summer of 1552. After much

wrangling over various proposals offered by both sides, the French, who were represented by Claude de Laval-Boisdauphin, **Henri II**'s ambassador in England, suggested a division that was eventually accepted. The final agreement, which was signed on 16 August 1552, had been energetically sought by the French, who found the lack of a clearly defined border intolerable. The relatively straight Anglo-Scottish boundary that resulted from the Treaty of Norham and the work of the boundary commission it created still defines the borders of the two countries.

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Norris, Sir Henry (d. 1536)

A prominent courtier and friend of **Henry VIII**, Henry Norris was one of the five men executed for adultery with Anne **Boleyn**. Norris was an influential member of the royal household from at least 1515. A gentleman of the privy chamber and keeper of the king's privy purse, Norris received frequent grants of money and office, including an annuity of 50 marks per year in 1519. He was also present at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520. As a leading member of the suite of household companions that Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** tried unsuccessfully to control, Norris was hostile to the cardinal and readily attached himself to the Boleyn interest in the late 1520s. With the Boleyns in high favor, Norris was appointed groom of the stole and received £100 from the revenues of the bishopric of Winchester. He was made chamberlain of North Wales in 1531 and was one of the witnesses to Henry's secret marriage with Anne in 1533.

By early 1536, the king's dissatisfaction with Anne, and Norris's possible employment as a go-between with Henry's new love interest, Jane **Seymour**, led Norris to lessen his commitment to the queen. In late April, sensing that she was in jeopardy, Anne confronted Norris about his reluctance to marry one of her ladies. When Norris gave a vague reply, Anne, believing his response signaled abandonment of her cause, retorted angrily, "You look for dead men's shoes; for if ought came to the king but good you would look to have me" (Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 365). This claim, which went far beyond the game of courtly dalliance that Anne had frequently played with Norris and other courtiers, drew a horrified denial from Norris and initiated a prolonged and public quarrel.

Upon calmer reflection, the queen grew fearful of what might be made of her altercation with Norris, and she sent the courtier to her almoner to swear an oath

that she was a good woman. This episode became the basis of the charge of adultery with which Henry himself accused Norris on 1 May at the conclusion of the May Day tournament in which Norris had participated. Promised pardon if he would confess his relationship with the queen, Norris refused and was committed to the **Tower of London**. Why Norris, a close confidant of the king, was accused of adultery with the queen is uncertain. It may be that he was simply too closely associated with Anne to escape Thomas **Cromwell**'s destruction of the Boleyn faction at **court**. Or it may be that Cromwell, seeking to prove that the queen's immorality caused her to abort a deformed male fetus the previous January, used Norris's row with the queen as evidence of his involvement with her in an illicit sexual relationship. Maintaining his innocence, Norris was tried on 12 May with the other commoners accused in the case—Mark **Smeaton**, William **Brereton**, and Sir Francis **Weston**. Convicted of **treason**, Norris and the others were executed on 17 May.

See also Eltham Ordinances

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Norris, Sir John (c. 1547–1597)

Sir John Norris was an important Elizabethan military leader and a commander of English troops in **Ireland** and the **Netherlands**. Born in Oxfordshire, Norris attended Oxford but left in 1571 to serve as a soldier with the **Huguenot** forces in **France** and against rebels in Ireland. He spent much of the early 1580s in the Netherlands fighting with the Dutch rebels against **Spain**. In 1584–1585, he returned to Ireland, where he served the English government as lord president of Munster, a region of southern Ireland.

By the spring of 1585, he was back in the Netherlands, where he became a subordinate of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, who came to the Netherlands in late 1585 as commander of the military forces that **Elizabeth I** had promised the Dutch through the Treaty of **Nonsuch**. Although believing his long experience in the Netherlands made him better qualified than Leicester to command the English forces, Norris nonetheless served Leicester well, winning the Battle of Grave in 1586 and subsequently accepting knighthood from the earl. In 1588, during the **Armada** Crisis, Norris was Leicester's deputy in the main English camp at Tilbury and was given responsibility for defending the shores of Kent against a Spanish landing.

In April 1589, Norris and Sir Francis **Drake** shared command of the **Portugal expedition**, an enterprise aimed at disrupting Spanish shipping and, if possible, overthrowing the rule of **Philip II** in Portugal. Raids on Corunna and Lisbon failed, and the fleet returned to England having done more damage to its commanders' reputations than to Spain. From 1591 to 1593, Norris fought with the English forces supporting **Henri IV** of France; he and Sir Martin **Frobisher** successfully defended the Breton fort of Crozon from Spanish attack in 1593. In 1595, Norris returned to Munster to help suppress the rebellion of Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone. Exasperated by the continuing political unrest that plagued Ireland, Norris died in Munster in 1597.

See also Brittany Expeditions; Netherlands Expedition; Netherlands Revolt; Nine Years War; Universities

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Northampton, Marquis of

See Parr, William, Marquis of Northampton

Northern Rebellion

In 1568, Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, enlisted the aid of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, the heads of the two greatest noble families in the north of England, in furthering his bid to wed Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and to have Mary recognized as heir to the English throne. By supporting Norfolk, the earls were not so much interested in enhancing the duke's position as in preserving their own. The control and influence their families had once exerted over northern England had been declining under the Tudors, and they were especially threatened by the centralizing policies of **Elizabeth I** and her chief advisor, William **Cecil**. Many northern Catholics disliked the queen's Protestant Church, and the earls hoped to use this religious discontent to serve their own political ends.

When Elizabeth refused to countenance the duke's plans to marry the Queen of Scots, Norfolk left court uttering vague threats against Cecil and his supporters. As the only duke in England and a maternal relative of the queen, Norfolk felt denied his proper position at **court** by the influence of Cecil. When Elizabeth

summoned the duke back to **London**, he submitted almost immediately. Fearful that they might be summoned next, the northern earls rose in rebellion, calling out their tenants and any disgruntled Catholics. The rebels seized Durham and restored Catholic worship in the cathedral. The earls demanded the restoration of **Catholicism** throughout the kingdom, the release of Mary Stuart, and the dismissal of Cecil. They also received money from the pope through Roberto **Ridolfi**, an Italian banker and secret papal agent living in England.

The arrival of a royal army under Thomas **Radcliffe**, Earl of Sussex, dispersed the rebel force, and the two earls fled into **Scotland**. The execution of several hundred rebels in early 1570 restored quiet to the north, which came more fully under the control of the queen's **Council of the North**. Westmorland fled to the **Netherlands**, where he lived on a pension from **Philip II** of **Spain**. Northumberland, after being ransomed by Elizabeth from the Scots for £2,000, was executed at York in 1572. Norfolk survived his association with the rebel earls only to die in June 1572 for his involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot**.

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Northumberland, Duke of

See Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland

Northumberland's Coup

Northumberland's Coup refers to the 1553 attempt to remove the princesses Mary and Elizabeth from the succession and replace them with their cousin Jane **Grey**. Conceived by **Edward VI** and his chief minister, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, and implemented by Northumberland upon Edward's death, the coup grew out of the king's fear that Mary, his Catholic half sister and heir, would upon her accession overthrow the Protestant Church created during his reign. Northumberland's involvement likely arose out of ambition and the fear that Mary's accession would end his political power and perhaps even his freedom or life.

As his health deteriorated in early 1553, Edward drafted a document called the *Devise* to alter the succession as laid down in the 1544 Act of **Succession**. Because only **Parliament** could amend its own acts, the *Devise* was technically illegal, and the king and Northumberland had to bully councillors and judges into accepting it. The *Devise* bypassed the king's sisters in favor of the male descendents of his aunt

Mary **Tudor**. In 1553, Mary's descendents, though Protestant, were all women—her daughter Frances Brandon **Grey**, Duchess of Suffolk, and the duchess's daughters by Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk. In May 1553, Northumberland married his son Guildford to 15-year-old Jane Grey, the eldest of these girls, thereby ensuring that the future heir to the throne would be Northumberland's grandson. When it became clear that the king's health would not wait upon the birth of a male heir, the *Devise* was altered to pass the Crown directly to Jane.

When Edward died on 6 July, the **council** suppressed the news for several days. Jane, who had never been a willing participant in the scheme, promptly fainted when informed of her accession on 9 July. On 10 July, Queen Jane, now based at the **Tower of London**, issued a **proclamation** announcing her accession. Either through oversight or the unexpected rapidity of the king's death, Northumberland had neglected to gain control of Mary's person. The princess fled into Suffolk, where she was soon surrounded by a growing band of supporters. When Northumberland left **London** on 14 July to arrest Mary, the princess was already being proclaimed queen across the country. On 18 July, the council in London, bereft of Northumberland's leadership and anxious to join the winning side, abandoned Queen Jane and proclaimed Mary. The reign of Queen Jane ended after only nine days. Accepting defeat, Northumberland proclaimed Mary at Cambridge on 20 July.

The princess, now queen as **Mary I**, entered London on 3 August. Riding to the Tower she released Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk; Stephen **Gardiner**, Bishop of Winchester; and Edward **Courtenay**, future Earl of Devon, all conservatives imprisoned by her father or brother. Their places in the Tower were taken by Northumberland, Jane Grey, Guildford Dudley, and several others identified with the duke. Although Northumberland declared himself a Catholic, he was executed for **treason** on 22 August. Jane and her husband remained in the Tower until February 1554, when her father's involvement in **Wyatt's Rebellion** led to the execution of all three.

See also Elizabeth I

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Northwest Passage

Like the other nations of Europe, Elizabethan England wanted a practical trade route to Asia, the source of silks, spices, and other valuable commodities. In the late fifteenth century, Portuguese mariners pioneered a southeastern route to Asia

around Africa's Cape of Good Hope. In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan opened for **Spain** a southwestern route to Asia by sailing through the straits at the southern tip of South America that now bear his name. The English had sought a northern route to Asia since the 1490s, when **Henry VII** sent John **Cabot** to find a northwestern passage around North America. When Cabot failed to return from his second voyage, the English search for a Northwest Passage ceased.

Henry VIII, who came to the throne in 1509, was more interested in European war than in American exploration, but by **Elizabeth I**'s reign, increasing rivalry with Spain revived interest in finding a Northwest Passage. Certain that the route existed and determined to compete with Spain for the spice trade, various prominent Elizabethans, such as Sir Humphrey **Gilbert**, called for voyages of exploration to find the passage. Between 1576 and 1578, Martin **Frobisher** led three expeditions around Greenland and into the network of islands and waterways off northeastern North America. His belief that he had discovered gold shifted the focus of his last two voyages from a search for the passage to a search for wealth. In 1578, Francis **Drake**, having sailed through the Straits of Magellan, explored the west coast of North America hoping to find a passage from the other side; he sailed along the California coast and perhaps as far north as the site of modern Vancouver before turning west across the Pacific.

Between 1585 and 1587, John **Davis** led three voyages that explored well to the north in the wide strait (later named Davis Strait) between Greenland and Baffin Island. Davis found no practical, ice-free route to Asia, but he did find the openings of various promising waterways. In 1610–1611, Henry Hudson followed one of Davis's leads into the great bay of northern Canada that was later named after him. He did not find a passage into the Pacific, but he did establish England's claim to northern Canada. A successful Northwest Passage by water from Greenland to Alaska was not made until 1905, when the Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen finally accomplished it.

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Norton, Thomas (1532–1584)

Thomas Norton was a poet, playwright, and **Puritan** activist in **Parliament**. Norton was born in **London**, the son of a wealthy grocer. He was educated at Cambridge and, like his father, became a member of the Grocers' Company. While still in his teens, he entered the service of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset,

uncle and lord protector of **Edward VI**. In 1555, he began legal training at the **Inns of Court**, where he befriended a fellow student named Thomas **Sackville**. While studying the law, Norton married a daughter of Thomas **Cranmer**, the late archbishop of Canterbury.

Since 1550, Norton had engaged in various literary pursuits, writing **poetry** and publishing an English translation of a Latin letter from the reformer Peter Martyr **Vermigli** to Somerset. In 1561, he published his English translation of John **Calvin**'s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a project encouraged by his wife's stepfather, a Calvinist printer. Norton also collaborated with Sackville on the writing of a play entitled *Gorboduc*, which was performed at the Inner Temple on Twelfth Night in 1561. Written in blank verse and patterned after the works of the Roman playwright Seneca, *Gorboduc* was the first English tragedy. The play borrowed a tale from an English legend, telling of the evils that befell King Gorboduc when he tried to divide his kingdom between his two sons.

Norton served in the Parliaments of 1559 and 1563 and was a member for London in the Parliaments of 1571, 1572, and 1581. An increasingly committed Puritan, Norton was a strong advocate in Parliament for harsher measures against Catholics. In 1581, Norton was appointed the queen's censor, a position that allowed him to conduct examinations of Catholics suspected of **treason**. He performed his office so zealously, and he sent so many Catholics to torture, that he became known as the "rackmaster." Norton was himself briefly imprisoned in 1584 for his strident advocacy of Puritan positions in Parliament. His imprisonment damaged his health, and he died at his house in London in March 1584.

See also Calvinism, English; Catholicism, English; Drama; Liveried Company; Penal Laws; Printing; Protestantism; Universities

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Nottingham, Earl of

See Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham

Nowell, Alexander (c. 1507–1602)

Alexander Nowell (or Noel) was dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in **London** and the author of the Anglican catechism. Born in Lancashire, Nowell was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, eventually becoming an instructor of logic. In 1551, after his ordination to the ministry, he became a member of the clerical staff at

Westminster Abbey and master of Westminster School. During the reign of **Edward VI**, Nowell acquired a great reputation as a preacher, delivering sermons at **court**, **Paul's Cross**, and other notable venues.

After the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Nowell was elected to **Parliament**, but he was not allowed to serve because he was also a member of **Convocation**. A convinced Protestant, Nowell then fled abroad, joining Marian exile communities in Europe. He returned to England on **Elizabeth I**'s accession in 1558 and was appointed dean (the head of the chapter or clerical staff of a cathedral) of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1560, a position he held for 42 years. Nowell had a stormy relationship with the queen. He lost a chance to be provost of the school at Eton when he took a wife, the queen preferring her higher clergy to be celibate. In 1562, he earned a royal rebuke for giving the queen a richly ornamented copy of the **Book of Common Prayer**, which Elizabeth found too Catholic for her tastes. In 1564, the queen interrupted Nowell's sermon to scold him for attacking the use of crucifixes, which he opposed and she did not. He also got into trouble for publicly criticizing the queen's failure to marry and bear children. "If your parents had been of the same mind," he asked in Elizabeth's hearing, "where had you been then?"

Nowell is best known as the author of three catechisms. His so-called Large Catechism was approved by Convocation in 1563 and was printed in 1572. The Middle Catechism was an abridgment of the Large Catechism, and the Small Catechism of 1572 was based on the catechism in the prayer book of 1549. Nowell also wrote part of the Anglican Catechism that was authorized for use in 1604, two years after his death.

See also Anglican Church; Grammar School; Marian Exiles; Universities

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Nymegen, Treaty of

Signed in April 1573 by **Elizabeth I** and Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alba, the Spanish governor-general of the **Netherlands**, the Treaty of Nymegen lifted the trade embargo that had existed between England and the Netherlands since the **Treasure Crisis** of 1568. The agreement represented a preliminary adjustment of Anglo-Spanish relations that was extended and regularized in the 1574 Treaty of **Bristol**.

In December 1568, **Huguenot** pirates chased Spanish ships carrying gold and silver coin for the payment of Spanish troops in the Netherlands into English

Channel ports. Learning that **Philip II** had borrowed the money from Italian bankers and that it did not officially become his property until it reached its destination, Elizabeth had the coin impounded, negotiated new terms with the bankers, and borrowed the money herself. The Spanish ambassador in England, Gerau de Spes, vigorously protested this action, portraying it in such an unfavorable light to Alva that the Spanish governor took de Spes's advice and seized all English men and goods in the Netherlands in January 1569. Word of these seizures arrived in England at about the same time as word of the Spanish attack on John **Hawkins's** fleet in the Mexican port of **San Juan d'Ulloa** the previous September. The English government responded by confiscating all Spanish goods in English ports, thus initiating the trade embargo that was finally ended four years later by the Treaty of Nymegen.

Negotiations to restore trade began in 1570, but continued unrest in the Netherlands and English concern over the **Ridolfi Plot** prevented any agreement. Alva finally reopened talks on his own initiative in early 1573, because he was concerned that Elizabeth might increase her financial aid to **William, Prince of Orange**, the Dutch rebel leader, who had recently sent representatives to **London**. With political and economic conditions finally favoring settlement, the negotiations were quickly concluded. Both parties agreed to end the embargo and to support one another against mutual enemies for two years. Alva ensured the success of the talks by accepting an English formula for the restoration of property that had been confiscated in 1569. With the subsequent Treaty of Bristol, the Nymegen agreement normalized Anglo-Spanish relations until the outbreak of war between the two countries in 1585.

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Oatlands Palace

Built by **Henry VIII**, Oatlands Palace was one of the principal royal residences in the Thames Valley near **London**. Just as Henry built **St. James's Palace** as a smaller London retreat from nearby **Whitehall Palace**, so Oatlands was constructed near **Hampton Court Palace** to provide the king with greater opportunities for **hunting**. Oatlands was located on the south bank of the Thames about five miles southwest of Hampton Court near Weybridge. In 1539 and 1540, **Parliament** set aside a large tract of the south bank of the Thames west of Hampton Court as a new royal hunting ground, an action taken to accommodate an increasingly ill and corpulent monarch who still enjoyed the hunt. Anxious “to have his game and pleasure ready at hand,” Henry planned a new residence near his hunting and Hampton Court, having acquired the Oatlands site through an exchange of property with the Rede family in 1538.

Built in the early 1540s, Oatlands was a rambling structure covering 10 acres (Hampton Court covered 6 acres and Whitehall 23 acres). Like St. James's, Oatlands was built of brick. Though covering a sizable area, it had no great hall and so could not accommodate the full **court**. According to surviving drawings of the palace, Oatlands was built around a large, square central court with the royal apartments forming a triangular cluster of buildings that lay beyond. **Elizabeth I** somewhat extended the large outer court of the palace by building a complex of kitchens and court offices. Entrance to the central court from the south was through a tall gatehouse with oriel windows and octagonal turrets, matched by a somewhat smaller gatehouse on the north end of the court that led to the royal apartments. The most notable feature of the royal apartments was the prospect tower, which was similar in appearance to some of the towers at **Nonsuch Palace**. Like so many Tudor royal residences, Oatlands was demolished during the civil war in the mid-seventeenth century, and little else is known of its design and appearance.

See also Architecture

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O'Donnell, Hugh (1572–1602)

Hugh O'Donnell, known as “Red Hugh,” was the head of the Ulster lordship of Tirconnell and a leader of the Irish insurgents during the **Nine Years War**. O'Donnell saw his first military action in 1584 when he was only 12. In 1587, Lord Deputy Sir John **Perrot**, fearing the possible consequences of O'Donnell's proposed marriage to a daughter of Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone (the chief Irish nobleman in Ulster), lured O'Donnell aboard an English vessel and had him arrested as he sat drinking. O'Donnell languished in Dublin Castle until 1591, when he escaped with the assistance of Tyrone. The following year, O'Donnell's mother, who had ruled Tirconnell during O'Donnell's captivity, engineered her senile husband's deposition and saw her son installed as lord.

On the outbreak of the Nine Years War in 1593, O'Donnell acted as an able second-in-command to Tyrone, achieving the capture by treachery of Sligo Castle and organizing an Irish appeal for assistance to **Philip II of Spain**. O'Donnell fought alongside his father-in-law at the victories of Clontibret in 1595 and **Yellow Ford** in 1598 and raided across western and northern **Ireland**, disrupting the authority of the **Dublin** government and greatly extending his own.

On the landing of Spanish forces at **Kinsale** in southern Ireland in September 1601, O'Donnell marched a portion of the Irish army across the island to link up with the Spaniards. Although winter was approaching and Sir George **Carew** had stationed himself at Cashel with 2,500 men to intercept the Irish, O'Donnell executed a brilliant flanking march that evaded Carew and brought his forces safely to Kinsale, where he was joined a week later by Tyrone and the rest of the army. After the disastrous Irish defeat at Kinsale on 24 December 1601, O'Donnell sailed to Spain to seek further assistance for the Irish cause. He died in Spain at Simancas in 1602 amid rumors (probably untrue) that he had been poisoned. Although the biography published shortly after his death, the *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*, gives O'Donnell a paramount position among the Irish war leadership, evidence indicates that he generally acted as Tyrone's subordinate.

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Officers of State

Although English medieval government operated through the seals used to authenticate official documents, with the great officers of state being those who controlled the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, and the Signet, Tudor government functioned through ministers of state who implemented the decisions of the monarch, the council, and **Parliament**. This change in method was signaled by the decline in importance of the lord chancellor, the keeper of the Great Seal. Twice during **Elizabeth I's** reign, from 1558 to 1579, and again from 1592 to 1596, the chancellorship was vacant. During the first period, the Great Seal was held by Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas **Bacon**, and from 1587 to 1591, the chancellor, the Crown's most important legal officer, was Sir Christopher **Hatton**, a man of limited legal training. The Lord Privy Seal, the keeper of the Privy Seal, supervised a staff of clerks who received royal orders and grants initiated under the Signet and prepared documents for authentication by the Great Seal. The Lord Privy Seal also oversaw the Court of **Requests**.

The two secretaryships of state developed from the principal secretaryship, the monarch's private secretary and keeper of the Signet (the monarch's personal seal). During the sixteenth century, the importance of the office tended to reflect the man who held it. In the 1530s, Thomas **Cromwell** based his great authority on the secretaryship, and from 1558 to 1572, Sir William Cecil acted as Elizabeth's chief minister while holding the secretaryship. Under Cecil, the principal secretary acted as a link between the Crown, the Privy Council, and Parliament, setting the council's agenda and managing Parliament's deliberations. Under Sir Francis **Walsingham** from 1573 to 1590, one of the secretaries began to specialize in foreign affairs, supervising, as Walsingham did, the Crown's diplomatic service and assuming responsibility for state security and an extensive foreign and domestic intelligence network.

The office of lord treasurer was responsible for financial affairs and for the collection of **customs revenue**. The treasurer presided, either directly or through the chancellor of the Exchequer, over the financial court of the **Exchequer**, one of the courts of **common law**. The lord chamberlain supervised the daily routine of the **court**, including ceremonies, travel arrangements, and entertainment, although much responsibility for organizing the latter was assigned to the master of the revels.

Chief Officers of the Crown

Office	Duties	Tudor Officeholders
Lord Admiral	The lord admiral was the chief naval officer of England, responsible for naval administration and, if he was of proper age and fitness, commander of the English fleet at sea.	John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford (1485–1513) Sir Edward Howard (1513) Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and 3rd Duke of Norfolk (1513–1525) Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (1525–1536) William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (1536–1540) John Russell, Earl of Bedford (1540–1542) Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1542–1543) John Dudley, Viscount Lisle (1543–1547) Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudeley (1547–1549) John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (1549–1550) Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Lord Clinton (1550–1554) William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham (1554–1558) Edward Fiennes de Clinton, Lord Clinton, Earl of Lincoln (1558–1585) Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham (1585–1619)
Lord Chancellor	From medieval times, the chancellor was the keeper of the Great Seal and, by Tudor times, was the chief legal officer of the Crown, presiding over the Court of Chancery and the House of Lords. Until the appointment of Sir Thomas More in 1529, the chancellor was a churchman. Sometimes, especially during the reign of Elizabeth I, the chancellorship was left vacant, and appointment was made instead of a lord keeper of the Great Seal.	Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York (1485) John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester and Ely (1485–1487) John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1487–1500) Henry Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury (lord keeper) (1500–1502) William Warham, Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury (lord keeper) (1502–1504) William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1504–1515) Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York (1515–1529)

(continued)

Chief Officers of the Crown (continued)

		Sir Thomas More (1529–1532) Sir Thomas Audley (lord keeper) (1532–1533) Thomas Audley, Lord Audley (1533–1544) Thomas Wriothesley, Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (1544–1547) William Paulet, Lord St. John (lord keeper) (1547) Richard Rich, Lord Rich (1547–1551) Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely (lord keeper) (1551–1552) Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely (1552–1553) Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (1553–1555) Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York (1556–1558) Sir Nicholas Bacon (lord keeper) (1558–1579) Sir Thomas Bromley (1579–1587) Sir Christopher Hatton (1587–1591) Sir John Puckering (lord keeper) (1592–1596) Sir Thomas Egerton (1596–1603)
Lord Chamberlain	The chamberlain, the chief officer of the royal household, supervised an extensive staff of grooms, pages, carvers, cupbearers, physicians, chaplains, and yeoman of the guard, among others. Twice Elizabeth I gave the position to sons of former chamberlains, thus giving the office a quasi-hereditary nature. The master of the revels was subordinate to the chamberlain.	Sir William Stanley (1485–1495) Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney (1495–1508) Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester (1508–1526) William Fitzalan, 18th Earl of Arundel (1526–1530) William Sandys, Lord Sandys of the Vyne (1530–1535) William Paulet, Lord St. John (1535–1550) Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth (1550–1551) Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy of Cliche (1551–1553) John Williams, Lord Williams of Thame (1553–1557)

(continued)

Chief Officers of the Crown (continued)

		William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham (1557–1572) Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex (1572–1583) Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham (1584–1585) Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (1585–1596) William Brooke, Lord Cobham (1596–1597) George Carey, Lord Hunsdon (1597–1603)
Lord Privy Seal	The Lord Privy Seal was the head of the eight-man Privy Seal Office and keeper of the Privy Seal, which the monarch used to authenticate answers to petitions and special money transactions. The Lord Privy Seal also directed the Court of Requests.	Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter (1485–1487) Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester (1487–1516) Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham (1516–1523) Henry Marny, Lord Marny (1523) Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London (1523–1530) Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire (1530–1536) Thomas Cromwell, Lord Cromwell (1536–1540) William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (1540–1542) John Russell, Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford (1542–1555) William Paget, Lord Paget (1555) Vacant (1555–1559) Sir William Cecil (1559–1572) William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham (1572–1573) Sir Thomas Smith (1573–1576) Sir Francis Walsingham (1576–1590) William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1590–1598) Sir Robert Cecil (1598–1603)

(continued)

Chief Officers of the Crown (continued)

Lord Treasurer	The lord treasurer oversaw royal financial affairs and presided over the Exchequer. Under the Tudors, the office had great prestige and was usually given to a peer. The chancellor of the Exchequer was subordinate to the treasurer.	John Dinham, Lord Dinham (1486–1501) Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, second Duke of Norfolk (1501–1524) Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1524–1546) Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (1547–1549) William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester (1550–1572) William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1572–1598) Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset (1598–1608)
Secretary of State	Prior to 1540, the secretary of state was the monarch's personal secretary and keeper of the Signet, the monarch's personal seal. The secretary did not become an important office of state until the 1530s. After 1540 a second secretary was often appointed to assist the principal secretary. Under Elizabeth I, the principal secretaries managed the agenda of the Privy Council, represented the Crown in Parliament, and headed the diplomatic service. The office of principal secretary tended to reflect the man who held it; under Thomas Cromwell and Sir William Cecil, for instance, it was one of the chief offices of the government, but it had much less influence under other holders.	Secretaries of State Richard Foxe (1485–1487) Owen King (1487–1500) Thomas Ruthall (1500–1516) Richard Pace (1516–1526) William Knight (1526–1528) Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester (after 1531) (1528–1533) Thomas Cromwell, Lord Cromwell (after 1536) (1533–1540) Principal Secretaries Sir Thomas Wriothesley (1540–1544) Sir Ralph Sadler (1540–1543) Sir William Paget (1543–1548) Sir William Petre (1544–1557) Sir Thomas Smith (1548–1549) Sir Nicholas Wotton (1549–1550) Sir William Cecil (1550–1553) Sir John Cheke (1553) Sir John Bourne (1553–1558) Sir John Boxell (1557–1558) Sir William Cecil (1558–1572) Sir Thomas Smith (1572–1576)

(continued)

Chief Officers of the Crown (continued)

		Sir Francis Walsingham (1573–1590) Thomas Wilson (1577–1581) William Davison (1586–1587) Sir Robert Cecil (1596–1603) John Herbert (1600)
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Seals of Government

Seal	Function
Great Seal	Originating in the twelfth century, the Great Seal, a circular double-sided seal placed in the keeping of the lord chancellor, was—and still is—the main seal for authenticating royal grants. By Tudor times, formal procedure called for royal grants and orders originated by warrants authenticated under the Privy Seal or the Signet to then be sent to the chancellor for validation with the Great Seal.
Privy Seal	A small seal bearing the royal coat of arms, the Privy Seal was used to validate the monarch’s answer to various petitions and to authorize special money transactions. The Lord Privy Seal oversaw a small staff of clerks who received documents sealed with the royal Signet and prepared documents for authentication with the Great Seal.
Signet	The Signet, a small single-sided seal developed in the fourteenth century as the monarch’s private seal, was kept by the king’s secretary. Because the Great Seal and the Privy Seal remained at Westminster in the keeping of the chancellor and the Lord Privy Seal, respectively, monarchs wanted a personal seal that traveled with them and allowed them to authenticate royal grants and orders wherever they were in the kingdom. Such documents were then taken to Westminster for validation by the Privy and Great Seals.

The lord admiral was responsible for the organization, supply, and personnel of the navy, and was, during war, commander of the fleet. Charles **Howard**, Lord Howard of Effingham, lord chamberlain from 1573, became lord admiral in 1585, serving in that key post during the invasion by the Spanish **Armada** in 1588.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Oliver, Isaac (c. 1556–1617)

Isaac Oliver was one of the most prominent and sought-after miniature painters in Elizabethan England. Born in Rouen in **France**, Oliver came to **London** with his family in about 1562. Although his father was a goldsmith, Oliver became a student of the famed miniaturist Nicholas **Hilliard**, who, as royal limner, painted miniature portraits of **Elizabeth I** and many well-known courtiers. Oliver eventually developed a style that was more realistic than Hilliard's and made greater use of shadowing. Although the queen preferred the more idealized portraiture of Hilliard, Oliver won great acclaim for his work both at **court** and among the **gentry** and the London merchant community.

After 1588, Oliver spent several years in Venice and elsewhere in **Italy** studying Italian art. He may also have studied art in the **Netherlands**, for in 1602 he married the daughter of the well-known Dutch painter Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. In 1604, **James I** appointed Oliver limner to his wife, Queen Anne. Oliver painted the king and his entire family, as well as many prominent members of the Jacobean court. Oliver died in London in October 1617 and left his painting equipment and portraits, finished and unfinished, to his son Peter, who also became a miniaturist.

See also Limning

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O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone (c. 1550–1616)

Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone and chief of the O'Neill clan in Ulster, led the Irish forces during the **Nine Years War**. Hugh was the son of Matthew O'Neill, who was murdered about 1558 at the instigation of his half brother Shane **O'Neill**. When his older brother was also murdered, Hugh O'Neill was taken under the protection of the English government and raised in the **Pale**, perhaps even going for a time to England. **Elizabeth I** hoped that Hugh would prove a more tractable leader of the O'Neills than his cousin Turlough Luineach **O'Neill**, who had succeed Shane as clan chief in 1567.

By the 1580s, the Crown had reestablished Hugh O'Neill in Ulster and recognized him as Earl of Tyrone. By the early 1590s, Tyrone, with the help of his son-in-law Red Hugh **O'Donnell**, had defeated Turlough Luineach and supplanted him as leader of the Ulster O'Neills. By 1593, Tyrone began to plot rebellion with other Ulster chiefs, even going so far as to make contact with **Philip II of Spain**. In 1593, at the start of the Nine Years War, Tyrone maintained outwardly friendly



Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, led the Irish forces during the Nine Years War. Here he is making his submission after defeat by Charles Blount. (Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

relations with the English government while covertly supporting the uprisings of other Ulster chiefs. In 1595, Tyrone seized the fort on the Blackwater and was proclaimed a traitor. His victory over the English at **Yellow Ford** in 1598 extended his authority into central **Ireland** and threw **Dublin** into momentary panic.

Elizabeth sent Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, into Ireland in 1599, but Tyrone refused to meet Essex in open battle. The two earls then concluded a six-month truce that allowed Essex to pursue his political ambitions in England and gave Tyrone time to await the arrival of help from Spain. Spanish troops landed at **Kinsale** in southern Ireland in 1601, but when Tyrone marched south to meet them, he was heavily defeated by Charles **Blount**, Lord Mountjoy, the lord deputy. Tyrone submitted to the government in 1603, but in 1607 he fled to Rome, where he lived on a papal pension until his death in 1616. **James I** confiscated his lands, using them for the Ulster plantation of Protestant English and Scottish settlers whose descendants still live in modern Northern Ireland.

See also Plantations, Irish

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O'Neill, Shane (c. 1530–1567)

Shane O'Neill was the paramount Irish chieftain in Ulster in the 1560s and was one of **Elizabeth I's** most formidable Irish opponents. The eldest son of Con O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone, Shane O'Neill succeeded his father as chief of the O'Neills in 1559 after defeating an attempt by his illegitimate half brother Matthew O'Neill to claim their father's position. To seal his victory, Shane incited his supporters to murder Matthew, an action that led Elizabeth to refuse confirmation of either Shane's chieftainship or his earldom of Tyrone.

For leadership of the O'Neills, the most powerful family in the northern Irish province of Ulster, the queen favored Shane's nephew Hugh **O'Neill**, the second son of Matthew. To make him pro-English and to protect him from his uncle, Elizabeth had Hugh educated in the **Pale** and perhaps, for a time, in England, where he remained until 1568. Elizabeth's support for Hugh drove Shane O'Neill into rebellion and threw Ulster into turmoil until 1562, when Shane agreed to go to England and submit himself to the queen. In return, Elizabeth acknowledged Shane as captain of Ulster, but upon his return to **Ireland**, Shane O'Neill reopened hostilities with the government, and Ulster suffered another four years of continuous warfare. In 1565, after defeating the Scots settled in Antrim, O'Neill had virtually extinguished English authority in Ulster. To maintain his position against English counterattacks, O'Neill appealed for aid to the pope, Charles IX of **France**, and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots—all of whom had an interest in weakening Elizabeth.

The lord deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry **Sidney**, led an English army into Ulster to suppress the rebellion, but by the time Sidney's forces reached the north, O'Neill had been defeated and put to flight by his Irish enemies, the O'Donnells. O'Neill took refuge with the MacDonnells, former opponents who at first welcomed him but then, on 2 June 1567, brutally murdered him, sending his head as a gift to Sidney in **Dublin**. O'Neill's career illustrated both the weakness of English control in northern Ireland and the growing connection between Catholicism and Irish opposition to English rule.

See also Catholicism, English

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O'Neill, Turlough Luineach (c. 1531–1595)

From 1567 to 1593, Turlough Luineach O'Neill was leader of the O'Neill clan, the most powerful family in the Ulster region of northern **Ireland**. In 1562, when Shane **O'Neill** traveled to **London** to submit to **Elizabeth I**, Turlough O'Neill sought to supplant his cousin as leader of the clan. The loyalty of Shane's followers, and the subsequent return of Shane himself with Elizabeth's acknowledgment of his position, ended Turlough's bid for the chieftainship. However, upon Shane's death in June 1567, Turlough O'Neill was duly installed as leader of the clan. The **Dublin** government also accepted O'Neill's leadership in Ulster, especially since he made no move to assist **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion** in southern Ireland in 1569–1570.

Turlough O'Neill's 1569 marriage to the half sister of the Scottish Earl of Argyll alarmed the government because it assured O'Neill a steady supply of **Redshanks** mercenaries from **Scotland**, although O'Neill's wife was later credited with strongly influencing her husband to live at peace with the Dublin administration. In the mid-1570s, Sir Thomas **Smith** and Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, attempted, with the queen's consent, to colonize parts of Ulster. O'Neill declined to assist either plantation scheme and openly opposed the larger Essex enterprise. Accordingly, Essex invaded O'Neill's territory in September 1574, causing much damage but making little progress in winning control of the area. Realizing that the reduction of Ulster would be a long and costly process, Elizabeth withdrew her support from Essex, and his colonization scheme collapsed.

In 1575, the government made peace with O'Neill, and Elizabeth created him Earl of Clanconnell. When the **Desmond Rebellion** erupted in southern Ireland in 1579, O'Neill used the government's weakness to extend his control throughout Ulster and to extract major concessions for his continued good behavior. Fearing that O'Neill was in contact with the pope, the government made peace on O'Neill's terms. However, throughout the 1580s, O'Neill's position gradually weakened as the government supported his English-educated kinsman, Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone. By 1592, most of the Ulster O'Neills backed Tyrone, and Turlough resigned his chieftainship in Tyrone's favor in May 1593. Turlough O'Neill died on the run from his enemies in September 1595.

See also Plantations, Irish; Ulster Enterprise (Essex); Ulster Enterprise (Smith)

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Orange, Prince of

See William, Prince of Orange

The Order and Usage of the Keeping of a Parliament in England

Written by John **Hooker**, chamberlain of the city of Exeter, the *Order and Usage* is the most detailed surviving description of the form and functioning of an Elizabethan **Parliament**. While in **Ireland** serving as agent for Sir Peter **Carew**, Hooker sat in the stormy Irish Parliament of 1569. The session witnessed much fruitless argument and personal attack and was characterized by Hooker as “more like to a bear-baiting of loose persons than an assembly of wise and grave men in parliament.” Responding to a petition from several members for a general reform of parliamentary procedures and conduct, Hooker offered to produce, for the guidance of future Irish Parliaments, a manual that described how Parliament was conducted in England. The result of this offer was the *Order and Usage*, which was based on Hooker’s experiences as member for Exeter in the English Parliament of 1571.

Published in about 1572, the *Order and Usage* describes the purpose, composition, structure, membership, and mode of operation of an Elizabethan Parliament. Hooker began by listing the reasons why the monarch should call a Parliament—ordering religion, finalizing royal marriages, determining the succession, declaring war, suppressing rebellion, levying taxes, framing necessary laws, and repealing outdated statutes. Hooker next explained the composition of Parliament—monarch, Lords (bishops and **peerage**), Commons (knights of the shires and representatives of the **boroughs**), and clergy (meeting separately in **Convocation**). He then described in detail the roles played by each of these components and the interaction among them during a session. The *Order and Usage* also contains sections describing the election and privileges of members, the code of behavior for debate, the procedures for passing bills into law, and the manner of opening and closing sessions.

By focusing more heavily on the Commons than on Convocation or the Lords, the *Order and Usage* reflects the growing belief of the **gentry** and urban middle

classes that lawmaking was a corporate activity shared among all the politically aware classes in the realm, and not simply restricted to the Crown and the nobility. Accurate and detailed, Hooker's descriptive analysis of Elizabethan Parliaments is among the most valuable political works produced during the period.

See also Revenue and Taxation; Succession, Acts of

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Ormond, Earl of

See Butler, Thomas, Earl of Ormond

Oxenham, John (c. 1535–1580)

John Oxenham is a prime example of the daring and courage with which Elizabethan seamen and adventurers assailed the Spanish empire. Other than a strong likelihood that he was born in Devonshire, Oxenham's early life is almost completely unknown. In 1572, he sailed with Sir Francis **Drake** on an expedition that attacked Nombre de Dios on the isthmus of Panama. When the English raiders captured a mule train carrying silver up the isthmus from Peru, both Oxenham and Drake realized the advantages of gaining access to the Pacific. Because Spanish treasure ships in the Pacific felt safe from attack, they were virtually unarmed. Drake eventually devised a plan for a voyage of circumnavigation to raid the west coast of South America. Oxenham came to believe that a permanent English presence in Panama would allow privateers to intercept treasure as it came up from Peru. Once seized, the treasure could be transported across the narrow isthmus for quick shipment to England. He began making preparations for an expedition to seize Panama, convincing Drake, John **Hawkins**, and others to invest in the venture.

Oxenham left Plymouth in 1576 with a company of about 50 men. Having established good relations with the local Cimaroons (Africans who had escaped from Spanish slavery and banded together against their former masters) during the 1572 expedition, Oxenham was depending on their assistance to capture the isthmus. The Cimaroons did not disappoint him, and the English raiders were able to hold Panama for most of 1577. However, while Oxenham and his men were crossing the isthmus in search of Peruvian treasure, the Spanish found and destroyed the

English ships and supplies that had been hidden on the Caribbean coast. Cut off, the Englishmen were soon surrounded and captured. Although most of his men were hanged or sent to the galleys, Oxenham and his officers were imprisoned in Lima (Peru), where they were executed in 1580.

See also Privateering; Spanish America

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Oxford, Earl of

See Vere, Edward de, Earl of Oxford

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Encyclopedia of Tudor England

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Encyclopedia of Tudor England

Volume 3

P–Y

John A. Wagner and Susan Walters Schmid, Editors



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*To my brother, Scott,
who loves history,
and to Tammy and Haley, who love him*

For Paul, who provided a home when it was most needed

what did Henry say to Anne,
when they spoke of love,
and both still thought the other one
a blessing from above?
and what did Henry say to Jane,
when he had changed his mind,
and had to make it seem to her
like something God designed?
and what did Henry say to Kate,
when she betrayed his lust,
and left him wounded with no choice
that left her more than dust?
and what did Henry tell himself,
when he was nearing fate,
and next to God he recognized
Anne and Jane and Kate?

Anonymous

Learn this for a rule: so long as we ourselves are present there is
no other general but ourselves

Henry VIII to Sir Peter Carew

The word “must” is not to be used to princes.

Elizabeth I to Sir Robert Cecil

I believe he doth as singularly love me, as any subject within his realm; however . . .

I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in
France, it would not fail to go off.

Sir Thomas More on Henry VIII

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Lanier, Emilia	Tilbury Speech
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Pace, Richard (c. 1482–1536)

Richard Pace was one of the leading English diplomats of the early Tudor period. Born near Winchester, Pace entered the service of Bishop Thomas Langton, who, impressed by his protégé's skill in **music** and languages, sent Pace to study at Padua in **Italy**. Returning to England in about 1507, Pace entered Queen's College, Oxford, where he may have studied briefly before going to Italy. In 1509, Pace traveled to Rome as secretary to Archbishop Christopher **Bainbridge**, the newly appointed ambassador to the papal court. Upon Bainbridge's murder in July 1514, Pace made strenuous if unsuccessful efforts to discover and prosecute the instigator of the assassination plot, a display of loyalty that moved Pope Leo X to recommend Pace to **Henry VIII**. The king dispatched Pace to Switzerland, where he arranged for the Swiss to attack **France** in concert with English forces. Although the plan was aborted by the conclusion of an Anglo-French peace, Pace's efforts earned him appointment as Henry's private secretary.

Sent back to Switzerland in late 1515, Pace, through judicious use of English gold and liberal use of English promises, struggled to bring Emperor **Maximilian I** and the Swiss into an anti-French alliance. Although the effort eventually failed, Pace, who had taken holy orders in about 1509, remained in favor, receiving a string of ecclesiastical offices and appointment as secretary of state. Upon the death of Maximilian in 1519, the king and his chief minister Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** sent Pace to Germany to convince Imperial electors to vote for Henry. Although again unsuccessful, Pace was rewarded for his efforts with appointment as dean of St. Paul's. In April 1520, Pace, who was a friend of such prominent humanists as Sir Thomas **More** and Desiderius **Erasmus**, was named reader in Greek at Cambridge. In June 1520, Pace accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and in 1521 went again to Italy, where he lobbied unsuccessfully for Wolsey's election as pope. When another papal vacancy occurred in 1523, Pace, who was still in Italy, tried again, without success, to secure Wolsey's election.

By 1524, Pace was again in Italy, charged with bringing the renegade constable of France, Charles, Duke of Bourbon, firmly into Henry's service. Pace's urgent requests for money and military support were ill received by the cardinal, who

was impressed by the constable and may have become jealous of Pace's influence with the king and thus anxious to discredit the ambassador. Tired and ill, Pace was recalled in 1525. Apparently suffering from depression or some other ailment that clouded his mind and impaired his judgment, Pace was removed from the deanery of St. Paul's in 1527 and gave up many of his other offices. Although Pace was said to have been imprisoned by Wolsey, there is no evidence of the cardinal's hostility, and Pace's confinement was likely made necessary by the nature of his illness. Although rumors of his death circulated in 1532, Pace died in 1536.

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Paget, William, Lord Paget (1506–1563)



William Paget, Lord Paget, was an important administrator and minister under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

William Paget, Lord Paget of Beaudesert, was a skilled politician and administrator and an influential minister of state under three Tudor monarchs, having the ability to accommodate himself to a variety of regimes and a succession of masters. Paget's family origins are uncertain. His father is variously described as a barber, shearman, and cloth worker. Despite this humble background, Paget was educated at St. Paul's School, where he studied under the humanist William **Lily** and befriended such figures of future prominence as Thomas **Wriothesley**, Anthony **Denny**, and John **Leland**. Admitted to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Paget was financially supported by Thomas **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, and then launched on a career in royal service by Stephen **Gardiner**, master of Trinity. Paget acquired the lucrative clerkship of the Signet in 1528

and served on several diplomatic missions concerned with the royal **divorce** in the early 1530s. In about 1534, when Gardiner fell into disfavor for opposing the divorce, Paget transferred his allegiance to Thomas **Cromwell**, who secured Paget appointment as secretary to queens Jane **Seymour**, **Anne of Cleves**, and Katherine **Howard**. In 1540, Paget became clerk to the newly reorganized Privy **Council**, to which he was himself admitted in 1543.

After the fall of Cromwell, Paget became one of **Henry VIII**'s most trusted advisors, obtaining Cromwell's former office of principal secretary in 1543 and exercising increasing influence as the king's health deteriorated after 1544. A moderate in religion, Paget allied himself with the reformers led by Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, and thus played a pivotal role in Hertford's assumption of power as lord protector on **Edward VI**'s accession in 1547. In the last months of Henry's reign, Paget was intimately involved in drafting the king's will, which appointed Edward's regency council, and in the destruction of the conservative Howards—Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and his father, Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk. After Henry's death, Paget provided Hertford with the means to reward his supporters by testifying to the "unfulfilled gifts clause," a list of honors and gifts the late king supposedly intended to bestow. For his services, Paget was rewarded with election to the Garter and appointment as comptroller of the royal household and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

In 1547, Paget was virtual head of government while the protector (now Duke of Somerset) was on campaign in **Scotland**. As Somerset's management of business grew increasingly high-handed, Paget, finding his advice less heeded, sent the protector a series of impassioned warning letters; however, when the council turned on Somerset in 1549, Paget also abandoned him and was rewarded with elevation to the **peerage**. In 1551, when Somerset's supplanter, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, felt himself secure, he imprisoned Paget in the **Tower of London** on charges of corruption. Punished with loss of offices and a heavy fine, Paget was soon released.

Because of his disfavor under Northumberland, Paget was restored to the council by **Mary I** in 1553. As diligent in service to a Catholic regime as he had been to a Protestant one, Paget championed the queen's marriage to **Philip of Spain**, but his lukewarm support for Mary's religious settlement and his opposition to the persecution of heretics cost him the queen's confidence. Although appointed to the prestigious office of Lord Privy Seal in 1556, Paget never regained the trust he had enjoyed under Henry or the power he had exercised under Somerset. Upon her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** retained him on the council but appointed him to no office. Paget died in retirement on 9 June 1563.

See also Marian Martyrs

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Pale

The term “Pale” described a region of **Ireland** comprising **Dublin** and four surrounding counties in which the authority of the English government of Ireland was most fully exercised. From the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, English government policy in Ireland was mainly defensive, attempting to check the further advance of the native Irish and to fortify the areas remaining under the control of the Dublin administration. By the reign of **Elizabeth I**, the Pale encompassed the town of Dublin and the lowland counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, and Kildare. Besides greater obedience to the English government, these counties were also characterized by greater use of and respect for English language, culture, law, and social structures.

The first use of the term “Pale” to describe the region around Dublin occurred in 1495, when a statute of the Irish **Parliament** called for the construction of ditches around the “Inglishie pale.” The defensive perimeter established to protect **Calais**, England’s last possession on the continent of Europe in the sixteenth century, was also called a pale, and the term may have been borrowed from Calais to describe the similarly defensive character of the Dublin region.

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Papacy

The papacy is the office of the pope, who is the bishop of Rome and spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church. “Papacy” can refer to the time a person occupied the position, as for example, the ***Index of Librorum Prohibitorum*** was promulgated during the papacy of Paul IV. Historians often use the term when discussing actions or positions taken by multiple popes over a period of time, and the

relationship between the English Crown and the papacy is sometimes analyzed in much the same way as the relationship between nations. The term “Roman Curia” refers to the whole network of departments and bureaucratic offices that support the pope and his work and sometimes is included when discussing the papacy.

Throughout the Middle Ages, as the church grew in influence, and organized nations had yet to fully appear, the papacy, in the person of the pope, did in fact play an important role equivalent to that of a king in political events and power struggles. In part this stemmed from the pope’s role as sovereign ruler of the Papal States—one of the numerous political entities that comprised the area we know today as **Italy**. But it also grew out of the papacy’s claim to temporal authority over all of Western Christendom, in part based on the Donation of Constantine. In the sixteenth century the papacy still played a political role, but it was changing and would continue to change with the events of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and the changing political makeup of Europe.

Kings had never been entirely happy about the papacy’s attempts to exert control, and one important point of conflict had been the desire of kings to be able to appoint bishops or abbots to openings in their countries, an issue known as lay investiture. Even though the conflict had been essentially resolved in the 1100s, both sides continued to try to assert authority when possible. The English took a further step in 1353 by enacting the first statute of **praemunire**, which prohibited appealing to the pope’s authority over that of the king.

Some of the steps **Henry VIII** took in his attempt to obtain permission to divorce **Catherine of Aragon** and the subsequent religious changes that made him head of the church in England were in part a manifestation of these power struggles. Not only was Henry attempting to get the pope to approve something he could have objected to on moral and theological grounds, but after Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V**, who was Catherine’s nephew, invaded the Italian peninsula and some of his troops sacked Rome in 1527, the pope was effectively Charles’s prisoner. At that point it was highly unlikely the pope would have seen it as in his best interest to grant Henry’s request.

As spiritual leader of Western Christendom the pope had the authority to chastise and even excommunicate a king or to place an entire country under interdict. Excommunication banishes a person not only from the church and all **sacraments**, but also from participation in Christian society. An interdict is an action directed usually against a group rather than individuals, denying them most ecclesiastical functions and privileges (**baptism**, confirmation, and penance are still possible). In 1205, Innocent III placed England under an interdict when King John refused to accept the man Innocent appointed as archbishop of Canterbury. When John responded by taking church revenues, Innocent excommunicated the king.

Although the papacy held itself to be the spiritual and moral voice of Western Christendom, individual popes were not immune to human failings, and among the



Pope Paul III. The relationship between the English Crown and the papacy was particularly tumultuous in the sixteenth century. (Library of Congress)

men who held the office of pope were some with mistresses and illegitimate children (Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI, was one of the more notorious offspring), some of little competence, others driven mainly by greed and personal interest, and some of great cruelty. Of course, there were also men of high principles and great accomplishment who strengthened the church, cared for their flock in the broadest sense, and forwarded important intellectual and educational goals.

There were always critics of the papacy for the personal failings of individual popes, over doctrinal issues, and for incidents of institutional bad behavior, including nepotism (granting offices and rewards to one's relatives, including illegitimate children), selling offices, abuse of indulgences, and allowing **pluralism and absenteeism**.

Papal elections—by the College of Cardinals—were often marred by disputes, sometimes even violence, and had resulted once in a 39-year schism during which there were multiple rival popes. These all reflected poorly on the moral position of the papacy in the eyes of many people.

Additionally, in the sixteenth century, a growing challenge came from learned theologians and men within the church who, like Martin Luther, eventually moved to an actual break with the church over both church practices and doctrinal issues critical to faith and personal salvation. Luther, whose *Ninety-five Theses* and other works received papal condemnation, came to believe the papacy to be the Antichrist. This charge was leveled by others and sometimes saw its expression in contemporary art.

The coming of the **printing** press played a role in events by allowing faster and wider dissemination of alternative ideas, and the church's efforts at **censorship** of these materials was seldom more than partially successful. Interestingly, first published in 1517 was Lorenzo Valla's 1440 treatise in which he conclusively demonstrated the Donation of Constantine to have been a forgery, thus thoroughly undermining the church's claim to temporal authority outside the Papal States. The church had yet to accept the validity of Valla's work, and it was popular with Protestants.

One notable English critic was Robert **Barnes**, whose book *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum (Lives of the Roman Popes)* (1535) was a polemical history of the papacy in which he charged it with systemic immorality. This first Protestant history of the papacy had a preface by Luther, and Barnes dedicated the book to Henry VIII. No doubt he hoped to further his own case by appealing to a king who was already exerting himself against the power of the papacy.

The break with the papacy accomplished by Henry VIII and **Edward VI** was never truly repaired by **Mary I** during her short six-year reign. Pope Paul IV was deeply suspicious of Mary's right-hand man and archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Reginald **Pole**. Paul questioned Pole's orthodoxy and had taken away Pole's legatine powers. It became difficult for Mary to fill any church positions requiring papal approval, and oddly enough "While she was trying to restore papal authority, Mary's single most troublesome opponent was the pope himself: the irony was not lost on contemporaries" (Ryrie, *Age of Reformation*, 182).

But the problems of kings are not always the problems of ordinary people. The depth and breadth of **anticlericalism** are much debated by historians but did occur at all social levels. True antipapalism may have been more confined to the upper levels of society. The pope was far away, physically and psychologically, from the daily life of ordinary men and women. Were they to be asked, loyalty to their king or queen as opposed to the faraway pope was likely an easy choice for many, but probably not something they spent a lot of time pondering.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Catholic Reformation; Reformation, English

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Pardon of the Clergy, Act for

Enacted by the **Reformation Parliament** in 1531, the Act for Pardon of the Clergy pardoned all English clerics for collectively committing the crime of **praemunire** by accepting Thomas **Wolsey** as papal legate and thus recognizing a foreign authority in England. Despite a qualifying phrase inserted by the clergy, the statute also declared **Henry VIII** supreme head of the English Church.

In January 1531, over a year after the cardinal had confessed himself guilty of praemunire and received pardon, Henry expanded the charge against Wolsey to the entire English clergy, whose recognition of Wolsey's authority had made it effective. The king announced that he would grant pardon only upon payment of a large sum of money to recoup the charges he had incurred in attempting to obtain a **divorce** from Rome. Demanding £100,000, Henry rejected a clerical counter-offer of £40,000, and **Convocation**, facing the confiscation of all ecclesiastical property, submitted with little struggle on 24 January. In drawing up the terms of the grant, Convocation made no mention of Wolsey or the king's expenses, but instead framed the payment in terms of recompense for Henry's many services to the Church. Before confirming the grant, Convocation demanded some definition of what constituted an offense against the statute of praemunire. Henry rejected this demand and countered with his own, that Convocation recognize him as supreme head of the Church. This exchange led to a week of intense debate, during which such royal councillors as Thomas **Cromwell** and Thomas **Audley** attempted to persuade the clergy to submit. Finally, upon Henry's acceptance of the saving clause "as far as the law of Christ allows," which is usually credited to Bishop John **Fisher** but may have been suggested by Cromwell, Convocation confirmed and Henry accepted a payment for pardon of £100,000 for the province of Canterbury and £18,000 for York.

In March, upon completion of this agreement, the government introduced a bill into **Parliament** to ratify the pardon and payment. As passed, the statute of pardon contained a number of exceptions, including clerics guilty of **treason**, sacrilege, and felony. The concluding clause declared that the pardon would not take effect until payment had actually been made. In the Commons, fears arose that Henry might next seek to extract money from the laity by charging them with praemunire, since anyone who had used the **church courts** had tacitly accepted papal authority. To put minds at ease, a separate measure granting free pardon to the laity (in effect the whole people of England) was introduced and passed in late March. Despite the saving clause in the clerical act of pardon, the independence of the clergy had been compromised, and Convocation's complete surrender to royal authority occurred in 1532 with approval of an act known as the **Submission of the Clergy**.

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Parker, Jane

See Boleyn, Jane, Lady Rochford

Parker, Matthew (1504–1575)

Matthew Parker, the first Elizabethan archbishop of Canterbury, was educated at Cambridge, where he associated with a well-known group of religious reformers who were active in the 1520s. Ordained a priest in 1527, Parker became Anne **Boleyn**'s chaplain in 1535 and **Henry VIII**'s in 1538. As a moderate Protestant, he prospered in his career during the reign of **Edward VI**, being appointed vice-chancellor of Cambridge (1549) and dean of Lincoln (1552). He preached frequently at court before the young king, and, in 1547, he married—something no cleric could do openly under Henry VIII.

In 1554, because Parker had supported **Northumberland's Coup**, the attempt to enthrone Jane **Grey**, **Mary I**, a devout Catholic, stripped him of his ecclesiastical positions. Unlike many other Protestants who fled the realm for Europe during Mary's reign, Parker lived in hiding with his family in Norfolk. He reluctantly accepted **Elizabeth I**'s appointment of him as archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, claiming that he did so only to keep a promise to Anne Boleyn that he would always look after her daughter's spiritual welfare. His moderate **Protestantism**, untainted with the radicalism many **Marian exiles** brought back from Europe, mixed with his experience and his connection to Elizabeth's mother to make Parker a congenial choice for the queen.



Matthew Parker was the first Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury and spent much of his time attempting to enforce conformity among the Puritan clerical minority. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

Parker spent much of his primacy attempting to impose conformity in doctrine and practice on the growing **Puritan** minority among the clergy. Neither adept at politics nor a member of the Privy **Council**, Parker had great difficulty carrying out his program. He got little support from the queen and was actively hindered by the more Protestant members of the council, such as Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, who awarded ecclesiastical positions in their gift to clergymen Parker had deprived of their **benefices** for nonconformity. Despite his troubles with Puritan clergy and councillors, he worked hard to maintain the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 and to give the English Church a better-educated preaching clergy.

See also Lectureships; Universities; Vestiarian Controversy

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Parliament

Parliament is the supreme legislature of England, comprising the monarch, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. During the Tudor period, Parliament experienced a significant expansion of its role in governing the realm. **Henry VII**, following the lead of his Yorkist predecessors **Edward IV** and **Richard III**, used parliamentary acts of **attainder** and restitution to enforce royal authority and curb the nobility. Both Henry VII and **Henry VIII** turned to Parliament to sanction taxation for war. For his 1513 invasion of **France**, Henry VIII obtained a new kind of tax levy known as a subsidy, a tax on lands, goods, and wages that, unlike the fixed amounts of money raised by older forms of taxation, was realistically assessed on the basis of actual incomes. Because subsidies could raise large sums, the Crown began regularly requesting them even in peacetime.

Henry VIII's ongoing quest for an annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** and the break with Rome that resulted from it greatly increased the scope and nature of parliamentary activity. The **Reformation Parliament**, which met seven times between 1529 and 1536, passed a series of enactments that transferred control of the English Church from the **papacy** to the Crown; this program, which was overseen by Thomas **Cromwell**, included statutes that acknowledged the **royal supremacy**, gave clerical taxation to the king, abolished legal appeals to Rome, and dissolved the English monasteries. Parliament also established the succession to the Crown, expanded the law of **treason**, and abolished various private **franchises** thereby enhancing royal authority in **Wales**, **Ireland**, and other parts of the realm. By using Parliament in this way, Henry VIII obliged the governments

of **Edward VI** and **Mary I** to likewise employ statutes for their own religious changes. What's more, those governments, headed by a minor and a woman, turned more frequently to Parliament to sanction and implement their major policies. The increase in Parliament's political involvement meant that the institution became a focus for opposition, such as in 1555 when a government bill for the confiscation of the property of **Marian exiles** was defeated by opponents who locked the doors of the Commons and forced a vote while many supporters of the bill were absent. The 1540s and 1550s also saw Parliament legislate more frequently on a host of social and economic issues, such as **enclosures**, cloth exports, and the regulation of trade and manufactures.

After the **dissolution of the monasteries** removed abbots from Parliament, the House of Lords had a permanent lay majority; its membership usually stood at 70 to 80 individuals—2 archbishops, 26 bishops (after passage of the 1539 Act Authorizing **New Bishoprics**), and the rest lay peers summoned to each session by special writ. The House of Commons grew from 296 members in 1529 to 462 in 1603, the expansion being fueled by the enfranchisement of Wales and other outlying regions and the creation by the Crown of new parliamentary **boroughs** (towns empowered to send representatives). By the death of Mary in 1558, the counties of England and Wales sent 90 representatives to the Commons, with the rest coming from parliamentary boroughs. In the counties, only male residents holding lands worth at least 40 shillings per year could vote, a qualification that essentially restricted the franchise to the **gentry**. In the boroughs, voting qualifications were much more idiosyncratic, depending upon how each town's charter defined a burgess (i.e., a voter). In many boroughs, the vote was narrowly restricted to only a small number of people. According to law, borough representatives were to be residents of the town, but, with the exception of **London**, which always elected citizens, borough representatives were increasingly selected from the county gentry, among whom competition for parliamentary seats was fierce.

Summoned and dismissed by the monarch, Parliament was an irregular, occasional, and brief part of government—**Elizabeth I** called only 10 Parliaments in 44 years. Parliament provided legislative remedies for public matters brought before it by the **council** and for private matters brought before it by petition. Under the Tudors, parliamentary statute, passed by the Lords and Commons and approved by the monarch, secured its place as the highest law of the realm, controlling and modifying even the **common law**. The Commons, which in midcentury moved its meetings to St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, had the right to initiate all tax bills. Debate in the Commons was directed by the Speaker, a Crown nominee elected by the House at the start of each session. Besides choosing the Speaker, the Crown also used its influence to ensure the election of royal councillors to move bills in the government's interest through the Commons. To become statute, bills passed through three readings: the first informed members of the bill's content; the

second initiated debate; and the third, after revision and transfer of the paper bill to parchment, refined the wording of the measure. The debates and decisions of the Lords and Commons were recorded by the clerk of each House, who kept journals of all parliamentary activities.

See also Peerage

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Parma, Duke of

See Farnese, Alessandro, Duke of Parma

Parr, Katherine (1512–1548)

Katherine Parr was the sixth and last wife of **Henry VIII**. The daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, master of the king's household, Katherine married Henry, her third husband, on 12 July 1543. A pious woman, Katherine conducted her own religious scholarship and wrote her own prayers and devotions, including *The Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner*. She also published two other devotional works, encouraged the English translation of Desiderius **Erasmus's** *Paraphrases*, promoted the study of Latin, and attracted humanist scholars to the **court**. Although holding reformist opinions in religion, Katherine was not an extremist, and she exhibited a high degree of religious toleration, something that helped her win and hold the



Katherine Parr, sixth and last wife of Henry VIII, got along with all of Henry's children and worked to draw them together as a family. (Corel)

affection and respect of her conservative husband. Katherine also earned the affection of Henry's children, Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward, who had been isolated from their father by his position and personality and from each other by the political and personal circumstances of their births and their mothers' marriages. Katherine tried to be mother to all three and to form them into a close family.

In 1544, the king named her regent during his absence on campaign in **France**. In 1546, as the prince's youth and the king's illness made a regency government increasingly likely, the conservative faction at court sought to destroy their reformist rivals by discrediting the queen with charges of **heresy**. By attempting to argue theology with the king, a topic Henry, and most men, believed women were unfit to discuss, Katherine angered the king and encouraged her enemies to move against her. Two conservative members of the council, Thomas **Wriothesley** and Richard **Rich**, even turned unsuccessfully to the illegal use of torture against the condemned heretic Anne **Askew** to compel her to implicate the queen. Katherine saved herself by begging the king's forgiveness and explaining her theological debates as merely attempts to distract the aging monarch from his many pains and ailments. Henry immediately declared them as "perfect friends as ever at any time before" (Martienssen, *Queen Katherine Parr*, 219) and rescinded the warrant for her arrest.

In April 1547, three months after Henry's death, Katherine married the new king's uncle, Thomas **Seymour**, who had courted her before her marriage to Henry. She supported her husband's demand for a greater role in the Protectorate government, which was headed by her brother-in-law, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, by challenging the Duchess of Somerset for precedence at court. Katherine took 13-year-old Princess Elizabeth into her household but had her removed to her own house when the princess began receiving and not entirely discouraging improper advances from Seymour. After giving birth to a daughter, named Mary, Katherine died of puerperal fever on 5 September 1548.

See also Edward VI; Elizabeth I; Humanism; Mary I

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Parr, William, Marquis of Northampton (1513–1571)

William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, was the brother of **Henry VIII**'s last wife, Katherine **Parr**, and a prominent member of the regency governments of **Edward VI**. Parr was educated at Cambridge, where he studied under Cuthbert **Tunstall**, the future Bishop of Durham. Succeeding to his father's estates in Northamptonshire in

1518, Parr was knighted in October 1537 while on campaign against the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels. Although he had previously received several minor grants and offices, including captaincy of the Gentlemen Pensioners, a royal bodyguard, significant advancement commenced only with his sister's marriage to the king in 1543. He was admitted to the **council**, elected knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Essex. He participated in the Boulogne expedition in 1544 and was a commissioner at the trial of Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, in 1547.

Upon the accession of Edward VI in January 1547, Essex supported the elevation of the king's uncle, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, to the protectorship and was rewarded with creation as Marquis of Northampton and admittance to the regency council. In July 1549, as lord lieutenant of Norfolk, Northampton was sent into that county to suppress **Kett's Rebellion**, but his force was overwhelmed by the rebels and his command was given to John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick. A friend of Warwick's and alienated from Somerset by the duke's failure to support the marquis's suit to divorce his first wife, Northampton supported the earl's overthrow of Somerset in October 1549 and grew even more influential in the council, becoming great chamberlain in 1550 and leading a prestigious embassy that concluded the Treaty of **Angers** with **Henri II of France** in 1551. In 1553, the marquis supported **Northumberland's Coup**, signing the *Devise* of the Crown that bypassed Princess Mary and Princess Elizabeth in favor of Jane **Grey** and riding with the Duke of Northumberland (the former Warwick) against Mary. On 26 July, after the failure of the coup, **Mary I** committed Northampton to the **Tower of London**. He was attainted by **Parliament**, stripped of his titles and offices, and condemned to death, but was released and pardoned in January 1554, only to be rearrested within weeks on suspicion of complicity in **Wyatt's Rebellion**.

Released again in March, Parr had his **attainder** reversed in May, but his titles and most of his estates were not restored. On her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** readmitted Parr to the council and once again recognized him as Marquis of Northampton. His Garter knighthood was restored in 1559. Although he held no other high offices, he received numerous additional rewards and retained the queen's favor until his death at Warwick on 28 October 1571.

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Parry, Blanche (1508–1590)

As the longest serving of **Elizabeth I's** household servants, Blanche Parry held a place of special favor with the queen. Born in Herefordshire, Blanche Parry was

distantly related to the Cecil family. In 1536, shortly after executing Anne **Boleyn**, Elizabeth's mother, **Henry VIII** appointed Parry to be an attendant to the princess, then about three years old. Parry may have been part of the princess's household even earlier, for she later claimed to have seen Elizabeth rocked in her cradle. Upon Elizabeth's accession in November 1558, Parry became the queen's second lady of the bedchamber after Katherine **Ashley**, Elizabeth's former governess. After Ashley's death in 1565, Parry became first lady of the bedchamber, a position she held until her death. In 1562, the queen granted Parry considerable estates in her native Herefordshire.

Parry's close and constant contact with Elizabeth made her an excellent messenger and advocate, and she was frequently approached by disgraced courtiers wanting her to speak favorably of them to the queen and by those seeking to gain access or to pass private letters to the queen. In 1587, increasing blindness forced Parry to curtail many of her other duties, although she retained her official position in the bedchamber. Like her mistress, Parry never married, which further endeared her to Elizabeth, who hated the disruption her ladies' marriages caused within her household. On Parry's death in 1590, the queen paid for her servant to be buried in Westminster Abbey with the honors due a baroness.

See also Cecil, William, Lord Burghley; Ladies-in-Waiting

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Parry, Sir Thomas (d. 1560)

Like other longtime members of **Elizabeth I's** household, Thomas Parry held claims to the queen's trust and affection that few others ever achieved. Parry joined the household of Princess Elizabeth in the 1530s, serving the princess as cofferer, or financial comptroller of the household, a position to which he was never suited. A mark of Elizabeth's affection for Parry was that she retained him in her household even though she later took to checking his untrustworthy accounts herself, initialing each page as her grandfather, **Henry VII**, had done.

In 1549, during the reign of **Edward VI**, Thomas Parry and Katherine **Ashley** were arrested and interrogated in the **Tower of London** concerning their mistress's relationship with Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Sudeley. Sudeley—after the death of his wife Katherine **Parr**, the former queen—had secretly proposed marriage to the princess, using both Parry and Ashley as intermediaries on his behalf. Recognizing the danger of such a treasonous match, Elizabeth refused Sudeley and

then saved herself and her politically naive servants by confessing to nothing more than the improper advances by Sudeley described in Parry's and Ashley's depositions. Parry was released and remained in Elizabeth's service until 1554, when the princess was sent to the Tower for suspected complicity in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. He returned to Elizabeth's household as steward when the princess was sent into exile from **court** at Hatfield in 1555.

At her accession in 1558, Elizabeth knighted Parry, named him to the Privy **Council**, and gave him the lucrative post of master of the Court of Wards. In 1559–1560, Parry promoted Robert **Dudley** as a husband for the queen. Although his seeming lack of understanding of the political consequences of such a match put him in conflict with some of his fellow councillors, his position on the marriage may simply have reflected his sense of his longtime mistress's own wishes. Parry died in December 1560 and was buried with honor in Westminster Abbey.

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Parsons, Robert (1546–1610)

Robert Parsons (or Persons) was a Jesuit priest and the most uncompromising leader of the English Catholic community in exile. The son of a Somerset blacksmith, Parsons was educated at Oxford. In 1575, his Catholic views caused him to leave the university and the country and eventually led him to Rome, where he was ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1578. Working with William **Allen**, Parsons helped organize the English **Jesuit mission** and was himself one of the Jesuits who landed in England in June 1580. Parsons and fellow missionary Edmund **Campion** stayed in **London** until July, when they decided to split up for reasons of safety. Concealing himself in the houses of Catholic gentlemen, Parsons toured the western counties, saying **Mass**, administering sacraments, and preaching. Returning to London in October, Parsons helped set up a secret printing press, which produced his *A Brief Discourse Containing Certain Reasons Why Catholics Refuse to Go to Church* and Campion's controversial *Decem Rationes* [*Ten Reasons*].

Shortly after Campion's capture in July 1581, Parsons left England for good. In 1582, he traveled to **Spain** to urge the invasion of England, believing that military intervention by the Catholic rulers of Europe was the best means to restore Catholicism in England. Parsons spent the 1580s shuttling between Spain and Rome, working with Allen to convince both **Philip II** and the pope to undertake an invasion of England. In 1584, he was in the **Netherlands** advising Alessandro **Farnese**,

Duke of Parma, on the numbers and capabilities of the English exiles. Parsons assumed full direction of the Jesuit Mission in England in 1585 and became rector of the English College in Rome in 1587.

The failure of the Spanish **Armada** in 1588 drew Parsons to Spain, where he spent several years establishing English seminaries and urging Philip to launch another invasion. A prolific writer, Parsons strongly advocated the right of the English Catholic community to depose **Elizabeth I**. But many English Catholics repudiated Parsons when **Parliament** declared it **treason** even to possess a copy of his *Conference about the Next Succession* (1594), a pamphlet arguing for the right of deposition. He further angered English Catholics in 1598 when he appointed George **Blackwell** as archpriest. Parsons died in Rome in April 1610.

See also Archpriest Controversy; Catholicism, English; Universities

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Patronage

The term “patronage” describes a system wherein a person of wealth or power (the patron) provides financial support or political or clerical position to a talented individual of low birth. Patronage provided the means for members of the lower social classes to rise in society and allowed their abilities to be employed for the benefit of the Church or State. By the Elizabethan period, the patronage system operated in all aspects of Tudor life but was particularly important in politics, the arts, and the Church.

Since the fourteenth century, the provision of political patronage in return for money, position, or protection had been the basis of **bastard feudalism**, a social system that in the fifteenth century was associated with the disorder surrounding the **Wars of the Roses**. The erosion of royal authority allowed powerful nobles to use their political patronage to create networks of sworn followers known as retainers, who, although employed for many purposes, could provide the military means to dominate a region or even contend for control of the government or Crown. Under the Tudors, political patronage became centered on the royal family and the **court**, where, by the end of the Tudor period, the wealth and prestige needed to commission important works and support talented people could alone be found.

In politics, the Tudors continued **Edward IV**'s policy of appointing able and educated but lowborn men to high administrative office. The prime example is Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, who rose from poverty and obscurity to become **Henry VIII**'s great minister of state. Wolsey, in turn, became patron to many other lowborn men of ability, such as Thomas **Cromwell**, who began his career in Wolsey's service. Although this raising of lower-class men to high position angered such ambitious aristocrats as Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, who felt that men like Cromwell usurped the nobility's natural role as royal councillors, the system provided the Tudor State with many talented servants.

In the arts, Henry VIII, through his passion for building and his attraction of talented European figures such as the painter Hans **Holbein**, is usually seen as the greatest Tudor patron. However, **Henry VII** also understood the value of royal display to the prestige of a dynasty and was the first English monarch to appoint a royal librarian and a royal printer, and to retain a troupe of actors. Patronage of the arts also became fashionable among the Tudor nobility, as magnates no longer contended among themselves in the countryside for political dominance, but at court for royal favor and social prestige. Some nobles, such as Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, themselves engaged in the writing of poetry or some other artistic activity, but most were content to support lesser men of talent. Many of the great artists or writers of the Elizabethan period, including William **Shakespeare**, were the clients of wealthy noblemen.

In religion, the **Reformation**, and particularly the **dissolution of the monasteries**, gave many **advowsons**—the right to present someone to a particular clerical living—to the Crown and to lay gentlemen and noblemen. Although reformers considered this extensive lay patronage a drag on religious reform, an advowson was a valuable property right that could be sold or inherited, and this lay system of clerical patronage continued to operate well beyond the Tudor period.

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Paulet, Sir Amias (c. 1536–1588)

Sir Amias Paulet was the last official custodian of **Elizabeth I**'s longtime prisoner, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. In 1571, Paulet succeeded his father in the post of governor of Jersey, an island in the English Channel. In 1576, Elizabeth appointed him the English ambassador to the French court, a post he held until 1579. As a convinced **Puritan**, Paulet was deeply sympathetic to the cause of the

Huguenots and had little taste for the proposed marriage between the queen and Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon. Paulet's manner was too stern and reserved for the liking of the queen's **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, but it won him the confidence of the queen's Puritan secretary of state, Sir Francis **Walsingham**.

In 1585, Walsingham proposed Paulet as the new keeper of the imprisoned Queen of Scots. Ordered to keep his charge more closely and strictly confined, Paulet inspected all her correspondence, restricted her spending and almsgiving, limited her contact with others, and disregarded her desire to maintain the rules of court etiquette in her household. Paulet was courteous to his prisoner but firmly required fulfillment of all the government's instructions for her keeping. Repelled by his Puritanism, Mary unsuccessfully demanded that the queen replace Paulet with a less severe jailer. Paulet suffered from the queen's parsimony, being required occasionally to pay household expenses out of his own pocket. In 1587, Paulet worked with Walsingham to uncover the **Babington Plot** through strict surveillance of Mary's correspondence and a careful search of her papers. These efforts uncovered the evidence that led to Mary's trial and condemnation in October 1586.

Although Paulet had once assured the government of his willingness to kill Mary rather than allow her to fall into the hands of rescuers, he returned a horrified refusal when Elizabeth hinted to him that he should privately murder the Scottish queen to relieve Elizabeth of the responsibility of signing the death warrant. After Mary's execution on 8 February 1587, Paulet served Elizabeth in various capacities, including as commissioner to the government of the **Netherlands**. Paulet died in **London** in September 1588.

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Paulet, William, Marquis of Winchester (c. 1485–1572)

William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, served as lord treasurer of England. Born into a Hampshire **gentry** family, Paulet was sheriff of his county in 1512, was knighted in 1525, and was a member of the Privy **Council** by 1526. **Henry VIII** appointed Paulet comptroller of the royal household in 1532. A highly capable financial officer who refrained from political involvement and supported the king's religious changes, Paulet rose rapidly in the royal administration. He was named treasurer of the household in 1537; chamberlain and great master of the household in 1543 and 1545, respectively; and lord president of the Privy Council in 1546. Henry raised Paulet to the **peerage** as Baron St. John of Basing in 1539.

Paulet was a member of **Edward VI**'s regency council and initially supported Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, but in 1549 shifted his allegiance to John **Dudley**, the future Duke of Northumberland, who supplanted Somerset as the head of the royal government. In 1550, Paulet was rewarded for this switch with the important office of lord treasurer and the earldom of Winchester. Following Somerset's execution in 1552, Paulet became Marquis of Winchester. In 1553, Winchester opposed **Northumberland's Coup**, which unsuccessfully sought to prevent **Mary I** from taking the throne. The queen rewarded Winchester by retaining him as lord treasurer. Although unhappy with the queen's marriage to **Philip II of Spain**, Winchester accepted Mary's decision and supported her religious policies as loyally as he had supported those of her father.

On her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** reappointed Winchester as lord treasurer, even though he was in his seventies. At first, Winchester worked closely with the queen's principal secretary, Sir William **Cecil**, but by the late 1560s, Winchester, ever the moderate, found the pro-Protestant activism of Cecil's foreign policy too extreme for his tastes, and he conspired with Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and other Cecil rivals to curb the secretary's influence with the queen. Winchester died, still in office, in March 1572. Ironically, the treasurership passed to Cecil.

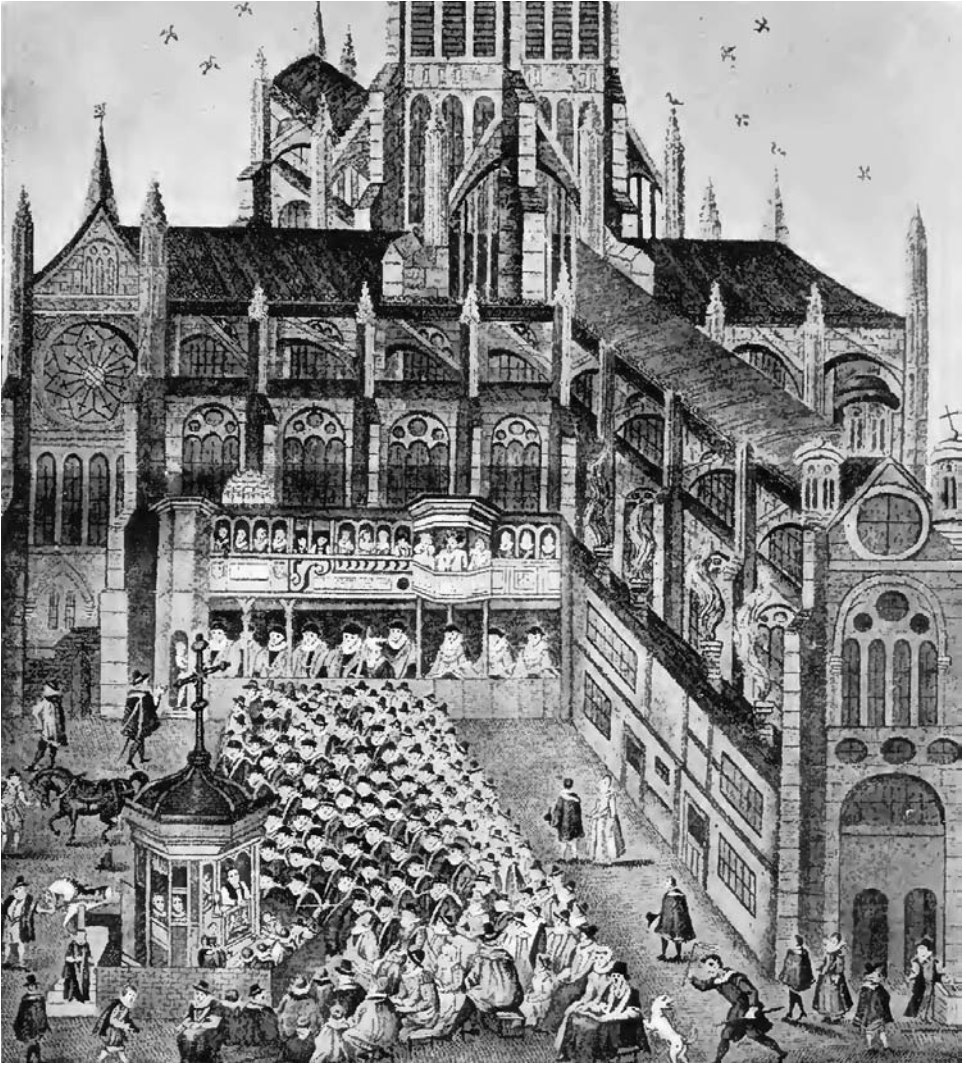
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Paul's Cross

Paul's Cross was an open-air pulpit that stood near the cross in the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral in **London**. Long the site of public sermons, Paul's Cross became in Tudor times a national barometer for religious change, registering for public awareness all the alterations in religious policy that occurred in England between the 1530s and the 1560s.

Public sermons had been delivered at Paul's Cross since the fourteenth century, and regular preaching under the supervision of the bishop of London had occurred at the site since the late fifteenth century, when an endowment to support preaching was created by Bishop Thomas Kempe. Prior to the 1530s, the bishop of London and his chaplains selected the speakers. With the initiation of the Henrician **Reformation**, the selection of preachers and sermon topics came under close government scrutiny, with royal ministers such as Thomas **Cromwell** maintaining careful oversight of the bishop's choices and holding the bishop responsible for the content of sermons. Under the Tudors, sermons were preached at the Cross every Sunday morning, and by **Henry VIII**'s reign had become government



Paul's Cross—the open-air pulpit in the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral—was the setting for regular public preaching beginning in the fifteenth century. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

pronouncements concerning current and future directions in official Church doctrine and practice. Anxious to ensure that no unauthorized opinions or policies were preached, the government carefully instructed speakers on what to say and what to avoid. Sermons preached at Paul's Cross were often printed and distributed by the government, which encouraged local clergy to preach the sermon again, thereby broadcasting officially sanctioned views throughout the country.

By the mid-sixteenth century, Paul's Cross had become so important and was so frequented by large crowds that galleries were built to accommodate royal and

noble listeners and to seat foreign dignitaries, who often came to the sermons to gauge shifts in royal religious policy. For commoners, benches were available at a cost of one pence per sermon. The choice of preachers for Paul's Cross became particularly important during the first months of a new reign, such as after the accessions of **Edward VI** in 1547, **Mary I** in 1553, and **Elizabeth I** in 1558. Since each change in monarch was accompanied by a significant shift in religious policy, the choice of speakers and topics for Paul's Cross was often the first indication of the new regime's likely policies. This was particularly true in 1558 when no one was certain how or even if Elizabeth intended to alter the English Catholic Church inherited from her sister. The selection of Dr. William Bill, a noted reformer, to deliver the first sermon of the reign at Paul's Cross in late November 1558 indicated the queen's Protestant intentions. As the Elizabethan government and **Parliament** slowly crafted the **Anglican Settlement** of religion in the spring of 1559, the preachers who were selected to speak at Paul's Cross, and the topics on which they were allowed to preach, told the English people and foreign governments how far and in what direction Elizabeth and her ministers intended to modify the doctrine and practice of the English Church. Later in Elizabeth's reign, Paul's Cross speakers indicated the government's stand on numerous religious controversies involving both Catholic and Puritan issues. Paul's Cross remained important until 1642, when the king fled London, and **Parliament** gave the right to appoint preachers to the mayor and alderman. Antigovernment **Puritans** destroyed the pulpit in 1643, and preaching at the site ceased altogether after restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

See also Anglican Church

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Peele, George (c. 1558–1596)

George Peele was one of the most creative and versatile dramatists in Elizabethan England. Born in London and educated at Oxford, Peele completed his bachelor's degree in 1577 and his master's degree in 1579. At Oxford, he was noted for his **poetry** and his translation of Euripides and was notorious for his wild living. After Peele's return to London, his dissolute lifestyle continued, being interrupted neither by expulsion from his father's house in 1579 nor marriage in 1583. To earn money, Peele wrote verse dedicated to and in praise of various potential patrons, including **Elizabeth I**, for whom the play *The Arraignment of Paris* was meant as

a piece of flattery. Printed in 1584, *The Arraignment of Paris* was novel in that it was written in a variety of meters.

Between sessions of drinking and brawling with such fellow writers as Thomas **Nashe**, Thomas **Kyd**, Christopher **Marlowe**, Thomas **Lodge**, and Robert **Greene**, Peele performed as an actor in the troupe known as the Admiral's Men and later in the Queen's Men, and he wrote and produced a series of successful pageants for the city of London. The only surviving examples of the entertainment Peele devised for the city are *Device of the Pageant Borne before Woolstone Dixi* (1585) and *Descensus Astraeae* (1591).

Known as a prolific writer who liked to experiment with styles and formats, Peele's plays include *Edward I* (1593); *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), based on the life of Sir Thomas **Stukeley**; *The Old Wives' Tale* (1595); and *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe* (1599). His poems include *The Tale of Troy* (1589); the *Eclogue Gratulatory* (1589), dedicated to Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex; *Polyhymnia* (1590); and *Honor of the Garter* (1593), dedicated to the Earl of Northumberland. In the last two years before his death in 1596, Peele suffered from illness and increasing financial problems brought on by his extravagant lifestyle. On Peele's death, his work was much praised by his literary colleagues.

See also Universities

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Peerage

Under the royal family, the peerage constituted the highest social class in Tudor England. The lay peers of England were hereditary landowners who held one of the five titles of nobility—duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron. Titles of nobility were acquired by inheritance or by royal creation, a reward granted sparingly by both **Henry VII** and **Elizabeth I**. Besides their titles, members of the English peerage had the hereditary right to be summoned personally to **Parliament** by the monarch and the right to be tried before other peers. After 1540, when the **dissolution of the monasteries** removed abbots from Parliament, the House of Lords was dominated by the lay peers. Unlike the nobility in France, English peers did not control compact territories that allowed them to overawe a particular region; the estates of English peers were generally scattered throughout many counties. Also unlike their French counterparts, English peers did not transmit noble status to all their children; only the eldest son generally succeeded to his father's titles

and estates. Younger siblings, like all members of the **gentry**—the class of non-titled landholders—were commoners. The peerage comprised only a tiny fraction of the **population** of Tudor England. At the accession of Henry VII in 1485, there were about 40 titled nobles in England, and never more than 60 during the reign of Elizabeth I. Although the individual wealth of Tudor noblemen could vary widely, the average annual income of the class in the sixteenth century was slightly more than £1,000, which, unlike fifteenth-century magnate revenues, compared unfavorably to the royal income.

The great magnates, who were looked upon as the monarch's natural companions and councillors, also commanded large networks of retainers and tenants that constituted the main source of military manpower for the Crown. However, as the **Wars of the Roses** illustrated in the fifteenth century, such noble retinues could pose a serious threat to order and stability when the monarch was weak or insecure. Beginning under **Edward IV**, and continuing under Henry VII and during the ascendancy of Thomas **Wolsey** under **Henry VIII**, the Crown gradually curbed the ability of great magnates to threaten or compete with the monarch. In 1486, Henry VII compelled members of Parliament to swear an oath against illegal retaining, and in 1504 he secured passage of *De Retentionibus Illicitis*, a statute that prohibited retaining without a royal license. Henry VII also employed an unpopular, legally dubious, but highly effective system of bonds and recognizances to keep the nobility loyal and quiescent. By compelling noblemen to enter into these obligations, which were legally enforceable contracts with stiff financial penalties for nonperformance, Henry ensured their good behavior. Forfeiture of a bond, which could carry penalties ranging from £100 to £10,000, only led to a further recognizance requiring payment of the fine in installments.

The Tudors also weakened noble affinities by creating an extensive royal affinity, which drew the gentry into direct service to the Crown and made the good lordship of a nobleman less important for the securing of a gentleman's financial, political, and social position. The Crown also relied more heavily on the gentry to serve as royal councillors and administrators, although the nobility were still well represented on the **council** and in the military leadership throughout the Tudor period, and especially during the reign of **Edward VI**. Under the Tudors, many gentlemen eventually rose to the peerage through loyal service to the Crown. Royal servants like Thomas **Wriothesley**, Thomas **Audley**, Edward **Seymour**, John **Dudley**, William **Paget**, and Richard **Rich** all attained titles of nobility. Elizabeth I was sparing in her creation of new titles, far more so than her father and brother. William **Cecil**, raised to the peerage as Lord Burghley in 1570, was one of the few men ennobled by the queen for political services, and even he attained only the rank of baron. Robert **Dudley**'s creation as Earl of Leicester in 1564 was one of the few titles granted by Elizabeth purely for favor and not, as was the queen's usual practice, for long service. By 1603, the English peerage, thanks to the policies of the Tudors,

competed within the controlled environment of the **court** for royal favor and political office, and no longer constituted a significant threat to the Crown or the State.

See also Bastard Feudalism

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Pembroke, Countess of

See Herbert, Mary, Countess of Pembroke

Pembroke, Earl of

See Herbert, Henry, Earl of Pembroke; Tudor, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford

Penal Laws

The Elizabethan penal laws placed restrictions on the civil and political rights of English Roman Catholics. In 1559, **Elizabeth I**'s first **Parliament** made celebration of the Catholic Mass illegal and required all subjects to attend Anglican services on Sundays and holy days. Recusancy (refusal to attend) incurred a fine of 12 pence for each absence. The Parliament of 1563 made upholding the authority of the pope punishable by death for a second offense. Parliament also required clergymen and many laypersons to take the oath of supremacy, something most Catholics would not do because it meant denying the authority of the pope.

In the 1560s, little active persecution of Catholics occurred in England; fines for nonattendance went uncollected and oath-taking was easily evaded. The situation changed in the early 1570s with the imprisonment in England of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots; the increasing rivalry with Catholic **Spain**; and the discovery of the **Ridolfi Plot**. Outright repression of English Catholics flowed from the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated Elizabeth and declared her subjects absolved of their allegiance to her, and from the political intrigues with foreign Catholic princes conducted by English Jesuits working secretly in England and English Catholic exiles working openly abroad.

While the laws against recusancy also operated against radical **Puritans** and Protestant **Separatists** who refused to participate in Anglican services, much of the penal legislation of the 1580s and 1590s was aimed squarely at Catholics, especially priests. Publishing or implementing a papal bull in England became **treason** in 1571. In 1581, Parliament raised recusancy fines to a ruinous £20 per month and declared it treason to reconcile anyone to **Catholicism**, become reconciled oneself, or persuade anyone to withdraw his or her allegiance from the queen or the **Anglican Church**. In 1585, it became treason for a Catholic priest simply to be in England and a crime to send money overseas to support Jesuits or **seminary priests**. In 1593, Catholic recusants were forbidden to travel more than five miles from home without a special license. Even more severe disabilities were placed on English Catholics under **James I**. Most of these restrictions remained in force until the nineteenth century.

See also Allen, William; Anglican Settlement; Jesuit Mission; Parsons, Robert; Recusants; Royal Supremacy

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Penry, John (1563–1593)

John Penry was one of the printers and distributors, if not the author, of the **Marprelate Tracts**, a notorious series of **Puritan** pamphlets that attacked the Anglican bishops. Born into a wealthy **gentry** family in **Wales**, Penry entered Cambridge in 1580. In 1586, he transferred to Oxford and joined that university's growing Puritan movement. Appalled by the backwardness of the Church in his native Wales, Penry began to preach his increasingly radical and Separatist ideas to conservative Welsh congregations. Penry also began writing religious pamphlets in which he vigorously attacked abuses within the Welsh Church, as well as everyone he believed responsible for promoting or maintaining such evils. Writing in a blunt and ridiculing style, with no regard for the possible consequences of his words, Penry was briefly imprisoned for his pamphlet *Aequity*, which called for more Puritan preaching in Wales.

Between 1587 and 1589, Penry issued from the secret press of Robert Waldegrave a series of abusive attacks upon the Anglican bishops, and even upon **Elizabeth I** herself. Along with Waldegrave and Job Throckmorton, Penry printed and distributed the first two Marprelate Tracts in the fall of 1588. In August 1589, the government, after an extensive search, discovered the Marprelate press in Manchester and destroyed the eighth tract, which was then in preparation. Penry and Waldegrave fled to **Scotland**, where Waldegrave remained to become printer to the Scottish king while Penry returned to England to reinvolve himself in the growing English Separatist movement.

Penry's Separatist activities led to his arrest and trial for **treason** in 1593; he was convicted and condemned to death largely on the testimony of witnesses who had been racked. Although accused of writing the Marprelate Tracts, Penry denied authorship, and the identity of "Martin Marprelate" remains uncertain to this day. Penry was hanged on 29 May 1593.

See also Anglican Church; James I; Printing; Reformation, Welsh; Separatists; Universities

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Percy, Henry Algernon, Earl of Northumberland (c. 1502–1537)

Henry Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland, was head of one of the oldest and most powerful noble families of northern England. Percy is best known for his romantic relationship with Anne **Boleyn** in the early 1520s. The son of Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, the younger Percy was educated in the household of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, chief minister of **Henry VIII**.

In about 1521, Percy became romantically involved with Anne Boleyn, daughter of the courtier Thomas **Boleyn** and lady-in-waiting to Queen **Catherine of Aragon**. According to Wolsey's biographer George **Cavendish**, and the embellishments of later tradition, the couple made some sort of commitment to each other but were broken up by Wolsey on orders from the king, who was himself interested in Anne. Wolsey did intervene to end the relationship, calling Percy's father to **court** to admonish his son; however, this occurred before the end of 1523, well before the king became involved with Anne, so royal interest could not have

been the reason for Wolsey's actions. More likely, the courtship was quashed because it threatened more politically acceptable marriages being planned for both Percy and Anne. He was to wed the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and she was intended as bride for the son of Piers Butler, who was then disputing possession of the Irish earldom of Ormond with her father, Thomas Boleyn. Percy married Shrewsbury's daughter in early 1524, although Anne was still unmarried when she came to the king's attention in about 1526.

Although Percy seems to have been little regarded by Wolsey, who even insinuated an informer into his household, the king employed Percy in various important positions. In 1522, he became a member of the **Council of the North**. In 1527, shortly after his father's death, Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, was appointed warden of the east march, an office traditionally held by the Percy family. In

1530, Northumberland was sent to arrest his former patron Wolsey, who, according to Cavendish, could not refrain from reminding the earl of the "old precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth" (Cavendish, "Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey," 155). Elected to the Order of the Garter in 1532, Northumberland ably directed the brief war with **Scotland** that erupted in 1532, was de facto president of the Council of the North in 1533, and became sheriff of Northumberland for life in 1534.

Northumberland's marriage was unhappy. A child died at birth in 1529, and by 1532 the earl and countess were living apart. Perhaps to secure an annulment, the countess told her father that Northumberland had admitted their marriage to be invalid because of his prior contract with Anne Boleyn. Hearing of this, Anne, who would soon become queen, demanded an investigation. Interrogated by William **Warham**, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, the earl denied under oath that any such commitment had existed. Nonetheless, when Anne was arrested in 1536, rumors of her marriage contract with Northumberland revived, possibly as a means of justifying any attempt by Henry to annul



Henry Algernon Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland, is best known for having a romantic relationship with Anne Boleyn in the early 1520s. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

his marriage to her. To scotch these rumors, Northumberland wrote to Thomas **Cromwell** again denying any commitment to marry Anne. Whether to underscore this denial, or under compulsion, Northumberland, who was then very ill, attended the trial of Anne in 1536 and declared her guilty, but then dramatically collapsed after her death sentence was announced.

Chronically ill from about 1529 on, Northumberland frequently expressed a wish to die and be freed of his pain. In 1536, during the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, Northumberland, who was said to be in his bed “weeping, ever wishing himself out of the world” (Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 1:284), handed his manor of Wressel over to Robert **Aske**, a former servant and leader of the uprising. The earl then fled Wressel and escaped any punishment for his action by claiming that it was done merely as a ruse to escape the rebels and bring information of their movements to the king. Throughout the 1530s, Northumberland made a number of unfavorable leases of Percy lands, all in an apparent effort to diminish the inheritance of his younger brothers, with whom he was on bad terms. When Northumberland’s brothers were implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace and the eldest executed, the Crown intervened in an attempt to salvage the family holdings, although the earl died on 29 June 1537 before a deal could be finalized surrendering the Percy estates to the king. The earldom therefore went into abeyance until it was granted to Northumberland’s nephew in 1557.

John A. Wagner

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Perrot, Sir John (c. 1527–1592)

Sir John Perrot served as lord president of the southern Irish province of Munster and as lord deputy of **Ireland**. Because of his close resemblance to the late king, Perrot was rumored to be an illegitimate son of **Henry VIII**. After serving for a time in the household of William **Paulet**, Marquis of Winchester, Perrot became a **favorite** of **Edward VI**. During the reign of **Mary I**, Perrot, a Protestant, was

briefly imprisoned for allegedly plotting against the government and for sheltering fugitive heretics on his Welsh estates. On her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** appointed Perrot vice admiral of South **Wales**.

In 1570, Perrot reluctantly accepted the lord presidency of Munster, a region of southern Ireland then in the grip of **Fitzmaurice's Rebellion**. A physically powerful man with an impulsive nature and an abrasive manner, Perrot spent three years ruthlessly crushing the uprising. In 1573, after the surrender of James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald**, the leader of the rebellion, Perrot asked to be relieved and rashly returned to England without license when his request was not answered. In 1584, Perrot returned to Ireland as lord deputy, his previous experience in Munster making him appear the best man to supervise the recently initiated Munster plantation. However, his impetuosity and harsh manner soon alienated him from his leading English councillors and from the more important **Anglo-Irish** lords. His failure to control the Irish **Parliament**, where he lost an important bill seeking to replace **cess** with a regular tax, and his frequent and costly campaigns against Turlough Luineach **O'Neill** and other Irish rebels in Ulster angered the queen and led to his recall in 1588.

In 1591, Perrot was sent to the **Tower of London**, charged with speaking contemptuously of the queen, encouraging rebellion in Ireland, and treasonously corresponding with **Philip II of Spain**. Real evidence existed only for the first charge, but Perrot had made many enemies (such as Sir Christopher **Hatton**, whose daughter Perrot had seduced) who pushed successfully for a trial. Convicted of **treason** in April 1592, Perrot was condemned to death, although rumor suggested that the queen might pardon her "brother." However, Perrot foiled both the queen and the executioner by dying in the Tower on 26 June.

See also Plantations, Irish

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Persons, Robert

See Parsons, Robert

Petre, Sir William (1505–1572)

Principal secretary of state under both **Edward VI** and **Mary I**, Sir William Petre was an experienced administrator whose flexibility in matters of religion allowed him to serve four Tudor monarchs. Born in Devonshire, Petre was educated at Exeter and All Souls Colleges, Oxford, becoming fellow of the latter in 1523. He took his bachelor's of **civil** and **canon law** in 1526 and his doctorate of civil law in 1533. About 1527, he became tutor to Anne **Boleyn**'s brother, George **Boleyn**, and was introduced at **court**, probably through Boleyn influence, in the early 1530s. He spent several years on various diplomatic missions, mainly in **France**, before becoming a clerk in **Chancery**. By 1535, he had attached himself to Thomas **Cromwell**, who, as king's vicegerent for ecclesiastical matters, made Petre his deputy. In this role, Petre presided over **Convocation** in Cromwell's stead in 1536. Frequently employed on visitations of monasteries, Petre, by 1540, had personally secured the surrender of almost 40 houses. In 1537, Petre conducted examinations of Robert **Aske** and other **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels; in 1539, he helped draft the Act of **Six Articles**; and in 1540, after Cromwell's fall, he sat on the commission that invalidated **Henry VIII**'s marriage to **Anne of Cleves**. In January 1544, Petre became secretary of state with Sir William **Paget**. Petre was one of Queen Katherine **Parr**'s chief advisors during her regency in 1544 and was heavily involved in raising supplies for Henry's French campaign. In 1545, Petre joined the **council** and served as ambassador to **Charles V**.

On the accession of Edward VI in 1547, Petre succeeded Paget as principal secretary. In 1549, Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, sent Petre to London to confront dissident members of the council, but Petre joined Somerset's opponents and signed the proclamation denouncing the protector. Continued in office by the new regime headed by John **Dudley**, future Duke of Northumberland, Petre helped negotiate the Treaty of **Boulogne** in 1550, sat on the commission that ordered Princess Mary to cease hearing **Mass** in 1551, and supported **Northumberland's Coup** in 1553. Petre served on Jane **Grey**'s council but, with the other councillors, abandoned Northumberland and declared for Mary on 20 July.

Although Petre's position in the government was insecure for some weeks, he retained his secretaryship and in 1554 earned Mary's confidence by aggressively pursuing the leaders of **Wyatt's Rebellion** and strongly advocating the queen's marriage with Prince **Philip** of **Spain**. Petre conformed to Mary's restored Catholic Church and played a prominent part in the official reception of Cardinal Reginald **Pole** but also secured a papal bull confirming himself in possession of the many former monastic estates that he had acquired. Petre resigned the secretaryship in 1557 due to ill health, but he continued to sit in council and be employed on various matters after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. Petre retired from public life in 1566 and died at his manor of Ingatestone in Essex on 13 January 1572.

See also Dissolution of the Monasteries

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Philip II (1527–1598)

Philip II, king of **Spain** after 1557, was the son of **Charles V** and the husband of **Mary I**. His father's only legitimate son, Philip was heir to the Habsburg dominions in Spain, the **Netherlands**, **Italy**, and **America**. His mother, Isabella of Portugal, died in 1539 when Philip was 12. Raised in Spain, and able to speak only Latin and Castilian, Philip's outlook was wholly Spanish, a fact that frustrated his father's hopes of also leaving him the Imperial Crown. In 1543, Charles named his son regent of Spain, and in 1548 the emperor summoned Philip to the Netherlands, where he began a three-year tour of his father's possessions that also took him to Germany and northern Italy.

Because Philip's first wife, Maria of Portugal, died in childbirth in 1545, Philip was unmarried when his cousin Mary ascended the English throne in 1553. Through his ambassador, Simon **Renard**, the emperor persuaded the new queen to accept Philip as her husband, thereby creating a marriage alliance that tied England to the Spanish interest against **France**, gave greater security to the Netherlands, and created the prospect of a future Habsburg king of England. Announcement of the forthcoming marriage aroused widespread opposition, especially among members of the English **gentry**, who disliked Spanish Catholicism and feared England would become a Spanish satellite. **Wyatt's Rebellion**, the unsuccessful but dangerous uprising that erupted in January 1554, was an attempt to stop the marriage. Philip was cool toward the match, but he obeyed his father and married the queen in July 1554.

Finding his wife unattractive and his role in English affairs limited by the marriage agreement, Philip spent



Philip II, heir to the Habsburg dominions and King of Spain, wed Mary I at the behest of his father, Charles V. (Library of Congress)

only brief periods in England, returning to the Netherlands in 1555 and to Spain to assume the Crown in 1557. While in England, the prince advised Mary to pardon her sister Elizabeth for any part she may have played in Wyatt's Rebellion and to cease or limit the burning of Protestants, for the **Marian martyrs** were becoming a source of great unpopularity both for the queen and the Spanish connection. In 1557, Philip convinced his wife and her reluctant advisors to bring England into war against France as Spain's ally. English troops fought credibly for Philip, but the French captured **Calais**, England's last continental possession, in January 1558.

After Mary's death in November 1558, Philip made unsuccessful overtures for the hand of his former sister-in-law **Elizabeth I**, who ended the Anglo-Spanish alliance but was otherwise careful not to antagonize Philip. Over the next two decades, relations between Spain and England worsened as the English abandoned **Catholicism**, attempted to break Spain's trade monopoly with her American colonies, and sent financial and military aid to Dutch Protestants in revolt against Philip in the Netherlands. War broke out between the two countries in 1585, and Philip sent the **armada** against England in 1588 in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Elizabeth and restore Catholicism. In his later years, the king, who had outlived four wives, became a virtual recluse in his brooding palace, El Escorial. Philip died there in September 1598.

See also Netherlands Revolt

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Philpot, John (1516–1555)

John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, was one of the most prominent of the **Marian martyrs**. Born into a Hampshire **gentry** family, Philpot was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, where he was fellow from 1534 to 1541. On the enactment of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** in 1539, Philpot left England and spent some years traveling through **Italy** and various other parts of Europe. He returned to England, probably after the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, and soon after became archdeacon of Winchester. A difficult and argumentative man—Philpot was nearly arrested by the Inquisition in Italy for starting an argument with an Italian friar—the archdeacon was soon quarrelling with Bishop

John **Ponet** and other ecclesiastical officials in Winchester. An influence at the Edwardian **court**, Philpot sent an English translation of a religious treatise to the former lord protector, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, in about 1550 and successfully promoted the reformer John **Bale** for bishop of Ossory in **Ireland** in 1552. Philpot was also involved in the arrest and condemnation of the Anabaptist Joan **Bocher** and spoke out in justification of her burning for **heresy** in 1550.

Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Philpot stoutly defended Protestant positions in **Convocation** and was outspoken in his denunciation of the Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**. As a result, Philpot was arrested and confined in the King's Bench Prison in 1554. Philpot could not avoid controversy even while in custody. Upon encountering a fellow prisoner who held Arian views, that is, questioned the divinity of Christ, Philpot spat in the man's face. When criticized for it by other Protestant prisoners, Philpot wrote a book entitled *An Apology of John Philpot Written for Spitting Upon an Arian, with an Invective against Arians, the Very Natural Children of Antichrist*. The work was not an apology in the modern sense of the word, but a justification of Philpot's actions and an attack upon the Arian heresy. Examined by Bishop Edmund **Bonner** of **London**, who made every effort to secure Philpot's recantation, the archdeacon remained obdurate and was condemned for heresy. Philpot was burned to death at Smithfield on 18 December 1555. Many of Philpot's writings, including accounts of his examinations and an appeal to the queen and her husband Prince **Philip**, were published after his death and later included in John **Foxe's** "**Book of Martyrs**."

See also Anabaptism

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Piers, John (c. 1523–1594)

John Piers (or Peirse) was **Elizabeth I's** fourth archbishop of York. Born in the village of South Hinksey near Oxford, Piers attended Magdalen College School before entering Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1542. He became a fellow of Magdalen College in 1546, teaching there until 1558, when he took holy orders and was sent to serve as minister in a small rural parish in Buckinghamshire. Because his new assignment lacked the intellectual stimulation to which he was accustomed at the university, Piers fell into the habit of frequent drinking at the local alehouse.

Upbraided for this by a ministerial colleague, Piers adopted strict abstinence and never took alcohol again.

In 1567, a year after obtaining his doctor of divinity degree from Oxford, Piers was reassigned to a larger parish in Essex, and thereafter held a series of increasingly important **benefices**, including dean of Salisbury Cathedral, where he thoroughly purged all remaining Catholic practices and ceremonies. In April 1576, Piers became bishop of Rochester but was transferred to the wealthier and more important bishopric of Salisbury in November 1577. Favored and trusted by the queen, Piers was given the delicate task of persuading Edmund **Grindal**, the disgraced and suspended archbishop of Canterbury, to resign, a task that ended with Grindal's death in 1583.

In 1585, Elizabeth, who rarely involved bishops in political issues, asked Piers's advice on whether England should intervene in the **Netherlands**, the bishop replying that England should. Piers was also active in suppressing the **Presbyterian movement** at Oxford in the late 1580s. After the defeat of the Spanish **Armada**, the queen honored Piers by appointing him to preach the sermon at the thanksgiving service held at St. Paul's Cathedral in **London** on 24 November 1588. On the death of Archbishop Edwin **Sandys** in 1589, Elizabeth named Piers archbishop of York, a post he held until his death in September 1594.

See also Grammar School; Universities

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Pilgrimage of Grace

Occurring in late 1536 and early 1537, the Pilgrimage of Grace was an armed uprising of the common people of northern England against the religious policies of **Henry VIII** as implemented by his chief minister, Thomas **Cromwell**. The Pilgrimage was the most serious act of popular resistance to the king's break with Rome.

The Pilgrimage eventually comprised five separate uprisings occurring in seven different counties and affecting roughly the northern third of the kingdom. The disorder began in Lincolnshire in October 1536, after the dissolution of the smaller monasteries and the recent issuance of royal **injunctions** of religion gave substance to rumors that the government planned all manner of religious changes, including the closure of parish churches and the seizure of church goods. In this tense atmosphere, the movement soon spread to Yorkshire, where leadership was assumed by a local attorney named Robert **Aske**. Some historians have argued that Aske knew about or was involved in anti-Cromwell intrigues at **court** and that he

and his **gentry** colleagues turned a disorganized religious protest into an orderly effort to discredit Cromwell and his supporters. However, most current views of the Pilgrimage see it as a popular defense of traditional religion that was curbed in its initial violence by a gentry leadership that was more willing than its followers to trust royal promises.

Under Aske's direction, the rising assumed the guise of a pilgrimage of loyal subjects seeking to inform their king of the misdeeds of his evil councillors, especially Cromwell, who was blamed for initiating both the break with Rome and unwanted modifications in the liturgy. Although social and economic grievances played a role, fear of further religious changes was the immediate cause of the uprising. Aske emphasized this religious conservatism by having his forces march under the banner of the five wounds of Christ, and the articles drafted by the pilgrims and given to Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, on 6 December also stressed religious fears and concerns. Troubled by the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the quarrel with Rome, the rebels also declared their opposition to royal control of **Convocation** and requested that all the Church's ancient liberties be respected.

By November, the pilgrim army grew to more than 30,000, and Aske and the pilgrims soon controlled the city of York and most of the county of Yorkshire. Lacking the military power to suppress the rebellion by force, Henry VIII negotiated with the pilgrims, promising them pardon and a fair hearing if they would go home, but using the delay to assemble armed forces to crush the uprising. Aske accepted the king's terms and persuaded the suspicious pilgrims to disband and await the promised dismissal of Cromwell and the redress of their other grievances. Many of the pilgrim gentry took advantage of the pardon to disassociate themselves from the movement. With only a few exceptions, such as Thomas **Darcy**, Lord Darcy, who served as Aske's chief lieutenant, the northern nobility remained neutral or actively opposed the Pilgrimage.

In January 1537, Sir Francis Bigod and other rebel leaders, distrusting the king's word, raised new rebellions. Henry used these fresh disorders as an excuse to send Norfolk into the disaffected counties to suppress the rebellion by force. Rebel leaders, including Aske, were seized and hanged, despite the king's earlier promises of pardon. To secure royal authority in the north, the heretofore intermittently appointed **Council of the North** became a permanent body headquartered at York, where it effectively replaced the Percies and other noble families as the chief agent of royal power in the region. Although unsuccessful in saving the monasteries or securing the removal of Cromwell, the pilgrims caused sufficient alarm to slow Henry VIII's reform of the English Church.

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Pinkie, Battle of

Fought on 10 September 1547, along the Firth of Forth near Musselburgh, south-east of Edinburgh, the Battle of Pinkie marked the beginning of a new phase in the **Rough Wooing**, the sustained English attempt to compel the Scots to accept a marriage between their queen and the English king. The overwhelming English victory destroyed the main Scots field force, allowed the English to establish garrisons across southern Scotland, and brought the French into the war on the Scottish side.

When the Scottish Parliament repudiated the Treaty of **Greenwich** in December 1543, **Henry VIII** launched successive invasions of **Scotland** to force acceptance of the main provision of the treaty, the marriage of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, to Prince Edward, the future **Edward VI**. At Henry's death in January 1547, the Scots remained defiant. Because of the king's youth, control of the English government passed to Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, who, as the king's eldest uncle, assumed office as lord protector. In Scotland, the government of the even more youthful queen was headed by James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, the heir to the throne, who worked in uneasy partnership with a pro-French party led by the queen mother, Marie de **Guise**.

In late August 1547, while massing a force of more than 16,000 on the border at Berwick, Somerset issued a proclamation to the people of Scotland reminding them of the 1543 agreement and of the history and geography they shared with the English. His army, he claimed, was coming not to threaten Scotland, but "to defend and maintain the honor of both the princes and realms" (Jordan, *Edward VI*, 252). Crossing the frontier on 31 August, the English marched along the coast toward Edinburgh, supported on their flank by a fleet under Edward Fiennes de **Clinton**, Lord Clinton. Moving swiftly, the English seized castles along their line of march and dispersed harassing bands of Scots. On 9 September, Somerset encountered the main Scottish force, 20,000 in number, holding a strong position along the river Esk.

Next morning, Somerset ordered his right wing to assault the Scottish line, thereby shifting the entire army toward the Forth and the protection of Clinton's guns. Arran, in command of the Scottish force, misinterpreted the movement; he believed Somerset was trying to avoid an engagement by taking his men to the coast for embarkation on the fleet. Arran accordingly ordered the Scots to leave their well-prepared defenses and attack. Seeing the Scottish movement, Somerset

halted his army and formed line of battle. The Scots, far inferior to the English in cavalry, had no cover for the flanks of their pikemen, the same bristling formations of spearmen that **James IV** had used at **Flodden Field**. Slowed by cavalry charges and broken by artillery, the Scottish formations disintegrated, and the battle degenerated into a slaughter as the English infantry pursued the fleeing Scots to the gates of **Edinburgh**.

While English losses numbered 500 to 600, the Scots lost 10,000 or more. Organized Scottish resistance ceased, and Somerset spent the following months securing southern Scotland by seizing strongpoints and establishing a web of English garrisons centered on the fortress at Haddington. Thanks to French inducements—Arran was given the title Duke of Châtelherault—and the efforts of the queen mother, the Scots turned in this emergency to their ancient ally, **France**. Concluded in July 1548, the Treaty of Haddington promised the Scots French military assistance in return for the marriage of their queen to the eldest son of **Henri II**. In late July, Mary was spirited into France, there to be raised at Henri's court. Although a victory for English arms, Pinkie was a defeat for English policy, opening a decade of French dominance in Scotland and ensuring that the Scottish queen would become Catholic in religion and French in sympathy.

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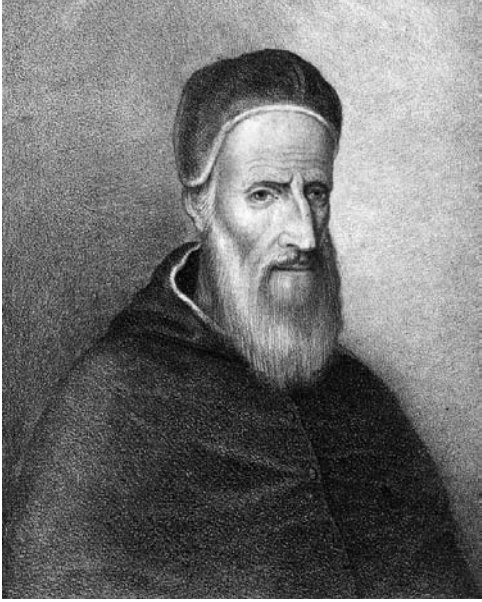
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Pius V (1504–1572)

In 1570, Michele Ghislieri, Pope Pius V, issued the bull (papal edict) *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated **Elizabeth I** from the Roman Catholic Church. Born near Alessandria, **Italy**, Ghislieri became a Dominican friar noted for his asceticism. He was appointed a bishop in 1556 and a cardinal of the Church in 1557. As inquisitor-general for the Lombardy region of northern Italy, he vigorously suppressed the teaching of reformist doctrines. Elected pope as Pius V in 1566, he worked to reform the papal court by rooting out corruption and immorality and by reducing court expenditure. Through promulgation of the bull *In Coena Domini* in 1568, he sought to strengthen papal authority and Church discipline throughout Catholic Europe.

For political reasons, the **papacy** had waited patiently for over a decade after her accession for Elizabeth to return herself and her country to the Roman Catholic fold. The **Northern Rebellion** of 1569, during which the rebels restored Catholic worship to parts of northern England, convinced Pius to take action against



Pope Pius V issued the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* in 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth I from the Roman Catholic Church. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

the heretical queen in an effort to give heart to the northern rebels and to all English Catholics. Without consulting any Catholic ruler, Pius issued *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating Elizabeth and absolving her subjects from their allegiance to her. Because it put English Catholics in a difficult position, and also because it put pressure on Catholic monarchs, such as **Philip II of Spain**, to take action against Elizabeth, *Regnans in Excelsis* was unpopular both in England and in the Catholic courts of Europe. Other than stimulate the passage by **Parliament of penal laws** against English Catholics, the bull had little immediate effect.

Pius was more successful in his other great initiative—the organization, with Spain and Venice, of a naval expedition against the Turks in the eastern Medi-

terranean. In 1571, the effort resulted in the great naval victory won at Lepanto by **John of Austria**, the half brother of Philip of Spain. Pius died in 1572 and was canonized as a saint of the Catholic Church in 1712.

See also Catholicism, English

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Plague

The bubonic plague struck England with paralyzing force multiple times during the Tudor period. The word “plague” means “a blow or strike,” and the bubonic plague was called “the plague of the pestilence,” referring to the particular form of blow as a disease. Because the plague of the pestilence was a recurring crisis in England bringing with it the most horrific of symptoms and killing thousands in each visitation with unprecedented speed, it became known as “the plague.” No other “blow” was as terrifying or tragic.

The plague directly altered standard practices in every area of lived experience from the political, religious, and social to the medical, artistic, dietary, and physiological. Described as a tyrant by writers, the plague dictated the monarch's itinerary, each time threatening national security when the king or queen fled from infected locations. Among the most deadly and widely disruptive plague visitations in this period were those in 1498, 1535, 1543, 1563–1564, 1578, 1592–1593, and 1603. William **Shakespeare** was born in the first Elizabethan plague year, when Stratford-upon-Avon lost many of its citizens. In 1563, the Elizabethan government and the **Anglican Church** created the first English schedule for Common Prayer in times of plague. In 1578, the government issued the first nationwide set of plague orders in England that established quarantine laws closer to those on the Continent and provided guidelines for taxation to relieve the poor. In 1592–1593, the plague halted trade and entertainment in **London**, closing theaters and sending those of means fleeing from the city. Some playwrights turned to writing **poetry** or took their plays on the road outside London; Shakespeare, for example, wrote *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, poems we might not have were it not for the plague-related theater closings. In 1603, plague gravely ushered in the reign of **James I**.

The plague lived on in the black rat population of England, flaring up regularly. The black rat (*Rattus rattus*) was the primary host for the flea (*Xenopsylla cheopis*) that could carry the plague (*Yersinia pestis*) bacteria. The bacteria blocked the flea's gut, preventing the flea from digesting its usual meal of blood and making the flea hungrier, more desperate to bite, thus rapidly spreading the bacteria. Plague outbreaks seemed to come in waves, sometimes initiated or augmented by rodent stowaways on ships from the Continent. Although England's inhabitants did not know the etiology (cause) of the plague as we do now, they were well aware of its patterns: deadliest in the summer, targeting densely populated areas, and traveling from town to town, country to country. They debated its causes, citing as its source God's anger at sin, vaporous air, astrological influences, and human contagion by breath. They reinforced these possibilities and proposed solutions in written form. Medical treatises and broadside advertisements offered cures; sermons exhorted parishioners to repent; pamphlets depicted the suffering of citizens and foreigners; governmental proclamations restricted fairs and other market practices; and plague bills reported weekly plague deaths. These beliefs and practices, documented in what we now call "plague writing," served the people of England through their last great plague in 1665–1666 and beyond.

Rebecca Totaro

See also Medicine and Disease

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Plantagenet, Arthur, Lord Lisle (c. 1462–1542)

Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, was lord deputy of **Calais** and the source, with his wife, of the Lisle Letters, one of the most valuable collections of private papers from the sixteenth century. Plantagenet was a natural son of **Edward IV** and thus half brother to Queen **Elizabeth of York** and uncle to her son **Henry VIII**. He spent his childhood at **court** but lived from the age of 10 in Hampshire with the family of his mother, Elizabeth Lucy. He entered his half sister's household in 1501 and that of her husband, **Henry VII**, in 1503. In June 1509, Henry VIII favored his uncle with appointment to the royal bodyguard. In 1511, Plantagenet married Elizabeth Dudley, widow of Henry VII's discredited finance minister Edmund Dudley. After the marriage, the king granted his uncle the estates forfeited to the Crown in 1510 through Dudley's **attainder**. In 1513, while on campaign in **France** with Henry, Plantagenet held a naval command and earned his knighthood. He was sheriff of Hampshire in 1514 and later served many years on the county commission of the peace.

Popular at court and highly favored by the king, Plantagenet served in numerous ceremonial and diplomatic posts. He accompanied Henry to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520, was created Viscount Lisle in April 1523, elected knight of the Garter in April 1524, and named vice admiral of the fleet in July 1525. His wife having died in 1525, Lisle married Honor Grenville in 1529. In October 1532, the Lisles accompanied the king and Anne **Boleyn** to Calais for their meeting with **Francis I**.

In March 1533, Henry appointed Lisle deputy of Calais, where he and his wife resided until 1540. The Lisle Letters, which came into the possession of the Crown upon Lisle's arrest in 1540, chiefly concern the period of Lisle's deputyship. The years in Calais were marked by personal debt, for Lisle was a man of extravagant tastes; by ongoing disputes between the deputy and the garrison; and by intensifying religious strife among the townspeople. Personally conservative in religion, Lisle attempted to suppress the town's growing Protestant movement until he realized that it was being secretly supported by Thomas **Cromwell**. In May 1540, after Gregory Botolph, who had once been Lisle's chaplain, was arrested for conspiring with the pope and Cardinal Reginald **Pole** to surrender Calais to the French, Lisle was recalled to England and imprisoned in the **Tower of London** for complicity in the plot. Although Cromwell was himself soon imprisoned, Lisle, whose

administration at Calais was discovered to have been exceedingly lax, remained in the Tower until March 1542, when, upon hearing of his imminent release, he fell into such a state of excitement that he died the same night.

See also Empson-Dudley Affair; Husee, John; Justices of the Peace

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Plantagenet, Edward, Earl of Warwick (1475–1499)

After the death of **Richard III** in 1485, the late king's nephew Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, became the last Yorkist claimant to the throne in the direct male line and a natural focus for conspiracies against the House of **Tudor**. Born in February 1475, Warwick lost his mother when he was not yet two, and his father, George, Duke of Clarence, when he was three. Little is known of his upbringing, although he came for a time under the care of his aunt Queen Anne, wife of Richard III. In 1483, Richard, seeking to remove all the children of his older brothers from his path to the throne, declared Warwick barred from the succession because of his father's **attainder** for **treason** in 1478. Although he knighted Warwick later in the year and briefly considered naming the earl his heir after his own son's death in 1484, Richard confined Warwick in the northern castle of Sheriff Hutton.

In August 1485, only days after he won the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, **Henry VII** had the 10-year-old Warwick conveyed to the **Tower of London**. Almost immediately, rumors began to surface that Warwick had escaped, and the earl, although still confined, became a key component in various plots to restore the House of **York** to the throne. In February 1487, Warwick was paraded through the streets of **London** in an effort to discredit Lambert **Simnel**, whose impersonation of Warwick instigated a Yorkist invasion from **Ireland** that Henry defeated at the Battle of **Stoke** in the following June. In 1489, several men were hanged for participation in a conspiracy to free Warwick, and in 1499, Ralph Wilford, yet another Warwick impersonator, was executed.

By the late 1490s, continual Yorkist plotting and the urgings of **Ferdinand and Isabella** of Spain to secure the succession before they married their daughter to Prince Arthur **Tudor** convinced Henry VII to eliminate Warwick. The earl, who had been left ill-educated and naive by the circumstances of his life, was induced by a fellow prisoner, Perkin **Warbeck**, who had himself impersonated one of the sons of **Edward IV**, to agree to a plan of escape. The scheme, which may have been laid by royal agents to entrap the two men, came to light, and both were

condemned and executed in November 1499. Several weeks later, in January 1500, the Spanish ambassador informed Ferdinand and Isabella that “not a doubtful drop of royal blood remains in this kingdom” (Chrimes, *Henry VII*, 284, n. 8).

In 1513, **Henry VIII** atoned for Warwick’s execution by returning the family lands to Warwick’s sister Margaret **Pole**, who was also created Countess of Salisbury. However, in 1541, Henry, in pursuit of a policy of eliminating his remaining Yorkist relations, ordered the beheading of the aging countess.

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Plantations, Irish

By installing Protestant settlers on lands taken from Catholic Irish, the Irish plantation policy of the English government helped create the religious conflict that still plagues **Ireland** today. Plantations were attempts to establish colonies of new settlers on territories seized from—and cleared of—their original occupants. The population of Tudor Ireland was divided between people of Irish (Gaelic) descent and people of English descent, known as the **Anglo-Irish**, whose forbears had settled in Ireland in the Middle Ages. Prior to the 1520s, the English Crown had sought to rule Ireland either by cooperating with the Anglo-Irish nobility and pacifying the Irish chieftains, or by attempting to extend a centralized English administration across the island from **Dublin**.

In the sixteenth century, as both England and **Scotland** adopted **Protestantism**, Irish resistance to English rule in Ireland began to identify itself more closely with **Catholicism**, thus adding a religious component to the ongoing political struggle for control of Ireland. Under the Tudors and Stuarts, a policy evolved of dispersing and dispossessing the Catholic Gaelic population by establishing plantations of Protestant English and Scottish settlers on land formerly held by Gaelic clans. These English plantation schemes sought to populate the island with settlers who used English law, followed English customs, and supported the Crown. The first colonization efforts were undertaken by the Catholic government of **Mary I**, which stripped certain Irish landholders of two-thirds of their property and gave it to settlers from England or to persons of English descent living in Ireland. Under **Elizabeth I**, the English plantation settlers were almost exclusively Protestant and became known as “New English,” to distinguish them from the largely Catholic Anglo-Irish, who were called “Old English.”

The Elizabethan plantation schemes, such as those proposed by Sir Peter **Carew** and attempted by Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, provoked fierce Irish resistance, which culminated in the rebellions in Ulster led by Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, in the 1590s. The rebels destroyed many English plantations, but Tyrone's eventual defeat convinced the government of **James I** that the core of Irish resistance in Ulster could be crushed only by planting Ulster with reliable Protestant settlers, a policy that was launched in 1609. Cleared of Catholic Irish, Ulster received thousands of Protestant settlers in the seventeenth century, thus planting the seeds of the Protestant-Catholic conflict that still haunts Northern Ireland in the twenty-first century.

See also Nine Years War; Ulster Enterprise (Essex); Ulster Enterprise (Smith)

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Pluralism and Absenteeism

Pluralism was the practice of a priest, of any rank or status, holding more than one church office (**benefice**). Absenteeism, also called nonresidence, was a logical consequence of pluralism since it is not possible to be in two places at once. For example, a priest who held the office of parish priest in two separate parishes was a pluralist and at any given time was an absentee in one of them. One could be an absentee without being a pluralist, but the two problems most often occurred together. While both pluralism and absenteeism were prohibited by **canon law** (church law), dispensation for either one could be obtained from the pope. These practices came under particular attack during the **Reformation**, but they were not new problems nor unique to Britain, and historians do not always agree on their magnitude.

Much was required of parish priests ministering to their flocks, and they were often poorly paid. While a bishopric might provide an annual income in excess of £1,000 per year and a large house for the holder to live in, there were many small church offices paying less than £10 a year and offering no creature comforts. A priest might have needed to hold more than one of those just to survive. A priest who held more than one office could hire a curate, or deputy priest, to fill in for him

while he was gone, but poor education, poor training, and sometimes even corruption were problems among such deputies. Estimates of total priestly numbers vary widely, but many historians believe there was always a shortage of ordained priests in Britain, and among them, a shortage of those who were educated. Distribution of priests was uneven in total numbers and in proportion to local populations, and many priests in rural areas were both poor and poorly educated.

Poorly paid offices and a shortage of priests would under the best of circumstances have contributed to the incidence of pluralism and absenteeism, but a larger potential problem was the effect of these practices on the laity and on the church's reputation. If there was no priest to serve the needs of a parish—to preach the **Mass**, administer the **sacraments**, and attend to all the other responsibilities—then parishioners' health, welfare, and even their eternal souls could be in jeopardy. People did complain about laxity and ignorance on the part of priests and would sometimes refuse to tithe, citing such problems. Priestly bad behavior came under attack not only from polemical writers like Simon **Fish** and other Protestant reformers, but also from critics within the church who recognized and wanted to correct abuses.

Sometimes a priest deliberately became a pluralist purely out of greed—for the money, prestige, or power, or all three. While this could happen at any level in the church hierarchy, the most famous and notorious example of a pluralist-absentee was Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**—the most powerful English churchman of his time. Wolsey held various church offices before being named archbishop of York in 1514. Subsequently he received and exchanged several other offices all while holding on to York. After 1518, he was also the pope's legate *a latere* in England (a personal representative with special and wide-ranging powers). This along with his position as **Henry VIII's** lord chancellor meant that Wolsey wielded great power and influence even beyond England's borders. In addition, he was able to amass enormous personal wealth. It was widely believed then, as now, that he was motivated in large part by greed.

There is disagreement among historians on the magnitude of the problems of pluralism and absenteeism. Some argue that the church was filled with corruption and that a large number of parishioners were unhappy and felt ill will toward the church (**anticlericalism**). Others argue the problem was not so great, that the polemical writers were biased and described the exceptions not the rule, and that the problem was far worse elsewhere. They hold that most parishioners were not fundamentally unhappy with the church. Many church records and other sources that could be helpful were among materials destroyed during the Reformation, and the ones that survived are often the most biased.

Provoked by extreme animosity toward Wolsey, the **Reformation Parliament** put forth the Pluralities Act of 1529, but the end result was greatly watered down. In the 1560s after the Church of England had become a Protestant institution,

pluralism was still occurring, but in this case it was being allowed to increase by the church in an attempt to get at least *some* service to people in poorly served areas. For the Roman Catholic Church the Council of **Trent** addressed the issue of pluralism in the late 1540s, but still failed to do much to curb the problem.

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Poetry

The late Elizabethan period, from the 1570s to the 1600s, was one of the most creative and prolific periods in the history of English poetry. This poetic flowering began in the quarter century between 1550 and 1575, when humanist scholars and Protestant reformers used **English**, long considered inferior to Latin and Greek as a literary language, to teach and to preach. Prose works of scholarship like Roger **Ascham**'s *Schoolmaster* (1570) and religious works like John **Foxe**'s "**Book of Martyrs**," Thomas **Cranmer**'s **Book of Common Prayer** (1549, 1552), and William **Whittingham**'s Geneva Bible (1560) illustrated the strength and flexibility of English.

Poetry, the pastime of such Henrician courtiers as Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and the elder Thomas **Wyatt**, reached a wider audience in the 1560s with the publication of Richard Tottel's anthology *Songs and Sonnets* (1557), a work generally known as "Tottel's Miscellany." By popularizing the court poetry of **Henry VIII**'s time and the work of unknown contemporary poets, such as George **Gascoigne**, Tottel inspired a host of similar poetry collections that helped build demand for English verse. This growing interest in poetry was illustrated by the popularity of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a collection of poetic laments supposedly spoken by participants in the **Wars of the Roses**. Compiled by various editors and containing the efforts of such contemporary poets as Thomas **Sackville** and Thomas **Churchyard**, the *Mirror* went through four editions between 1559 and 1587.

The plainer, simpler poetry published by Tottel and the *Mirror* in the 1560s was superseded in the next two decades by the more ornate and innovative lyric poetry (verse expressing intense personal emotion) written by Edmund **Spenser** and Sir Philip **Sidney**. Spenser was the first English poet to use print to deliberately disseminate his work to a wider public. His *The Faerie Queen* (1590–1609) was a lyric epic of Protestant nationalism, casting **Elizabeth I** as the Faerie Queen herself. Sidney's work was also fused with Protestant fervor and tied to the cult of the

Virgin Queen. While Spenser inspired every English poet of the 1590s to try lyric poetry, Sidney, through his *Astrophel and Stella* (1591) cycle, initiated a great flood of **sonnet** sequences, including a cycle by William **Shakespeare**. By 1590, English poetry was being enriched by many talented poets innovating new forms and exploring new topics.

See also Bible, English; Humanism; Printing; Protestantism; Reformation, English

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Pole, Edmund de la, Earl of Suffolk (c. 1472–1513)

Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was a nephew of **Edward IV** and **Richard III** and thus a potential Yorkist claimant to the English throne. Mistrusted by the first two Tudors and himself suspicious of their intentions, Suffolk was eventually executed as a security threat to the House of **Tudor**. Edmund de la Pole was the second son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of the Yorkist kings. His elder brother, John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, supported the Lambert **Simnel** uprising and was slain at the Battle of **Stoke** in 1487. Because of his brother's subsequent **attainder**, Edmund's inheritance at his father's death in 1491 was seriously diminished, and he had to agree to forego the title of duke in exchange for the earldom of Suffolk and a portion of the family estates. He was thereafter received with favor at **court**, being elected knight of the Garter in 1496. He also served loyally in the Breton campaign of 1492 and against the Cornish rebels at Blackheath in 1497.

In the autumn of 1498, Suffolk was indicted for murder; although pardoned, the earl apparently resented **Henry VII's** decision to allow a nobleman of royal blood to be arraigned in court. In July 1499, Suffolk, mistrusting Henry and fearing further consequences as a result of his crime, fled the realm, first to **Calais**, where he sheltered briefly with Sir James **Tyrell**, a former Yorkist, and then to Burgundy. Henry dispatched agents to persuade Suffolk to return, which he did several months later. Although readmitted to royal favor, Suffolk's distrust of the king was only exacerbated by the execution of his cousin Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, in November 1499.

In August 1501, Suffolk and his brother Richard de la **Pole** fled to the court of Emperor **Maximilian I**. The brothers tried unsuccessfully to convince the emperor

to back them in an attempt to seize the English Crown. Forced eventually to leave Imperial territory, Suffolk, after various adventures, fell into the custody of Archduke Philip of Burgundy in 1505. In England, Henry had imprisoned Suffolk's brother William and executed Tyrell for his earlier dealings with the fugitive. In 1504, **Parliament** attainted Suffolk. When adverse winds unexpectedly blew Philip to England in early 1506, the archduke agreed to surrender Suffolk upon Henry's written promise not to execute the earl. Suffolk was committed to the **Tower of London** in March 1506 and languished there until 1513, when **Louis XII** of **France**, then at war with England, recognized the earl's brother as "Richard IV," rightful king of England. **Henry VIII** responded by ordering Suffolk's execution.

See also Cornish Rebellion; Netherlands

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Pole, Sir Geoffrey (c. 1501–1558)

Because the Poles were descendants of the House of **York** and friends of **Catherine of Aragon**, Sir Geoffrey Pole was arrested and subjected to severe and prolonged interrogation, during the course of which he provided evidence that led to the execution of friends and family members for involvement in the **Exeter Conspiracy**. A high-strung, quarrelsome man, Pole lived in Sussex, where he was frequently at odds with his neighbors. In 1529, he was accused of taking part in the forcible expulsion of one neighbor and in 1531 brought suit for trespass in **Star Chamber** against several others. Given to extravagance, Pole was frequently in debt. His 1529 nomination to serve in the **Reformation Parliament** for Wilton, a seat in the gift of his mother, Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, may have been arranged to provide Pole with protection from his creditors. In 1536, when his middle brother, Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, wrote against the **royal supremacy**, Pole's eldest brother, Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, paid Geoffrey's debts to prevent him from fleeing his creditors and earning the family more unwelcome royal attention.

Although knighted in 1530, Pole, like the rest of his family, disliked the king's **divorce**. In 1532, Pole secretly accompanied Montague to **Henry VIII's** meeting with **Francis I**; working in disguise, Pole gathered sufficient information to later assure Catherine of Aragon that the French king would never countenance Henry's marriage to Anne **Boleyn**. By 1534, Pole was in frequent contact with the Imperial

ambassador, Eustace **Chapuys**, who informed **Charles V** of Pole's oft-stated dissatisfaction with royal policy. By 1537, Pole, perhaps because of his extensive debts to the Crown, was refused reception at **court**.

Arrested in August 1538, Pole was conveyed to the **Tower of London** on suspicion of conducting treasonable correspondence with his exiled brother Reginald. On 26 October, Pole underwent the first of seven intensive interrogations that caused him to attempt suicide and led to rumors that he had fallen into madness. By November, the king's inquisitors had elicited sufficient information from Pole to justify the arrests of Montague; the Countess of Salisbury; Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter; and others. Brought to trial with those he implicated, Pole pled guilty but was pardoned on 4 January 1539, almost a month after the executions of Montague, Exeter, and the others.

Devastated by his involvement in his brother's death and his mother's beheading in 1541, Pole fled England in 1548. His brother the cardinal brought him before the pope for absolution, but Pole thereafter led a guilt-ridden existence, traveling from place to place until the accession of **Mary I** allowed his return to England in 1553. Although Exeter's son Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, swore to kill him, Pole lived quietly until his death in November 1558.

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Pole, Henry, Lord Montague (c. 1492–1538)

Henry Pole, Lord Montague, a descendant of the House of **York**, was arrested and executed in 1538 as one of the principals in the **Exeter Conspiracy**. Pole was the eldest son of Sir Richard Pole and his wife Margaret **Pole**, a niece of the Yorkist kings **Edward IV** and **Richard III**. His father, who was chamberlain to Prince Arthur **Tudor**, died in 1505, and Pole received the family estates in 1513, the same year his mother was created Countess of Salisbury. In September, in the midst of his French campaign, **Henry VIII** knighted Pole and some 40 others in the church at Tournai, an act that suggests Pole had distinguished himself during the fighting. Sometime before 1517, Pole was raised to the **peerage** as Lord Montague, a title formerly belonging to the Nevilles, the family of Pole's maternal grandmother. In 1520, Montague accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and to the meeting at Gravelines with **Charles V**.

Montague was briefly imprisoned in 1521 for his association with Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of royal blood recently executed for **treason**. By 1523, Montague was again serving in **France**, this time as part of the invasion force led by Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk. Although his mother was a friend and open partisan of Queen **Catherine of Aragon** and Princess Mary, Montague supported the royal **divorce**, signing the 1530 petition urging **Clement VII** to grant the king's suit and accompanying Henry and Anne **Boleyn** to their 1532 meeting with **Francis I**. Montague also sat on the commissions that tried the **Carthusian** monks and Sir Thomas **More** in 1535 and Queen Anne in 1536. In the latter year, Montague and his mother fell again into disfavor when Montague's younger brother, Reginald **Pole**, then in exile, published a book attacking the **royal supremacy**. Montague wrote his brother denouncing his ingratitude to the king.

However, despite appearances, Montague was conservative in religion and unhappy with the **dissolution of the monasteries** and the abolition of papal authority. His complaints against the king, expressed privately to friends and family members of like mind, were revealed to the government in October 1538 by his youngest brother, Sir Geoffrey **Pole**, whose interrogation was part of an effort to uncover a suspected Yorkist plot. Upon Sir Geoffrey's evidence, Montague; Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter; and other conservatives of Yorkist descent were arrested and convicted of treason. On 9 December 1538, Montague and the other members of the so-called Exeter Conspiracy were beheaded at the **Tower of London**. In 1539, all the conspirators were posthumously condemned by act of **attainder**, which also included Montague's mother, who languished in the Tower until her own execution in 1541.

See also Mary I

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Pole, John de la, Earl of Lincoln (c. 1464–1487)

A nephew of **Richard III**, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, was a leader of Lambert **Simnel's** 1487 attempt to overthrow **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. The eldest son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of **Edward IV** and Richard III, de la Pole was created Earl of Lincoln in 1467. In

1483, Lincoln became a firm adherent of Richard, who named the earl president of the **Council of the North**, an administrative body established to maintain order on the distant Scottish border. When his son died in April 1484, Richard made Lincoln lord lieutenant of **Ireland** in his son's place, although the actual government of Ireland remained in the hands of a deputy, Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Kildare.

Although never publicly proclaimed heir to the throne, Lincoln was the nearest adult male after the king in the Yorkist line of succession. Lincoln's cousin Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, had a superior claim to the Crown because it descended from the direct male line, but Warwick was only nine in 1484 and was barred from the succession by his father's **attainder**. Richard therefore signaled his acceptance of Lincoln as heir by granting the earl lands worth over £300 per year and awarding him a pension of £176 per year drawn from the duchy of Cornwall, lands usually reserved for the heir to the throne.

Lincoln fought for his uncle at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485. Hoping to win the support of Lincoln and his family, Henry VII only required the earl to swear an oath of loyalty. But Lincoln was apparently unwilling to renounce his own claim to the Crown, and in early 1487 he fled to Burgundy, where his aunt **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy, gave him troops with which to support Lambert Simnel, a Yorkist pretender then in Ireland impersonating Warwick. Upon his arrival in Dublin, Lincoln openly accepted Simnel's claim, although in private he probably viewed his own accession as the ultimate goal of the enterprise. Crossing to England with Simnel's army, Lincoln was killed at the Battle of **Stoke** in June 1487. His younger brothers, Edmund de la **Pole** and Richard de la **Pole**, continued to oppose the Tudor regime and work for a Yorkist restoration.

See also Netherlands; York, House of

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Pole, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (1473–1541)

Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, was a descendant of the House of **York**, a friend of **Catherine of Aragon** and her daughter Princess Mary, and the mother of Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, an outspoken opponent of the **royal supremacy**. For these family and personal connections, **Henry VIII** ordered his aged kinswoman's execution. Margaret Pole was the daughter of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the brother of **Edward IV** and **Richard III**. Her mother died when she was three, and her father was executed for **treason** when she was four. She and her brother, Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, were raised at **court** until 1485. After the Battle of

Bosworth Field, Henry VII sent Warwick to the **Tower of London**, but Margaret disappears from the historical record until 1494, when she married Sir Richard Pole, a kinsman of the king's mother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond.

Because Pole was chamberlain to Prince Arthur **Tudor**, Margaret, who attended Arthur's wedding in November 1501, became well acquainted with Catherine of Aragon, the prince's wife. Pole's death in 1505 left his wife and five children in straitened circumstances until Henry VIII granted Margaret an annuity of £100 in August 1509. In October 1513, Henry created Margaret Countess of Salisbury. Although the grant was officially portrayed as an act of restitution for the execution of Warwick in 1499, it probably owed much to the influence of Catherine, who was now queen. Besides granting Margaret the estates adhering to the Salisbury title, Henry also reversed her brother's **attainder** and restored to her the extensive lands of her family.

By May 1520, the countess, probably again thanks to Catherine, became governess to Princess Mary. Although Margaret and her sons fell briefly into disfavor in 1521 because of their association with Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, she remained in charge of Mary's household. In 1533, after the king's marriage to Anne **Boleyn**, the countess demonstrated her loyalties by refusing to surrender Mary's jewels and plate. When Mary's household was dissolved in December, the countess tried unsuccessfully to continue in Mary's service at her own expense.

Although she returned to court in 1536, the countess again lost favor when her son Reginald, now in Rome, wrote a vigorous attack on the royal supremacy. Margaret reproved him in a letter and denounced him to her servants, but acted more to prevent punishment of her family than out of disagreement with her son's opinions. In the autumn of 1538, her sons Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, and Sir Geoffrey **Pole** were arrested as part of the so-called **Exeter Conspiracy**. Montague and others were executed for treason on evidence provided by Sir Geoffrey. The countess was also arrested and interrogated but stoutly maintained her innocence of any wrongdoing. Condemned by attainder in 1539, she remained in the Tower until a new uprising in Yorkshire prompted her execution. She was beheaded on 27 May 1541 by a novice executioner who, failing to sever her head at the first stroke, hacked repeatedly at her neck and body before finishing the job.

See also Mary I

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Pole, Reginald (1500–1558)

Cardinal Reginald Pole, the Marian Archbishop of Canterbury, was a descendant of the House of **York**, a kinsman of **Henry VIII**, and a noted humanist reformer. His ancestry and **education** made him a prominent figure in both English and papal politics and gave great weight to his denunciation of the **royal supremacy**, his encouragement of Catholic reform, and his attempts to restore an English Catholic Church. A younger son of Sir Richard Pole, a distant cousin of **Henry VII**, and Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, a niece of **Edward IV**, Pole was educated at the Carthusian house at Sheen and at Magdalen College, Oxford. Although he acquired several ecclesiastical **benefices** after obtaining his bachelor's degree in 1515, Pole remained at his studies until 1521, when Henry VIII, who had supported Pole at Oxford, granted him a handsome allowance to study at the University of Padua. While in **Italy**, Pole, who was treated as a kinsman and representative of the king, became the center of a group of scholars that included Thomas **Lupset** and Richard **Pace**. Returning to England in 1526, Pole received additional benefices, even though he had not taken holy orders.



Cardinal Reginald Pole was Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary I and one of the cardinals appointed to preside over early sessions of the Council of Trent. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

In 1528, Pole was called into service as agent for Henry's **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**. Although his personal inclinations and family connections (his mother was Princess Mary's governess) predisposed him to support the queen, Pole, accompanied by Lupset, Thomas **Starkey**, and Edward **Foxe**, undertook several diplomatic missions to France, including assisting Foxe in convincing the University of Paris to favor the king. However, in 1532, Pole, goaded by his conscience, told Henry that he could no longer support the divorce. Although angry, Henry only sent Pole back to Padua to resume his studies. Torn between a desire to devote himself to scholarship and the belief that he should actively participate in achieving ecclesiastical reform, Pole chose the latter in 1535 when Henry sought his public support for the newly established royal supremacy. Pole wrote and sent to the king a tract entitled *Pro*

Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione (*Defense of the Unity of the Church*), which bitterly attacked Henry for his religious proceedings. Denouncing Pole as an ungrateful traitor, and failing to secure either his extradition or assassination, Henry exacted revenge by destroying Pole's brothers and mother for alleged involvement in the **Exeter Conspiracy**. The younger brother, Geoffrey **Pole**, was compelled to testify against his elder brother, Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague (executed in 1538), and against his mother (beheaded in 1541).

Made a cardinal in 1536, Pole remained in Italy, where he became leader of a group of humanist reformers. In 1545, Pole was one of the cardinals appointed to preside over the reforming Council of **Trent**. When control of the council fell to a hard-line faction headed by Gian Pietro Carafa, who demanded vigorous suppression of **heresy** and believed that Pole was himself a heretic, the cardinal saw most of his proposed reforms voted down. Although Pole withdrew from Trent and resigned his papal offices, his stature was such that in 1550 he failed to be elected as pope by one vote.

Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Pole was appointed papal legate to England, although **Charles V**, fearing that Pole might hinder the queen's marriage to the emperor's son Prince **Philip**, delayed Pole's return until late 1554. Pole quickly became Mary's chief religious advisor, working closely with her to restore an English Catholic Church. In 1556, shortly after becoming archbishop, Pole presided over a **London** synod that instituted in England most of the reforms adopted by the Council of Trent. However, in 1557, the former Cardinal Carafa, now Pope Paul IV, revoked all Pole's legatine powers as part of a quarrel with Prince Philip. Summoned to Rome, where he likely faced charges of heresy, Pole was commanded by the queen to remain in England. With his effectiveness as archbishop largely nullified, Pole was a disillusioned man when he died, only a few hours after the queen, on 17 November 1558.

See also Carthusian Martyrs

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Pole, Richard de la (d. 1525)

From 1513 to 1525, Richard de la Pole, an exiled nephew of **Edward IV** and **Richard III**, was the leading Yorkist claimant to the English throne. Richard was

the fifth son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of the Yorkist monarchs. Although **Henry VII** sought to win the loyalty of the Pole brothers, neither he nor they could forget their royal blood and the potential threat they posed to the House of **Tudor**. Richard's eldest brother, John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, supported the pretender Lambert **Simnel** and died at the Battle of **Stoke** in 1487. The second brother, Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, twice fled England fearing that Henry meant to eliminate all Yorkist heirs.

Accompanying Suffolk on his second flight in 1501, Richard, like Edmund and his imprisoned younger brother William, was attainted of **treason** by **Parliament** in 1504. Richard spent most of that year in confinement in Aix-la-Chapelle, a hostage to Suffolk's many debtors. Ransomed by the bishop of Liège, he traveled to Buda, where the Hungarian king refused Henry VII's demands for Pole's surrender. In 1513, **Louis XII** of **France**, who was then at war with England, recognized Pole as rightful king of England, an action that led to Suffolk's execution at the **Tower of London**, where he had been imprisoned since 1506. Upon his brother's death, Pole assumed the title Duke of Suffolk and became an openly avowed claimant to the English Crown, becoming known across Europe as the "White Rose," an allusion to the famous emblem of the House of **York**.

Over the following decade, Pole became the subject of numerous rumors linking him to various intrigues against the Tudor regime. He led a company of 6,000 men against the English forces at the siege of Théroutanne in 1513 and in the following year commanded a large force in Normandy that was said to be intended for an invasion of England. At the conclusion of peace in 1514, Louis refused English demands for Pole's arrest but ordered him to leave France. Pole settled in the Imperial city of Metz, where agents of **Henry VIII** tried unsuccessfully to assassinate him. Upon his accession in 1515, **Francis I** continued his predecessor's support of the pretender and was several times rumored to be assembling an invasion force to put Pole on the English throne. In 1519, while seeking election to the Imperial Crown, Francis sent Pole to Germany to campaign for the king with the Imperial electors. Pole accompanied Francis on various campaigns, including the 1525 invasion of **Italy** that led in February to the Battle of Pavia, where Francis was captured, and Pole was slain fighting at his side.

See also Attainder

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Pole Conspiracy

Although of little danger to the queen, the Pole conspiracy was the first Catholic plot of **Elizabeth I**'s reign to aim at replacing her with Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and the first evidence of the development of a potentially dangerous English **Catholicism**. The **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 dashed the hopes of English Catholics that Elizabeth would favor their Church, and it led many to dismiss her as a heretical usurper and to recognize Mary as the rightful ruler of England.

In the autumn of 1562, Arthur Pole and his brothers, nephews to Cardinal Reginald **Pole**, who had been archbishop of Canterbury under **Mary I**, sought unsuccessfully to convince Mary Stuart's powerful French relatives, the **Guise family**, to provide military support for a coup to dethrone Elizabeth and to proclaim Mary. As grandchildren of **Edward IV**'s niece Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, whom **Henry VIII** had executed in 1541, the Poles were among the last holders of the **Yorkist claim** to the throne. Arthur Pole used his Yorkist blood and his connections with former Catholic councillors of Queen Mary, such as Lord Hastings of Loughborough and Sir Edward Waldegrave, to contact the French and Spanish ambassadors in **London**, who made vague promises but gave little real support or credence to the conspiracy. The involvement of the ambassadors aroused the suspicion of Sir William **Cecil**, who had long believed that the Spanish ambassador was protecting and encouraging gatherings of disaffected English Catholics.

Pole and his associates were arrested in October 1562 and lodged in the **Tower of London**, the government deciding to proceed against them by act of **attainder**. Cecil used the conspiracy to convince **Parliament** and his fellow councillors of the growing threat from Catholics to the queen's security and as an excuse to raid the French and Spanish embassies in February 1563 to flush out English Catholics and to discredit the Spanish ambassador. Far from putting a Catholic queen on the throne, the Pole conspiracy led to the first anti-Catholic **penal laws** of the reign. The Parliament of 1563 made anyone who refused twice to take the oath upholding the **royal supremacy** over the English Church guilty of **treason**, and it forbade Catholics from serving in the House of Commons.

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Ponet, John (c. 1514–1556)

John Ponet, bishop of Winchester, was a Protestant humanist scholar and the author of *A Short Treatise of Politic Power*. Born in Kent, Ponet was educated

at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1532. Ordained in 1536, Ponet completed his doctorate of divinity in 1547. While at Cambridge, Ponet joined a circle of humanist scholars that included John **Cheke**, future tutor to **Edward VI**; Roger **Ascham**, future tutor to **Elizabeth I**; and William **Cecil**, the future Elizabethan minister. Known as an accomplished linguist and mathematician, Ponet designed the complicated sundial that can still be found in the front court of Queen's College; he presented a copy of the device, which tells the day of the month, the phase of the moon, and the flow of the tide, to **Henry VIII** for **Hampton Court**. In 1547, Ponet became chaplain to Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and in 1549 wrote a detailed apology for clerical marriage entitled "A Defense for Marriage of Priests." Ponet's **Protestantism** is evidenced by his appointment, with John **Hooper**, to preach the Lenten sermons at **Paul's Cross** in 1550. The only surviving example of a Ponet sermon, entitled "A Notable Sermon Concerning the Right Use of the Lord's Supper," also takes a Protestant viewpoint, arguing for Christ's spiritual presence in the Eucharist.

In 1550, Ponet became bishop of Rochester. In 1551, upon the deprivation of Stephen **Gardiner**, Ponet was translated to the see of Winchester. Because he agreed to surrender the enormous revenues of Winchester for a fixed annual income and later married a woman who already had a husband, Ponet has traditionally been portrayed as avaricious and unscrupulous. Historians have largely dismissed this view, pointing out that Ponet, like other Edwardian bishops, was compelled to acquiesce in the plunder of his see and that his unfortunate marriage was more embarrassing than shameful. Upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Ponet, having remarried, was deprived of his office. In 1554, he involved himself in **Wyatt's Rebellion** and fled to the reformed city of Strasbourg when the uprising failed.

One of the highest-ranking Edwardian ecclesiastics among the **Marian exiles**, Ponet wrote several religious treatises while in Strasbourg, including *An Apology* (1556), which advocated Protestant theology, and *Diallacticon* (1557), which expanded on his view of the Eucharist. His most famous work, completed in 1556, was *A Short Treatise of Politic Power*, which argued that rulers, as much as their subjects, had a duty to obey the laws of God and men. Should rulers not do so, their subjects had the right to remove them from power. This thesis, highly revolutionary for the sixteenth century, had great influence on later political thinkers such as John Milton and John Locke and through them on such early leaders of the United States as John Adams. Ponet died in Strasbourg in August 1556.

See also Humanism

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Poor Laws

Alarmed by a dimly understood rise in poverty, beggary, and **vagrancy**, Tudor **Parliaments** enacted a series of statutes that eventually created a uniform national system of parish-based poor relief and regulation. Although the Elizabethan statutes of 1597–1601 represent the culmination of this system, its foundations were established by several important early Tudor enactments.

Many factors contributed to economic distress in Tudor England. Rising **population** oversupplied the labor market, leading to unemployment, which in turn combined with the effects of **enclosures** to force many small farmers to leave their home parishes and seek work in **London** or other towns. Although not the aggravating factors they were once considered to be, the midcentury **dissolution of the monasteries** and abolition of almshouses and hospitals associated with **chantries** eliminated the chief engines of poor relief just as war and bad harvests intensified social distress. The main motivations behind government attempts to alleviate poverty and unemployment also stemmed from a variety of sources. The nobility and **gentry** feared that economic hardship would breed disorder and rebellion, the social reformers known as **Commonwealth Men** argued that a healthy commonwealth required the eradication of poverty and idleness, and humanists taught that people and societies could be improved through rational reform.

Tudor poor laws sought to prohibit or control begging; assist the disabled and other “impotent” poor; and employ or punish vagabonds, healthy beggars, or “masterless” men whose idleness might lead to crime. The vagrancy act passed under **Henry VII** in 1495 prescribed the stocks for able-bodied vagabonds. The disabled poor were allowed to beg in their home parishes but were not to leave their hundreds (a shire division). The poor law of 1531 was the first statute to recognize a need for the State to make some provision for disabled beggars. The law ordered **justices of the peace** to find and register impotent beggars, who were to be licensed to beg in certain areas. If such persons left their areas, they were to be given two days in the stocks, and if they begged without a license, they were to be stocked or stripped and whipped. Sturdy beggars were to be whipped through the town and ordered to return to their home parishes upon pain of further whipping. No mention was made of how beggars, fit or impotent, were to find transportation home or of what would happen to a sturdy beggar who found no employment.

In 1536, a draft poor law, which may have originated with the circle of social reformers around Thomas **Cromwell**, envisioned a national program of public

works to employ the poor. As passed, the poor law of 1536 was a much less radical measure. It allowed vagabonds to obtain food and lodging every 10 miles on their journey home. Poor children were to be taught a trade, and voluntary collections of alms were to be conducted in the parishes for maintenance of the disabled and employment of the healthy. Except for the nobility and some clergy, the unofficial distribution of alms to beggars was forbidden. A surplus of alms in one parish could be used to meet needs in a neighboring parish. Even though one of the more enlightened Tudor poor relief measures, this law still viewed punishment as the best means of handling most beggars and vagrants.

In 1547, the first Parliament of **Edward VI** enacted a ferocious statute that declared anyone who was not impotent or seeking work a vagrant and ordered that such persons be branded on the chest with a “V” if their idleness was proved by two witnesses before a local **justice of the peace**. The vagabond was then forced to work for a master for two years; he was to be branded on the cheek and enslaved for life if he ran away once and executed as a felon for a second escape. Children of vagrants were to be taken from their parents and bound to masters to learn a trade, while impotent beggars were to be returned to their home parishes by mayors or local officials. Repealed in 1549, this extreme measure was never enforced.

A 1552 law moved toward compulsory contribution to parish alms collections by providing for two collectors to take up alms every Sunday—the 1547 statute had mandated weekly collections but did not specify a day. Parishioners who refused to contribute were to be exhorted by the local cleric and, failing that, by the bishop. Records of who contributed and who received alms were also to be kept. Although the law also prohibited open begging, this provision was modified in 1555 when authorities were permitted to license begging if the poor in their area were too numerous to be relieved by the weekly collection. Thus, by 1558, the basis for a national system of compulsory poor relief had been laid.

Under **Elizabeth I**, poor laws were passed in 1563, 1572, and 1576, but the poor law of 1598, as modified in 1601, repealed all previous acts and established a national system of poor relief that lasted into the nineteenth century. The 1598 act made parish collections for the poor compulsory. Each parish had to appoint overseers of the poor who could confiscate the goods of any parishioner refusing to contribute to the poor rates (the parish assessments for poor relief). The law defined vagrants as “masterless men,” that is, those not rooted in a community and under the authority of their social superiors, and men in so-called dangerous professions, such as minstrels and peddlers or men refusing to work for the wages set by statute. Vagabonds could be whipped and returned to their home parishes. Disabled poor were to be given employment funded by the poor rates. Although the poor laws alleviated some poverty, their real accomplishment was to reinforce the social status quo by encouraging deference to authority and discouraging vagabondage and disorder.

See also Humanism

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Popham, Sir John (c. 1531–1607)

Sir John Popham, a prominent Elizabethan jurist and Speaker of the House of Commons, held some of the highest legal offices in the realm. Considered a fair but harsh judge, especially toward thieves and Catholic plotters, Popham was also known for his interest in the problems of **vagrancy** and poor relief and for his involvement in some of the earliest American colonization projects. Born into one of the leading **gentry** families of Somerset, Popham attended Balliol College, Oxford, and then entered the Middle Temple, **London**, where he held several offices, including those of reader and treasurer. He was recorder (a municipal legal officer) for the boroughs of Bridgwater and Bristol and represented the latter in **Parliament** in the 1570s and 1580s, becoming Speaker in 1581.

Although supposedly somewhat wild in his youth, and described as a “huge, heavy ugly man” (Aubrey, *Aubrey’s Brief Lives*, 2:493), Popham built a highly successful legal practice; at his death, his estate was valued at about £10,000 per year. He also advanced rapidly in royal service, becoming a privy councillor in 1571, serjeant-at-law in 1578, solicitor-general in 1579, and attorney general in 1581. In 1592, he was appointed chief justice of the Court of Queen’s Bench, a position he held until his death. As chief justice, he presided over a number of famous **treason** trials, including those of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, in 1601; Sir Walter **Raleigh** in 1603; and English Jesuit Henry **Garnet** in 1606. In the Essex trial, Popham also gave evidence against the accused, having been a member of the royal deputation detained at Essex House by the earl at the start of **Essex’s Rebellion**. However, the severity he showed to alleged traitors like Raleigh, to whom he denied the right of facing one of his accusers, and to Catholic conspirators like Garnet, whom he condemned for involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, was tempered by his actions in less high-profile cases, where in one instance he helped a poor man charged with sedition to effectively answer the questions and thus win acquittal.

He also saw crime and poverty as related issues and was one of the chief designers of the **Poor Law** of 1598 and at his death was apparently working on a plan for establishing workhouses in Essex to provide employment for the local poor

and thus prevent them from becoming thieves. His will founded such a workhouse in Somerset, as well as a hospital for orphans and paupers. His participation in American colonization ventures was also undertaken in part as a means of ridding the country of idle vagrants who would or could not work. Popham was a principal in the Plymouth Company, which, mainly through his leadership, launched an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in Maine in 1606–1607. He was also instrumental in securing a charter from **James I** for the Virginia Company in 1606. Popham died on 10 June 1607, only weeks after Virginia Company colonists landed at Jamestown.

John A. Wagner

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Inns of Court; Jesuit Mission; King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

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Population and Demographics

A lack of reliable statistics makes Tudor population rates difficult to calculate accurately. Parish registers, the main source of local statistics on births, marriages, and deaths, were not kept until the 1530s. Still, all available evidence indicates that the population of Tudor England grew steadily and almost continuously. England's population had decreased sharply in the century between 1350 and 1450, with **plague** and climatic changes accounting for much of the decline. According to current best estimates, the population of England when **Henry VII** won the throne in 1485 was about 2 million people. By 1520, better harvests and fewer outbreaks of disease allowed the population of England and **Wales** to reach about 2.3 million, an increase over 1450 but still significantly lower than the country's population in the early fourteenth century. This upward trend briefly reversed in the 1550s, when bad harvests, plague and influenza outbreaks, and political and economic upheaval caused a slight decrease. The start of **Elizabeth I**'s reign coincided with better

economic times and with a lessening of the plague, although serious outbreaks did occur several times during her reign. By 1580, the population had increased to about 3.5 million, and in 1603 it stood at just over 4 million.

Most people in Tudor England lived and worked on the land. In 1485, less than 3 percent of the population lived in towns with 10,000 inhabitants; in 1558, perhaps 4.5 percent of the population lived in such towns. By Elizabeth's death in 1603, about 10 percent of the population lived in towns of 4,000 or more. By far the greatest percentage of these urban dwellers lived in **London**, which grew during the period from about 60,000 inhabitants to more than 200,000. The metropolis was over 10 times larger than the next largest English towns in 1603, such as Norwich, Bristol, and York, with 1603 populations somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000. London benefited in part from foreign immigration; Elizabethan England drew Protestant refugees from religious conflicts in **France**, the **Netherlands**, and Germany.

The southern and eastern counties had the highest population densities. The general trend of movement was from the north and west to the south and east, with London being the great population magnet. Poor soil and continuing border warfare with **Scotland** made parts of the north relatively uninhabited. Because the economy was unable to keep up with the rise in population, increased demand for food, clothing, and industrial products drove up both prices and rates of unemployment. Wages also declined as the availability of laborers increased. After Elizabeth's accession, the accuracy of demographic information improved, because the government began supplying parishes with parchment on which to record local population statistics.

Life expectancy in 1485 was little more than 30 years and in 1603 stood at about 40 years. Infant mortality was high, with people under age 20 accounting for over 30 percent of deaths each year. Almost one-fifth of all children born during the period died before their first birthday. However, most of those who survived to the age of 30 had a good chance of living into their late 50s and 60s. The prevalence of such diseases as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, and influenza accounts for the high death rates among the young. Plague, which was particularly virulent among the unsanitary conditions of London and other large towns, struck England in 1498, 1535, 1543, 1563–1564, 1578, 1592–1593, and 1603. Large outbreaks of the mysterious “sweating sickness,” which may have been some form of influenza, erupted in 1485, 1507–1508, 1517, and 1551, with the 1517 visitation nearly carrying off Thomas **Wolsey**. Local famines caused by bad weather and poor harvests aggravated the **vagrancy** problem and caused high mortality in certain areas, particularly in the 1550s. However, Tudor England never experienced a serious nationwide famine.

The average household size was four to five people—a husband, wife, and their unmarried children. Most women married in their mid-20s and gave birth, on average, to six children. As a consequence of prolonged breast-feeding, the average

interval between births was 30 months. High mortality meant that remarriages were common, with more than 20 percent of marriages each year being second or subsequent unions. Illegitimacy, though higher in some parts of the country, was less than 5 percent for all births, even though as many as a quarter of all brides may have been pregnant on their wedding day. Because the betrothal, rather than the marriage ceremony, was looked upon as the start of the union, engaging in sexual intercourse before the actual wedding was an increasingly acceptable practice.

See also Medicine and Disease

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Portugal Expedition

The Portugal expedition of 1589 (also known as the Don Antonio expedition) was an English attempt to destroy the remnants of the Spanish **Armada** and to wrest the Crown of Portugal from **Philip II**. In August 1588, as the surviving ships of the great armada struggled back to Spain, William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, suggested a retaliatory strike at Lisbon. Seeking to replenish her exhausted treasury, **Elizabeth I** expanded the project by suggesting an attack on the American treasure fleet in the **Azores**. When a shortage of ships and supplies delayed the venture until the spring of 1589, the Privy **Council** decided to send along a land force capable of capturing Lisbon and restoring Don Antonio to the Portuguese throne, which the Spanish had taken from him in 1580.

A large English fleet, organized as a **joint-stock company** with contributions from the queen and numerous English merchants and courtiers, departed England in April under the command of Sir Francis **Drake** and Sir John **Norris**. The fleet sailed first to the Spanish port of Corunna, where an attack captured part of the town. However, the raid did little damage to Spanish shipping and diverted English attention from more than 50 armada vessels lying defenseless in nearby ports. The raid also cost the English more than 2,000 soldiers, who departed for England with the spoils of Corunna. The fleet then sailed to Lisbon, but the land-sea attack launched on the Portuguese capital was poorly planned and executed, and the expected uprising in Don Antonio's favor never occurred. Although the English army captured some outlying districts of Lisbon, heat, disease, and lack of supplies

reduced the army's strength and forced the English command to abort the attack and retreat to their ships.

Further raids were made on the Spanish coast, but neither time nor strength remained to seek treasure ships in the Azores, and the fleet returned to England. Although the expedition brought back £30,000 of plunder and 150 captured cannon, the failure to destroy the remaining armada ships, the lack of support for Don Antonio, and the inability to seize the treasure ships disappointed the queen, led Drake to retire from active service, and discouraged investment in future joint-stock enterprises.

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Poynings' Law

Named after Lord Deputy Sir Edward Poynings (1459–1521), Poynings' Law was a statute passed by the Irish Parliament in 1494 in reaction to recent Irish support for the Yorkist pretenders Lambert **Simnel** and Perkin **Warbeck**. The law required the lord deputy and his **council** to obtain the king's permission to summon the Irish Parliament and the king's approval of all draft bills submitted to Parliament.

A loyal servant of **Henry VII** who had fought for the king at **Bosworth Field** in 1485, Poynings was named lord deputy of Ireland in 1494 after the longtime **Anglo-Irish** deputy, Gerald **Fitzgerald**, eighth Earl of Kildare, had used the Irish Parliament of 1487 to approve the coronation of Simnel in Dublin as rightful king of England. Because **Ireland** was a Yorkist stronghold, Poynings was charged with limiting the autonomy of future deputies, not with curbing the legislative capabilities of the Irish legislature. After arresting and imprisoning Kildare, Poynings summoned a Parliament to meet at Drogheda to consider a measure making Ireland subject to all statutes passed by the English Parliament prior to 1494. When this bill was approved, Poynings submitted to the members the measures that would become Poynings' Law.

Once in effect, Poynings' Law required a member of the Irish council to take proposed legislation to England and to return with the approved bills and a license from the monarch and English Council for a session of the Irish assembly to be held at a specified time. The Irish council often altered bills after they were approved and occasionally even inserted new measures in the legislative program set before the Parliament. The Irish Parliament could amend and even reject the measures submitted to it. After 1534, English lord deputies found the law a hindrance to

effective management of Parliament, because the government's opponents delayed submission of bills and used the long approval process to hold up the government's entire legislative agenda. In 1536, the Irish Parliament suspended Poynings' Law to allow timely passage of Ireland's **Reformation** legislation, and in the session of 1541–1543 amended bills had to be resent to **London** for approval and passed by a later Parliament. As a result, the Irish Parliament of 1557 amended Poynings' Law to prevent the recurrence of such a situation.

During the reign of **Elizabeth I**, several English lord deputies found themselves stymied by Parliament's refusal to suspend Poynings' Law for the expeditious passage of legislation—many Anglo-Irish members fearing that the government intended to introduce anti-Catholic measures. By the late seventeenth century, Irish nationalists found Poynings' Law an intolerable limitation on the independence of the Irish Parliament, but most Irish members of Parliament accepted the operation of the statute, and it was not repealed until 1782.

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Praemunire

The term "praemunire" (Latin meaning "to fore-arm") refers both to a pair of fourteenth-century statutes enacted to protect royal jurisdictions from papal claims of superiority and to a royal writ based on those statutes and designed to halt any encroachment on the king's rights or diminution of the king's authority. Although vague in scope and rarely applied before 1500, praemunire, when revived by **Henry VIII** in the 1520s, proved to be a powerful and flexible weapon for compelling the English Church to submit to royal control.

The 1353 and 1393 statutes of praemunire had been attempts to coerce the **papacy** into being more responsive to Crown wishes regarding ecclesiastical appointments and the operation of **church courts**. The limits of praemunire were thus poorly defined, and by the early sixteenth century, the term encompassed a tangle of offenses and penalties vaguely relating to invasions of "the king's regality" (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 330). The first prominent sixteenth-century use of praemunire was in 1513, when London merchant Richard Hunne initiated a suit in the royal courts against a priest who had successfully sued him for nonpayment of fees in a church court. Hunne claimed that the church court, being under papal

authority, constituted a foreign jurisdiction that diminished the rights of royal courts. In 1515, the Crown used the threat of praemunire to compel **Convocation** to halt its attack on Dr. Henry Standish for his defense of the right of royal courts to try clerics in minor orders.

Praemunire took on significant new dimensions in 1529 when Henry allowed his chief minister, Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, to be charged with praemunire for illegally exercising the powers of a papal legate in England, an action designed to punish Wolsey's failure to secure the king's **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**. Because the penalties for praemunire were as vaguely defined as the offense itself, an action for praemunire was highly effective in compelling clerics so charged to submit to the royal will. Under the 1393 statute, punishments could include imprisonment at the king's pleasure, forfeiture of all lands and goods, and loss of all Church offices and preferments.

In 1530, Henry pressed his attack on the English Church by bringing 15 clerics before the Court of **King's Bench** on a charge of praemunire for supporting Wolsey's legatine authority. In January 1531, the Crown charged the entire English clergy with praemunire, claiming that the very exercise of their ecclesiastical offices under papal authority constituted an encroachment on royal jurisdiction. Understanding that conviction could mean the confiscation of all Church property, Archbishop William **Warham** and the bishops submitted, and Convocation purchased the king's pardon for the huge sum of £118,000. Thereafter, clerical opposition to the king's religious proceedings was muted by uncertainty over which actions might provoke a charge of praemunire.

By reviving the use of an ancient statute, Henry VIII achieved constitutional respectability and avoided the appearance of legal innovation; he was not devising new laws merely to suit his needs, although he was certainly using old ones in different ways and for different purposes. Praemunire therefore provided him with an effective instrument for severing the English Church from papal jurisdiction and for compelling it to accept royal dominance.

See also Hunne's Case; Standish-Kidderminster Debate

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Prayer Book Rebellion

See Western Rebellion of 1549

Prebendaries Plot

Beginning in 1541 among a group of disgruntled clerics in Canterbury, the Prebendaries Plot developed by 1543 into an attempt to arrest and imprison Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**. By discrediting Cranmer, religious conservatives on the royal **council** hoped to destroy their reformist opponents.

In 1541, Cranmer examined Robert Serles, a conservative preacher attached to the archbishop's cathedral chapter (clerical establishment) at Canterbury. Sanctioned for statements made in his sermons, Serles was briefly imprisoned after the council rejected his appeal. Convinced that the reform-minded archbishop persecuted law-abiding conservatives and protected law-breaking Protestants, a group of conservative clergy in Kent began gathering evidence of **heresy** against him. The group included, among others, Serles, a preacher named Edmund Shether, a local vicar named John Willoughby, and five prebendaries (stipendiary clergymen) of the Canterbury chapter. Assisted by like-minded gentlemen such as Sir John Baker, the conspirators soon contacted Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** of Winchester, a leading conservative on the council and a personal rival of Cranmer's. Although probably not an instigator of the enterprise, Gardiner, working through his nephew and secretary Germain Gardiner, supplied the plotters with advice and encouragement.

In the spring of 1543, after two years of activity, Serles and Willoughby drafted formal charges of heresy against Cranmer and, with Gardiner's assistance, presented them to the council, which then submitted them to the king. **Henry VIII**, in an episode reported by Cranmer's secretary Ralph **Morice**, invited the archbishop for a ride in the royal barge and then told Cranmer that he knew who was "the greatest heretic in Kent" (MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 316). Informing Cranmer of the charges against him, Henry ordered the archbishop to discover how they had been contrived. Although the archbishop protested against heading an investigation into matters that concerned him personally, Henry was adamant, and evidence was eventually uncovered revealing the conspirators' activities and their connections to Germain Gardiner. Most of the plotters were subsequently arrested, briefly imprisoned, and forced to beg Cranmer for forgiveness.

The attack on the archbishop now shifted to the council. In about November 1543, the king granted permission for Cranmer to be arrested for heresy at the next council meeting. That night, Henry sent secretly for the archbishop, informed him of what was to happen, and gave him a ring—a token that conferred the king’s protection on its bearer. He then dismissed Cranmer, warning him that if his enemies once had him in the **Tower of London**, “three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you” (MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 320). Next day, in a scene re-created in William **Shakespeare**’s *Henry VIII*, the council insultingly kept Cranmer waiting in an anteroom before admitting him and announcing his arrest. When Cranmer produced the ring, his conservative opponents knew they were undone. After sternly lecturing all concerned, Henry commanded his councillors to shake hands and be friends. Whether he had intended to destroy the archbishop and then changed his mind, or whether he had planned for the eventual outcome all along, Henry frightened both parties—thereafter Cranmer strove to avoid any appearance of heresy, and the conservatives never again attacked Cranmer while Henry lived.

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Predestination

Predestination, while not a central doctrine for John **Calvin** or those who followed his teachings, nevertheless was distinctive and controversial. According to Article 17 of the **Thirty-nine Articles** of the **Anglican Church**, “Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation.” Based on scriptures such as Romans 8 and Ephesians 1, this teaching received considerable attention from medieval writers like Saint Augustine and from Protestant reformers, including Calvin. The English Article goes on to speak of the doctrine’s benefits—comfort and strengthening for the “godly”—as well as to caution against curious inquiry into God’s secret ways rather than looking to the promises clearly revealed in scripture.

As in scripture, predestination was paradoxically never assumed to cancel human choices or responsibility. In *The Faerie Queene*, Book I, Edmund **Spenser** embodies the positive aspect of this teaching when Una tells the Red Cross Knight that he is “chosen,” with exactly the beneficial results Article 17 called for. In his sermons,

John Donne praised “the glorious Doctrine of our Election by Gods eternall Predes-tination” but also, like Calvin, cautions against misuse or wrong emphasis.

There are differences among predestinarians, with supralapsarians declaring that God’s decrees predated the Fall—that God before mankind sinned decided on an individual’s damnation—but sublapsarians objecting that this makes God the author of sin. “Double” predestination refers to God’s decreeing both salvation for the chosen and damnation for the reprobate. The unofficial Lambeth Articles, formulated in the 1590s to clarify predestinarian teachings at Cambridge University, and approved by Archbishop John **Whitgift** but not by **Elizabeth I**, unlike Article 17, clearly mention reprobation (predestination to damnation) and insist that the number of the elect (or chosen ones) is limited. The English Church delegates to the Synod of Dort (1618–1619), a gathering held to counter the teachings of Arminius (who emphasized human free will), advocated a moderate predestinarian option called “hypothetical universalism,” recognizing that Christ died for all. In this, they were closer than some of their hard-line contemporaries to Calvin, who often ended a sermon with a prayer for “all men,” in keeping with 1 Timothy 2:1–4.

Some historians, following R. T. Kendall, distinguish between credal and experimental predestinarians in the English Church, the former including mainly conformists and the latter mainly nonconforming church members (**Puritans**). The latter tended to search for personal evidence of their being of the elect.

Daniel W. Doerksen

See also Calvinism; Catechism; Death; Protestantism; Vermigli, Peter Martyr; Wheathill, Anne

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Prerogative

The royal prerogative encompassed all the powers and privileges that the law reserved for the Crown to enable it to conduct state business and efficiently govern the kingdom. In the Tudor period, the scope and definition of the prerogative was vague, allowing the Crown great flexibility in dispensing justice, defending the

realm, and conducting foreign policy. Although bound by the **common law**, the royal prerogative expanded under the centralizing policies of Tudor governments and the operation of the **royal supremacy**.

The Crown's prerogative rights included the power to summon or dissolve **Parliament**, grant pardons, and issue proclamations. Under the prerogative, the Crown had wide latitude in setting policy and maintaining order. Because the Crown had the prerogative right to appoint and dismiss ministers of state and judges, various prerogative courts, such as **Star Chamber**, **Requests**, and **Chancery**, developed or expanded during the reigns of **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII**. The authority of these courts rested on the Crown's prerogative right to dispense justice, and not on the common law. However, English legal theory placed the Crown firmly under the law; the king could not, for instance, issue proclamations inconsistent with the common law or repeal or suspend a statute of Parliament.

The highest authority in the realm was universally accepted to be the Crown-in-Parliament, supported by the **council** and the judiciary. In 1545, Henry VIII told his last Parliament that "we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together into one body politic" (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 507). Thus, even when Henry overthrew papal authority in England in the 1530s, he sought the sanction of Parliament for all his actions. The governments of **Edward VI** did likewise when they imposed Protestant doctrine on the Church in the 1540s. **Mary I** used Parliament to restore Catholicism in 1554, and **Elizabeth I** pushed the Protestant Anglican Settlement through Parliament in 1559. The prerogative also had definite limits in other areas. The monarch could not simply impose taxes over and above the Crown's regular revenues from royal lands and customs duties without the consent of Parliament. This financial limitation placed bounds on other aspects of the prerogative; for instance, the monarch, although invested by the prerogative with the conduct of foreign policy, could obviously not make or continue war without the financial acquiescence of Parliament.

Despite these limitations, the importance of the Crown in governing the nation increased during the Tudor period. Acknowledgment of the royal supremacy expanded the scope of the prerogative into new areas, including the framing of doctrine, discipline of clergy, and oversight of ecclesiastical administration. The need to respond to changes in the national economy and in international relations also fostered a flexibility in how the Crown defined and exercised its prerogative rights. Although the policy of **fiscal feudalism**, by which Henry VII and Thomas **Wolsey** exploited the Crown's ancient feudal dues for financial gain, was unpopular, no one questioned the monarch's right to collect such obligations. The use and extent of the prerogative became a major issue in the seventeenth century but was of little debate in the sixteenth century because the Tudors usually sought the sanction of law through Parliament for their actions.

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Presbyterian Movement

A presbyterian form of church government replaces bishops with an oligarchic system of church assemblies, or presbyteries, composed of ministers and representative elders. A national assembly governs the church through regional diocesan synods or councils and local parish presbyteries. The system was adopted by the Scottish Church in 1560 and began to develop informally and illegally in the English Church in the 1570s, along with **prophesyings**. Prophesyings were public conferences of local **Puritan** ministers that were designed to improve preaching and understanding of the **Bible**; **Elizabeth I** ordered their suppression because prophesyings were solely Puritan initiatives lacking any royal or parliamentary sanction.

In the 1580s, the presbyterian movement reformed around the classes, a series of church courts comprising local Puritan ministers and elders of their congregations. The classes sought to maintain Puritan notions of worship and morality among the clergy and laity of participating congregations. Whether such local courts ever developed into an interconnected national system is unlikely, for Elizabeth ordered their suppression in the 1590s in the wake of the **Marprelate Tracts** controversy.

Under Archbishop John **Whitgift**, Anglican bishops detected and rooted out all illegal presbyterian assemblies, and advocates of a presbyterian system, such as Thomas **Cartwright**, were persecuted and imprisoned or forced to flee the realm. Both Elizabeth and her successor, **James I**, realized that the abolition of bishops and the institution of a presbyterian system would ultimately mean the end of royal control over the Church.

See also Classical Movement; Parliament; Royal Supremacy

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Price Revolution

The sixteenth-century price revolution was a European-wide inflation that began in the 1490s and extended throughout the entire Tudor period into the mid-seventeenth century. Between the accession of **Henry VII** in 1485 and the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1603, food prices in England rose dramatically, with the cost of cloth and other manufactured goods rising only about half as much. The greatest percentage rate of inflation occurred in the 1540s, when general prices rose by about 35 percent over the previous decade, and in the 1550s, when prices rose by about 50 percent.

In England, contemporary explanations for this inflation focused on two factors: the increased flow into Europe of American gold and silver that began in the 1530s and the debasement of the English **coinage** that began under **Henry VIII** in the 1540s. Because the value of sixteenth-century coinage was based on the amount of precious metal it contained, Tudor economic commentators reasoned that because these metals were more plentiful on the international market, their prices declined, causing a corresponding drop in the value of gold and silver coins. Thus, even if food and other commodities held relatively the same value, the devalued coinage would buy less. The debasement of the coinage was thought to be a factor because it suddenly increased the amount of money in circulation while the amount of goods available for purchase stayed the same; thus prices rose as plentiful coin chased scarce goods.

These monetary explanations were largely accepted until the mid-twentieth century, when the research of economic historians indicated that sixteenth-century prices did not rise uniformly for all types of goods, as would be expected if the traditional theories held true, but were much higher for food than for labor and industrial products. Also, prices were shown to have risen well before the American metals reached Europe and before the English coinage debasements began; in the 1520s, for instance, prices jumped by almost one-third. In 1551, the government of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, in an effort to bring the debased English currency more into line with the value of the reduced amount of silver it contained, halved the value of England's silver coins overnight. If debasement was truly a cause of the price rise, this move should have cut inflation; instead, inflation in the 1550s reached its highest levels in the Tudor period.

Most historians now use demographic factors to explain the Tudor price revolution. The English **population** began to rise slowly in the late fifteenth century and more rapidly after 1520, causing increasing demand for food, housing, clothing, and other commodities. However, the increases in agricultural and industrial production required to keep pace with this demand were not possible, given the lack of improvement in available technology and the general unwillingness to change

social and landholding systems that inhibited economic growth. Thus, as population increased at a much faster rate than did the food supply, which was still heavily dependent on the weather, the price of food rose rapidly, while the price of manufactured goods rose more slowly. Because prices ceased to rise after 1650, when population growth also decreased, the demographic explanation of the Tudor price revolution is now widely accepted.

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Priest Holes

Priest holes were secret hiding places, often ingeniously contrived, built into the country homes of Catholic **gentry** to conceal Catholic clergymen from the authorities. In 1580, **Parliament** responded to the arrival of the first Jesuits in England by enacting statutes that made it **treason** to convert an English subject to **Catholicism** and outlawed the harboring of Catholic priests. A second statute in 1585 made it treason merely for a Catholic priest to be in England. By giving greedy, unscrupulous, or devoutly anti-Catholic Englishmen a license to hunt priests, these statutes initiated the construction of small, secure places of concealment in the gentry homes where priests headquartered.

The most skillful designer of priest holes was Nicholas Owen, whose two brothers were priests and who acted as a servant for the Jesuits Edmund **Campion** and Henry **Garnet**. While engaged on a mundane construction or remodeling project, Owen would work at night to construct priest holes that could foil even long and careful searches. Owen often devised hiding places within hiding places and usually contrived some sort of escape route and some means (e.g., a tube) whereby the occupant of the hole could be fed during prolonged searches. Owen helped John **Gerard** escape from the **Tower of London** in 1597 and was himself captured in 1605 when he came out of a hiding place to avoid starvation and to draw searchers away from Garnet, who lay concealed in another priest hole in the same house.

Not all priest holes were as clever or elaborate as Owen's constructions; many were merely makeshift hiding places in attics, over ceilings, or behind walls. Many were dark, cramped, and airless. When a noted priest hunter named George Eliot invaded their house of refuge in July 1581, Campion and two other priests found themselves hustled into a dark, stifling hiding hole barely big enough for the three men to lay side by side. In a period without canned food and modern plumbing, extended stays in even the most cleverly designed priest holes were difficult propositions. Nonetheless, such hiding places, some of which were only rediscovered in the twentieth century, made possible the work of Catholic priests in Elizabethan England.

See also Jesuit Mission; Penal Laws

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Princes in the Tower

The term "Princes in the Tower" refers to the mysterious disappearance of the sons of **Edward IV** while they were lodged in the **Tower of London** in 1483. Because their guardian at the time, their uncle **Richard III**, seized his nephew's throne, five centuries of debate have swirled around the question of whether Richard was responsible for the boys' presumed murder. For Tudor England, the importance of the princes is twofold: widespread belief in Richard's guilt created the support that enabled Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond (**Henry VII**), to seize the throne, and continuing uncertainty over the princes' fate encouraged a series of Yorkist pretenders who jeopardized Henry's throne for over a decade.

The only detailed account of the murders of **Edward V** and his younger brother Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, is contained in Sir Thomas **More's** *History of King Richard III*, which was written about 1513. More claimed that his information was based on a confession to the crime given in 1502 by Sir James **Tyrell**, a former servant of Richard's then awaiting execution for **treason**. Because this confession has never been found, it has been dismissed by some as an invention of More's. According to the *History*, Richard ordered Tyrell to kill the princes, which Tyrell accomplished by dispatching a pair of his servants to steal into the princes' chamber and smother the sleeping boys in their bedclothes. The murderers then

buried the bodies somewhere beneath a stair in the Tower. Such, at least, was the story put out by Henry VII in 1502 and current at the Tudor **court** when More wrote about a decade later.

Whether or not Tyrell actually confessed to the murders, his involvement in the treasonous activities of a living Yorkist, Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, provided Henry VII with an opportunity to set the ghosts of the princes to rest. Several attempts to overthrow the Tudor throne had already been made by persons pretending to be one of the princes. In 1487, Lambert **Simnel**, who eventually called himself Edward **Plantagenet**, the Yorkist Earl of Warwick, was initially passed off as one of the princes. Although defeated at the Battle of **Stoke**, Simnel's enterprise gave cover to real Yorkists such as John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, who likely planned to use the uprising to seize the throne for himself. In the 1490s, any foreign ruler who wished to discomfit Henry VII recognized Perkin **Warbeck** as the Duke of York. Before his execution in 1499, Warbeck instigated several invasions of England and **Ireland**. Various other impostures of the princes also threatened the security of the dynasty and made foreign rulers, such as **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain**, reluctant to ally their families with the House of **Tudor**.

At the time of Tyrell's execution in May 1502, Henry VII was even more sensitive to the need for security. The death of Prince Arthur **Tudor** on 2 April had left the king with only one male heir, 10-year-old Prince Henry. Thus, the Tyrell story, whether true or not, significantly reduced the likelihood and credibility of any further impersonators of Edward IV's sons.

See also Henry VIII; Wars of the Roses; York, House of

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The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation

As a history of past English explorations and an inspiration for future exploration, trade, and colonization efforts, Richard **Hakluyt's** *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* was one of the most influential publications in Elizabethan England. Hakluyt published his first edition of *Navigations* in 1589, the year after the English victory over the Spanish **Armada**. The volume

was an anthology, a collection of eyewitness travel and exploration accounts and related documents. The scope of the 700,000-word book was explained in its lengthy subtitle: *Made by Sea or over Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compass of These 1,500 Years*.

Most of the book consisted of eyewitness accounts of English explorations of the previous century; only about one-tenth covered medieval and pre-Columbian voyages. Hakluyt's revised and expanded edition of *Navigations* (1598–1600) added accounts of sixteenth-century exploits, such as the voyages of Sir Francis **Drake** and the colonization efforts of Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** and Sir Walter **Raleigh**. When accounts were available only in a foreign language, Hakluyt printed the original along with his own English translation. If several accounts existed for a voyage, Hakluyt printed them all to provide as much information as possible. Except in his introduction to the collection, Hakluyt made no comment on the materials, allowing his readers to evaluate each account according to their own needs. The documents collected included government and business letters, commissions, naval instructions, private records of merchant companies, reports from government and business agents abroad, logs of ship captains, all manner of correspondence, and procolonization propaganda tracts.

Hakluyt's intended audience was the merchants, seafarers, geographers, and government officials who had been using these same documents piecemeal to plan new voyages of trade and discovery. Such men needed to know all they could about the parts of the world they planned to visit—climate, sailing conditions, trading opportunities, political arrangements, and everything else that previous English visitors had discovered. While Hakluyt's purposes were highly practical, the thrill of adventure, the descriptions of exotic places, and the sense of English history and achievement that his book provided helped prepare literate English people to countenance and support English colonization efforts in North America in the next century.

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Printing

The Tudor period witnessed the development of an English printing industry, the print dissemination of the doctrines of **Lutheranism** and **Calvinism**, the publication of the first English **Bible**, and the beginnings of government **censorship** of printed works.

**¶ The Martiloge in englyshe after
the vse of the churche of salisbury/ & as
it is redde in Syon/ With addicions.**



Printing in England began with William Caxton—the first Englishman to print books and the first person to print books in English; his successor, Wynkyn de Worde, printed the book shown here. (Francis Procter et al., eds. *The Martiloge in Englysshe*. . . London: Harrison and Sons, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893)

The English merchant William **Caxton** established the first printing press in England at Westminster in about 1475. By his death in 1492, Caxton had published about 100 books, including histories, romances, religious works, and an edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Caxton's Alsatian assistant, Wynkyn de Worde, continued publishing at Westminster until about 1501, and then moved his shop into **London**. De Worde produced more than 800 titles, most in smaller, cheaper versions for a wider audience. The first London print shops were opened in the 1480s by such foreign printers as Richard Pynson, a Frenchman, and William de Machlinia, a Fleming. As late as 1530, less than one-third of those working in the book trade in England were English. These foreign origins made the printing trade an increasing target of government regulation. A 1484 act limiting the activity of foreign traders and craft workers exempted the book trade in an effort to foster its growth. However, similar acts in 1523 and 1529 carefully regulated foreign printers and booksellers, and an act of 1534 made

printing the exclusive privilege of English subjects and prohibited the importation of bound books.

After the break with Rome in the 1530s, the government used the printing press to promote official religious policy. Thomas **Cromwell** commissioned and published a number of works defending the **royal supremacy**, including treatises by Thomas **Starkey** and Christopher **St. German**. In an effort to suppress the printing of works that opposed or contradicted official Henrician doctrine, the government tightened its regulation of the printing industry. A proclamation of 1538 required all books printed in England to be licensed by the **council**, a policy that was continued by the Protestant governments of **Edward VI** and the Catholic regime of **Mary I**. In 1557, Mary granted the Worshipful Company of Stationers of London a charter that restricted printing to members of the company or to holders of royal

patents. In return for requiring all licensed books to be recorded in the **Stationers' Register**, a measure that greatly facilitated both government oversight and the company's monopoly, the Crown granted the Stationers wide powers of self-government and national rights of search and seizure to shut down any unlicensed printer anywhere in England.

Elizabeth I confirmed the Stationers' charter and extended responsibility for licensing printed materials to officials of the **Anglican Church**. However, illegal Catholic and **Puritan** presses continued to distribute unlicensed religious works throughout the kingdom. The Catholic printer William Carter was executed for his activities in 1582, and the illicit printing of the **Marprelate Tracts** in the late 1580s started an extensive search for hidden Puritan presses. In 1586, a **Star Chamber** decree empowered government authorities to limit the number of presses and printers and to forbid all printing outside London (where it could be more easily regulated), except for the licensed printers at the universities in Oxford and Cambridge.

Previously, the Crown had designated one man as official royal printer—Richard **Grafton** held the post under Edward VI—but Elizabeth quickly recognized the political and economic benefits of granting monopolies to print specific kinds of materials among numerous printers. Thus, Richard Tottel held the monopoly on law books, William Seres printed all prayer books, and John Day printed catechisms. By shutting other printers out of certain markets, the printing patents, like all Elizabethan **monopolies**, caused much anger. Many unlicensed editions were creatively printed and distributed, and one-third of all editions published in the late Elizabethan period never appeared in the Stationers' Register.

Although vernacular Bibles had been printed in most European languages by 1500, **Henry VIII** forbade the printing of an English Bible until the 1530s. The Englishman William **Tyndale** went into exile in the **Netherlands** in the 1520s to begin an English translation of the New Testament. In 1537, Miles **Coverdale** used Tyndale's work as the basis of an English Bible published in Antwerp. Acting under the influence of Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Henry VIII finally authorized the printing of the Great Bible in 1539. This edition remained the standard English version until 1560, when the **Marian exiles**, who had printed and smuggled into England numerous tracts criticizing the Marian regime, published the Geneva Bible, an unauthorized version with Calvinist commentary.

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Privateering

Privateers were owners or captains of ships who were privately commissioned by the English government to attack enemy vessels. Privateers were licensed by letters of marque, royal commissions authorizing private individuals to outfit and arm ships in time of war. Without such a license, a privateer was simply a pirate. Such well-known English seafarers as Francis **Drake** and John **Hawkins** engaged in privateering against **Spain**. After 1589, as the Crown's military commitments in Europe began to absorb most of its resources, conduct of the naval war against Spain fell largely into the hands of privateers. An average of about 150 privateering expeditions set sail from England each year after the start of war in 1585.

In the early years, most privateering ventures were outfitted in the West Country (the extreme southwestern counties of Devon and Cornwall), but by the 1590s, most privateering enterprises originated in **London**, financed by the city's great merchants. London's merchants replaced profits from trade (which were disrupted by war) with profits from the sale of privateer booty. The annual value of prizes—captured ships and cargoes—brought back to England by privateers was often over £200,000, the yearly income of the Crown in the early years of **Elizabeth I**'s reign. The expeditions of the most famous English captains were often joint-stock ventures with the government, out of which the queen expected financial return as much as military success. Few of these better-known voyages realized the profits enjoyed by the smaller privateering enterprises of the merchant community, but these public-private expeditions did register the occasional spectacular success, such as the capture in 1592 of the immensely rich East Indies vessel *Madre de Dios*. The plundered treasures of the *Madre de Dios* brought the queen and her fellow investors a handsome return and stimulated further privateering efforts with hopes of similar success.

See also Joint-Stock Company

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Privy Council

See Council, Royal/Privy Council

Proclamation

A proclamation was a legislative order, administrative regulation, or formal policy announcement issued by the Crown under the royal **prerogative**. Proclamations were issued by the Crown alone, without the consent of either the **council** (which advised on proclamations) or **Parliament**. Proclamations were inferior to parliamentary statutes, which could be neither altered nor contradicted by royal proclamations. A proclamation expired at the death of the monarch who issued it. The Crown used proclamations to announce war or peace, quell rebellion, control trade and industry, announce important policy changes, issue instructions for implementing a parliamentary statute or council order, or implement religious policies.

Proclamations could not create felonies or treasons, touch property rights protected by the **common law**, or deprive anyone of life or limb. Proclamations were useful for dealing with emergency situations or for handling problems when Parliament was not sitting. Proclamations were delivered to local officials through a county's sheriff and would be read aloud before being posted in customary and prominent places throughout the county, such as at the fronts of churches and guildhalls or at town gates and market crosses. The right of the monarch to use proclamations was rarely questioned during the Tudor period, although the exact scope and authority of proclamations, like the scope and authority of the royal prerogative itself, was vague.

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Proclamations, Act of

Officially titled "An Act That Proclamations Made by the King Shall Be Obeyed," the Proclamations Act of June 1539 gave a secure statutory foundation to the Crown's **prerogative** right to issue **proclamations** and also devised new means whereby obedience to proclamations could be enforced.

A proclamation was a legislative order, administrative regulation, or formal policy announcement issued by the Crown. Because it declared that proclamations should be "obeyed, observed, and kept as though they were made by act of Parliament" (Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, 28), the Henrician proclamations act has traditionally been described as Thomas **Cromwell**'s attempt to institute a royal despotism by elevating proclamations to the level of statute and thereby

circumventing **Parliament**. This view has been largely dismissed by recent research. Most historians now see the act as an effort by Cromwell to improve enforcement of proclamations and to base their authority on the certainty of statute rather than the uncertainty of judicial opinion. Whether or not the original draft of the bill contained stronger claims for the efficacy of proclamations is unclear, but the measure occasioned much debate, and any such language, had it existed, was removed prior to final passage. As enacted, the statute confirmed the monarch's right to issue proclamations with the advice of the **council**, restated all traditional limitations on the power of proclamations, and declared that proclamations should be obeyed as if they were acts of Parliament.

In other provisions, **justices of the peace** were ordered to swiftly and diligently enforce proclamations, persons willfully fleeing the realm to escape punishment for proclamation violations were declared guilty of **treason**, and a new court of Crown officers and royal councillors was established to try proclamation offenses. In actual practice, this court proved cumbersome, and cases involving proclamations continued to come before **Star Chamber**. The Proclamations Act remained in effect only until 1547, when it was repealed by the first Parliament of **Edward VI**.

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Prodigy Houses

During the reign of **Elizabeth I**, the rise of a political cult identifying the queen as the embodiment of the state combined with the queen's annual habit of going on formal summer tours known as **progresses** to promote the development of an exclusively Elizabethan architectural phenomenon known as prodigy houses. Designed to reflect the grandeur of the queen and the glory of her **court**, prodigy houses were large and expensive aristocratic country residences built specifically

to attract a stay from the queen and her court as they moved on slow summer progress through the towns and countryside of southern and southeastern England.

The term “prodigy” derived from the Latin word meaning “portent,” and came to describe an extraordinary structure out of proportion with its surroundings. Prodigy houses used every known architectural device to portray splendor and lavish display, and their design sought to approximate the needs and layout of the court as imposed upon an ordinary country household. William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, for example, entertained the queen at the enormous houses he built at Burghley in Northamptonshire and at Theobalds in Hertfordshire. In 1591, the Earl of Hertford, preparing for a three-day visit by the queen, engaged over 300 workmen to enlarge his house at Elvetham, erect a series of outbuildings to lodge the court, and dig a pond with three large islands as a setting for an elaborate outdoor entertainment.

By the 1580s, architect Robert **Smythson** had become closely identified with the design and building of the kind of lavish country houses associated with the prodigy house trend. His best-known projects were Longleat House in Wiltshire and Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire.

See also Architecture; Virgin Queen

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Progresses, Royal

Although **Henry VIII** had gone frequently on progress, no Tudor made better or more extensive political use of royal progresses than **Elizabeth I**. Progresses were formal summer tours of the kingdom conducted by the monarch and a portion of the **court**, usually between the months of August and October when the weather was generally good and the harvest was being gathered. For Elizabeth, royal progresses were, first and foremost, an opportunity to see—and be seen by—her subjects. Following an itinerary published well in advance, a progress would carry the queen to various of the more distant royal residences, to the country homes of the local nobility or **gentry**, or to lodgings provided by a town or one of the universities.

Having spent the winter moving haphazardly between the larger royal residences in London and the Thames Valley, such as **Whitehall Palace**, **Greenwich Palace**, **Richmond Palace**, and **Hampton Court Palace**, Elizabeth gladly left

those houses to the intensive summer cleaning their primitive domestic sewage systems demanded. Traveling on horseback or in an open litter, the queen stopped frequently to talk to the people who crowded the roadside to watch her pass. If Elizabeth enjoyed progresses, her household officials did not, being responsible for loading and transporting hundreds of carts stuffed with the queen's household goods and those of her attendants. Providing accommodations for the queen's followers could also be an overwhelming task, both for those seeking lodging and for those expected to supply it.

While a great honor, entertaining the queen on progress in one's home or town was also a crushing expense and a source of much anxiety lest the quality of accommodations or entertainment fall short of court expectations. Elizabeth, wrote William **Harrison**, considered that "every nobleman's house is her palace," and the queen on progress stopped for short periods at almost any suitable lodging along her route. William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, spent the huge sum of £1,000 to host the queen for 10 days in 1591, and Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, spent a fortune to entertain the queen at Kenilworth in 1575. Competition to host the queen led to an Elizabethan architectural phenomenon known as **prodigy houses**—large and splendid aristocratic country homes built specifically to attract a royal progress. The architect Robert **Smythson** was particularly known for the design and building of such homes.

See also Architecture

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Propesyings

To improve the faith and training of parish clergy, **Puritan** ministers in the 1570s began holding a series of public conferences at which several sermons would be preached on the same Biblical text, the text would be discussed by the ministers present, and the proceedings would be summarized for the attending public by a moderator. Thus, though ostensibly for the education of clergy and divinity

students, the prophesyings also exposed the laity to Puritan teachings and to criticisms of the bishops and the **Anglican Church**.

Reaching their height in the mid-1570s, prophesyings aroused the hostility of **Elizabeth I** because most such gatherings were convened and conducted by the ministers themselves, not by royal or parliamentary authority. In 1577, the queen ordered Edmund **Grindal**, archbishop of Canterbury, to suppress all prophesyings. But Grindal, like several other bishops who were in sympathy with Puritan aims, had been quietly encouraging prophesyings as a means to improve preaching and to increase clerical and lay knowledge of the **Bible**, both important Puritan objectives. When the archbishop declined to obey the queen's order, Elizabeth suspended him from office and commanded his deputies to put an end to prophesyings. The resulting crackdown halted the movement, although some more militant Puritans continued to meet illegally.

Prophesyings were the first step in the formation of an informal and illegal system of presbyterian church government, which aimed to replace bishops with a hierarchy of assemblies comprising ministers and church elders. Because laypeople attended and observed prophesyings, the gatherings were important not only for improving preaching among ministers but for spreading Puritan ideas among the people and thereby creating new adherents to the Puritan movement.

See also Parliament; Presbyterian Movement

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Protestantism

Protestantism refers to the basic set of beliefs shared by the Christian Churches that arose in sixteenth-century Europe as a result of the Reformation. The term derives from the formal "Protestation" a minority of pro-Lutheran German princes made against the decisions of the Catholic majority at the Imperial diet (i.e., council) called by the Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V** at Speyer in 1529.

The basic tenets of Protestant belief tended to reject any doctrine that stressed the role of the clergy or of church institutions and ceremonies in achieving salvation. Thus, Protestants accepted the **Bible** as the supreme source of divine revelation. Whereas the Catholic Church opposed vernacular Bibles and insisted that the clergy interpret scripture to the laity, Protestants demanded that believers be able to read and study the Bible for themselves. Following an idea that Martin Luther derived from the writings of Saint Paul, Protestants also accepted the doctrine of justification by faith, meaning that Christians are saved only by faith in Jesus Christ

and not by any of their own works or efforts. By rejecting the Catholic doctrine of salvation through faith *and* good works, Protestants undermined the role of the church hierarchy and of ritual in the salvation of believers.

From the principle of justification by faith, John **Calvin** evolved the doctrine of **predestination**, which declared that God had foreordained all people for either salvation or damnation. Although good works were useless in earning salvation, righteous living could be a sign of one's membership in the godly Elect, those people predestined for heaven. Predestination, with all its implications for political and economic life, was a central tenet of the Calvinistic Churches of **Scotland**, **France**, and the **Netherlands**, and of the **Puritans** in England and **America**.

Protestants also accepted the priesthood of all believers, a notion that considered the true church to be a worshipping body of Christians, and not the clergy or an institutional ritual. This principle rejected Catholic ceremonialism and sacramentalism, as well as a privileged church hierarchy. It also overthrew the Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**, the central core of which was the power of the priest as God's instrument to initiate the miracle of the **Mass** in changing bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Although Protestant churches differed over whether Christ's body and blood were ever actually present during Communion, all reformed denominations rejected the Mass and denied transubstantiation.

See also Calvinism, English; Catholicism, English; Eucharist, Views of the; Reformation, English; Reformation, Irish; Reformation, Scottish; Reformation, Welsh

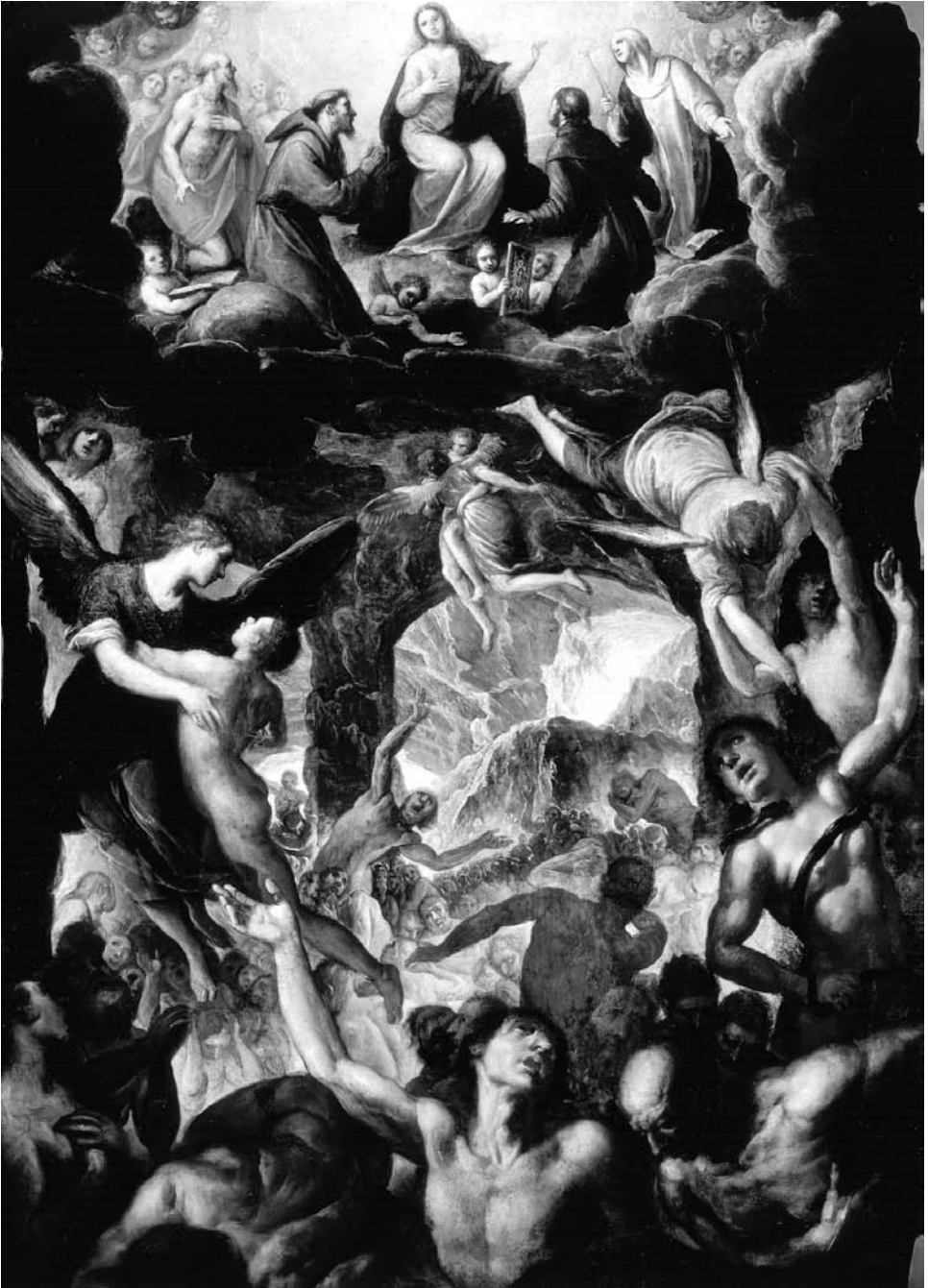
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Purgatory

The concept of purgatory can be traced back to the third century, and in the eleventh century, Roman church doctrine defined purgatory as the place where souls who died in a state of grace went to fulfill the remaining atonement necessary for their earthly sins before being allowed to enter heaven. It was portrayed as a fearful place of potentially gruesome suffering. Time in purgatory might be reduced before death by fulfilling the punishment given by the priest at penance or by receiving an indulgence from the pope, which decreased time in purgatory in exchange for a specific donation of alms or some action taken, such as going on a crusade. After death, prayers or Masses said for one's soul could also reduce time in purgatory. The well-to-do (and later even those of modest means) often endowed **chantries** with bequests in their wills to pay for a priest to say such



The existence of purgatory—depicted here in a sixteenth-century painting by Tintoretto—was one of the contentious issues of the Reformation. (Alinari Archives/Corbis)

Masses in perpetuity for themselves or others. Religious **guilds** also saw to the saying of Masses for members who had died. Because **canon law** (church law) forbade a priest from saying **Mass** more than once a day, the belief in intercessory Masses supported the creation of new positions for priests to say Masses that had been paid for in wills.

The existence of purgatory was one of the contentious issues of the **Reformation**, along with the efficaciousness of prayers for the dead and the validity of indulgences, which had been widely abused. As early as 1531 Hugh **Latimer** preached against the belief in purgatory, and strongly worded tracts appeared reflecting the diversity of opinions held by individuals. In *A Supplication of the Beggars* (1529), Simon **Fish** charged that priests who were paid to say Masses for the dead were just so many frauds fleecing the poor and using up the alms of the world for no good purpose. Thomas **More** used his *A Supplication of Souls* (1529) to refute Fish's arguments, and although More was a more elegant and reasoned writer, Fish's work probably received more attention. John **Rastell**'s *New Book of Purgatory* (1530) supported the position expressed by More. John **Frith**, however, argued in his *Disputation of Purgatory* (1531) that there was no basis in scripture for a belief in purgatory and that such a belief in fact diminished the value of Christ's sacrifice.

The debate would continue for many years, and each time the English Church (and state) formulated a new statement of faith, purgatory figured in the expression of doctrine. Under **Henry VIII** the **Ten Articles** of 1536 and the **King's Book** criticized excesses of practice among the common people regarding purgatory and suggested that humans really could not know the existence of purgatory, but at the same time it classified prayers for souls with other "laudable ceremonies." The Act of **Six Articles** of 1539 was overall more conservative and did not change the official position on purgatory. But under **Edward VI**, the **Forty-two Articles**, along with revisions to the **Book of Common Prayer**, prepared by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** in 1552, fully rejected the idea of purgatory.

Without purgatory there was no need for Masses to be said for the souls of the departed. In 1545 the Chantries Act was passed ostensibly to abolish badly managed chantries, guilds, and other similar organizations, but little was actually done. The act, however, was renewed after Henry VIII's death, and most of these organizations were abolished, with a variety of social effects.

When **Mary I** came to the throne, England returned to official Catholic doctrine for six years, but in June 1559, seven months after the accession of **Elizabeth I**, the English Church returned to essentially the doctrine expressed in the second Book of Common Prayer, which remains the **Anglican Church**'s official liturgy today. For the modern Roman Catholic Church, the existence of purgatory was reaffirmed at the Council of **Trent** and remains a part of current doctrine.

Susan Walters Schmid

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Puritans

The word “puritan” was first used in the mid-1560s by conforming Anglicans as a term of contempt or ridicule for those members of the English Church who demanded further Protestant reform or purification of worship, more and better preaching, and stricter adherence to the dictates of scripture. The term covered a wide variety of doctrines, attitudes, and positions. Puritans were united only in their demand that the **Anglican Church** be purged of any ideas, doctrines, rituals, or other elements that they regarded as Roman Catholic, superstitious, or unscriptural.

While Puritans viewed their religious life in terms of a duty to do only what God had specifically commanded in the **Bible**, Anglicans accepted a greater freedom to do whatever the Bible did not specifically prohibit. More moderate Puritans were willing to work within the English Church and through **Parliament** to achieve reform. More radical Puritans opposed episcopacy (i.e., the hierarchy of bishops) and advocated a presbyterian form of church government or even the independence of local congregations. In the 1590s, a few Puritan groups began to separate themselves from the Anglican Church, believing they would never be able to worship as they chose under a Church controlled by the Crown and bishops. **Elizabeth I**’s determination to rigidly uphold the 1559 **Anglican Settlement** of religion and strictly enforce **royal supremacy** over the Church led to clashes with Puritans over vestments, preaching, and the nature of Church government.

By the 1590s, Puritans were demanding stricter observance of the Sabbath and stronger measures to root out immorality, positions that often provoked a strong reaction from non-Puritans because they included attempts to close down theatres and restrict other forms of entertainment. In the seventeenth century, Puritanism became the heart of resistance to the Crown and was instrumental in the coming of civil war and the eventual destruction of the monarchy. Under Elizabeth I, the Puritans tried unsuccessfully to alter the Church, both through Parliament and through such illegal means as the **Presbyterian movement**, the **prophesyings** of the 1570s, and the **classical movement** of the 1580s. Always fearful of **Spain** and Catholic Europe, most Puritans remained loyal to their Protestant queen, even though they disagreed with her on matters of Church ritual and doctrine.

See also Congregationalists; Lectureships; Separatists; Vestiarian Controversy

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Purveyance

Purveyance, a royal privilege dating from the Middle Ages, allowed royal officials to compel vendors to sell goods and commodities to the government at predetermined prices, usually below market rates. Any Crown purchase, whether to feed the **court**, equip the army, or maintain the **navy**, could be subject to purveyance. In theory, the prices paid were to reflect the rates prevailing in the nearest market, but the system had great potential for abuse and corruption, and the prices paid often varied widely from actual market rates.

Purveyance generated bitter complaint against the government and was frequently attacked in **Parliament**. Many schemes for reform were suggested, and various bills were proposed in the House of Commons, but little changed because purveyance remained the best way to supply Crown needs. In 1581, the Elizabethan government revived a plan first proposed under Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, lord protector for **Edward VI**; the plan called for transforming purveyance into a general tax for the support of the court. Nothing came of this proposal, which reappeared under **James I** with the same lack of success.

Elizabeth I's government negotiated fixed tax payments with many counties. Local **justices of the peace** collected these payments in lieu of the goods and services due to the Crown from the county under purveyance. By 1600, purveyance was worth almost £40,000 in savings to the Crown each year.

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Queen of Scots

See Stuart, Mary, Queen of Scots

Queen's Bench, Court of

See King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

Queen's Safety Act

The Act for the Queen's Safety, passed by **Parliament** in 1585, extended throughout the kingdom the protections erected around **Elizabeth I** by the **Bond of Association**. One of the most pressing concerns of the Parliament of 1584–1585 was the queen's safety, especially in light of the recent assassination of **William, Prince of Orange**, by a Catholic agent and the continuing plotting of the Catholic supporters of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots.

Patterned after the Bond of Association, the act declared that anyone supporting a claimant to the throne who sought to advance his or her claim by assassination of the queen was guilty of **treason**. The act also authorized loyal subjects to pursue and kill both those who had attempted the murder and the claimant on whose behalf they had acted. The act differed from the Bond in that it did not empower subjects to also seek out and kill the claimant's heirs. Although it mentioned no one by name, the act, like the Bond, was clearly aimed at Mary Stuart. Elizabeth intervened in December 1584 while the bill was being debated to object to the provision allowing for destruction of heirs, which was an attempt to include Mary's Protestant son, James VI of **Scotland**, in the consequences of any Catholic plot on his mother's behalf.

In March 1585, a new bill, devised in consultation with the queen herself, was introduced into Parliament. This bill excluded heirs from the vengeance of loyal subjects unless the heirs' involvement in the assassination plot could be conclusively proven. Thus, under the Queen's Safety Act, should the queen be assassinated by

supporters of the Queen of Scots, Mary Stuart would die for it, but her son James would be unharmed unless proven to be part of the conspiracy. The act also created a mechanism for determining who was involved in any assassination attempt and was thus subject to the penalty of treason as meted out by Elizabeth's subjects. Should any rebellion, invasion, or murder plot be undertaken against the queen, a commission would be created to investigate the deed and determine the guilty parties. Upon passage of the act, the Bond of Association was amended to conform to it. The Queen's Safety Act remained in force until repealed during Victoria's reign in the nineteenth century.

See also James I

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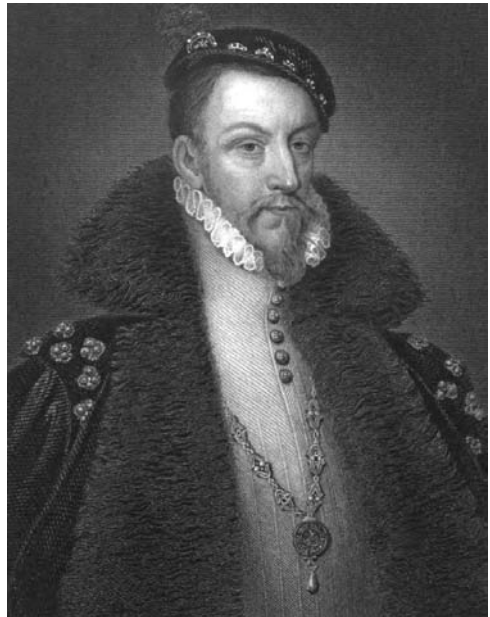
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Radcliffe, Thomas, Earl of Sussex (c. 1526–1583)

Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, was one of the most effective Elizabethan governors of **Ireland**. Like **Elizabeth I** herself, Radcliffe was part of the powerful and extensive Howard family, his mother being a daughter of Thomas **Howard**, second Duke of Norfolk. Educated at Cambridge, Radcliffe was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1561. Knighted by **Henry VIII** in 1544 for his service in the king's French campaign, Radcliffe also served under Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, at the Battle of **Pinkie** in Scotland in 1547.

At her accession in 1553, Mary I elevated Radcliffe to the **peerage** as Lord Fitzwalter. In 1554, Radcliffe helped suppress **Wyatt's Rebellion** and participated in the negotiations for the queen's marriage to **Philip of Spain**. Mary appointed Radcliffe lord deputy of Ireland in 1556, a year before he succeeded his father as Earl of Sussex. Because Sussex had proved himself an effective administrator and capable military leader, Elizabeth continued him in office on her accession in 1558 and raised him to the higher dignity of lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1560. Although his long campaign in Ulster against the rebel chief Shane **O'Neill** brought only a partial and temporary peace to northern Ireland, Sussex was more successful against rebels in central Ireland and was able to carry out the queen's orders to establish English



Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, successfully stamped out the Northern Rebellion and was rewarded with an appointment to the Privy Council. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* . . . , vol. 3. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

settlements in the region. Poor health and continuing unrest in Ulster led Sussex to request his recall in 1564.

In 1569, Elizabeth appointed Sussex lord lieutenant of the north of England, a position that gave him chief responsibility for stamping out the **Northern Rebellion** of 1569–1570. Success in the north won Sussex appointment to the Privy **Council** in 1570. Associating himself with the political opposition to the royal **favorite**, Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, Sussex supported a series of ultimately unsuccessful efforts to arrange a marriage for the queen, especially the various proposals put forth by Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, in the late 1570s and early 1580s. Despite earning the political enmity of Leicester, Sussex remained in favor and an important member of the council until his death in June 1583.

See also Inns of Court; Plantations, Irish; Universities

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Raleigh, Elizabeth Throckmorton (1565–1647)

Elizabeth Throckmorton, the future wife of the courtier and explorer Sir Walter **Raleigh**, was a maid of honor to **Elizabeth I**. The youngest child and only daughter of Elizabethan diplomat Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**, Elizabeth Throckmorton was only six when her father died. She lived with her mother until 1584, when she came to **court** and was taken into royal service as one of the queen's **ladies-in-waiting**. Although not wealthy, she attracted the attention of Raleigh, a rising royal **favorite**, in 1590. The couple was secretly married in November 1591 after Throckmorton discovered that she was pregnant.

The new Lady Raleigh kept her secret from the queen by withdrawing to her brother's **London** house, where she gave birth to a son in March 1592. However, the queen soon learned of the child and, infuriated by what she saw as the treachery of her maid and her favorite, threw both Lady Raleigh and her husband into the **Tower of London**. Although both were released in December 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh was forbidden the queen's presence for over a year, and Lady Elizabeth Raleigh was never forgiven; an attempt to reinstate her at court failed in 1601. Although she came occasionally to London after 1592, Lady Raleigh lived mostly at Sherborne, Raleigh's country home in Dorset. A second son, named Walter, was born at Sherborne in 1593. Lady Raleigh spent much of the late 1590s separated

from her husband, who led an expedition to the Orinoco basin in South America in 1595 and was one of the leaders of the **Cadiz Raid** in 1596.

After the accession of **James I** in 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies at court convinced the king that Raleigh had plotted against him. Convicted of **treason**, Raleigh was imprisoned in the Tower, where Lady Raleigh lived with him until 1610, when the king ordered her to live elsewhere. She gave birth to a third son, named Carew, in or near the Tower in 1605.

In 1609, the king confiscated Sherborne, giving Lady Raleigh a small pension in its place. Although Elizabeth Raleigh was a persistent suitor on her husband's behalf, he was executed on 29 October 1618. Lady Raleigh was allowed to keep her husband's head, which she had embalmed and kept with her until her death in 1647.

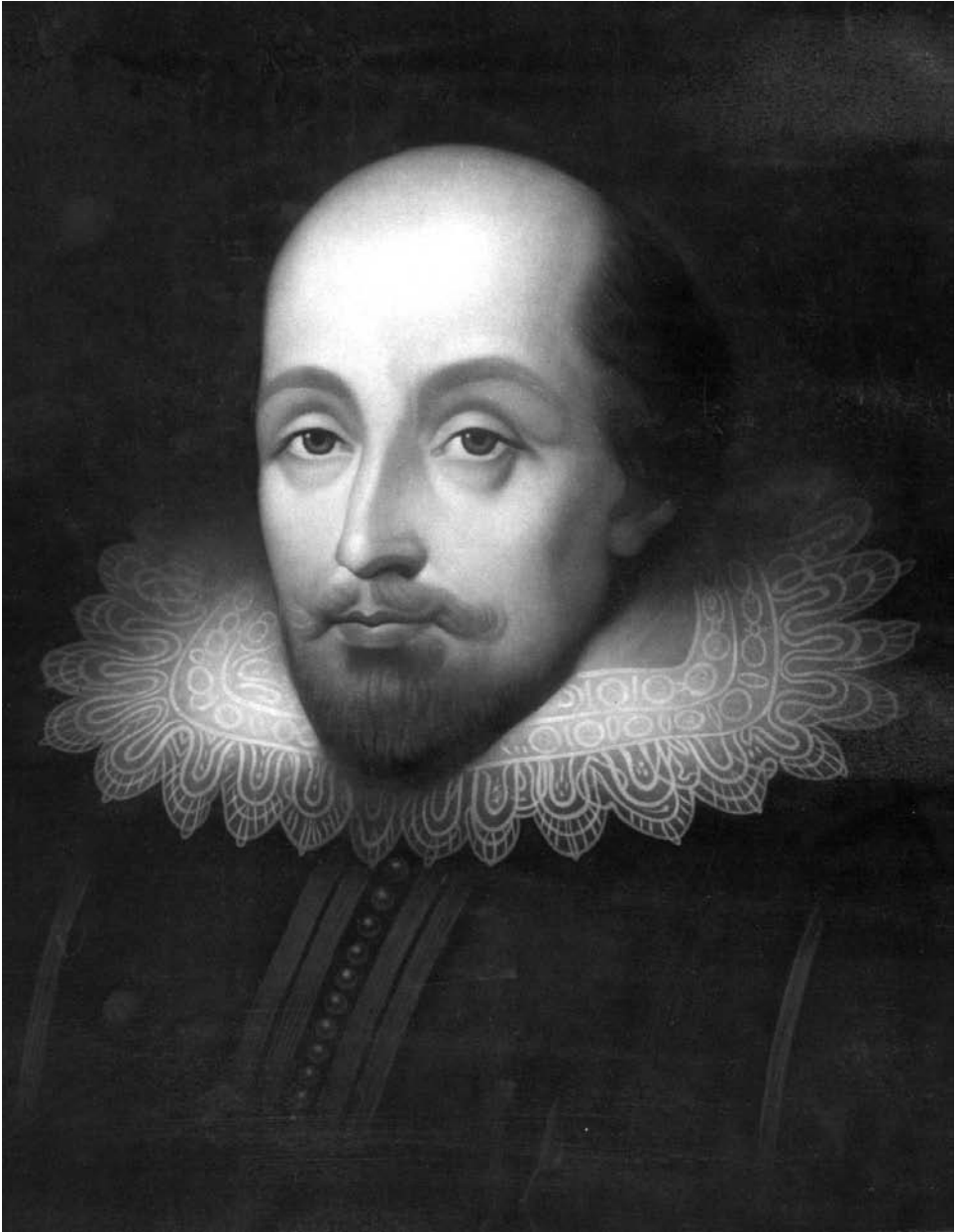
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Raleigh, Sir Walter (c. 1552–1618)

A poet, courtier, soldier, and historian, Sir Walter Raleigh did more than any other Elizabethan to promote English exploration and colonization of North America. Born into a Devonshire **gentry** family, Raleigh (he favored the spelling *Ralegh*) was educated at Oxford. He spent the early 1570s in **France** fighting with the **Huguenots** as part of a contingent of Devonshire volunteers. In the late 1570s, he helped his half brother Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** fight rebels in **Ireland** and outfit **privateering** expeditions against Spanish shipping. After 1581, he was mostly at **court**, where he was much favored by **Elizabeth I**, who knighted him in 1584 and appointed him captain of her guards in 1587.

Between 1583 and 1589, Raleigh invested over £40,000 in six colonizing expeditions to North America, having received a grant from the queen to plant colonies along the eastern coast of the continent, which area Raleigh named Virginia in honor of the **Virgin Queen**. Although responsible for introducing potatoes and tobacco to England and Ireland, Raleigh's ventures were unsuccessful in establishing a permanent English colony in **America**. Raleigh was briefly imprisoned in 1592 for his unauthorized marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton **Raleigh**, one of the queen's **ladies-in-waiting**. He was forbidden the queen's presence for a time but was back in favor by 1595, when he set off on a fruitless search for the legendary Eldorado, supposedly to be found in Guyana. He was part of the successful **Cadiz Raid** in 1596 and the unsuccessful **Islands Voyage** of 1597. He quarreled with the royal **favorite** Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, in 1597 and thereafter was a consistent opponent of the earl's and was much blamed for his downfall.



Sir Walter Raleigh received a grant from Elizabeth to plant colonies along the eastern coast of North America and invested in six colonizing expeditions. (Library of Congress)

In 1603, **James I**, persuaded by Raleigh's many enemies that the Devon gentleman was a dangerous conspirator, had Raleigh arrested and tried for treason. From 1603 to 1616, Raleigh lay in the **Tower of London**, where he composed **poetry** and wrote his *History of the World*. Released to search for gold along the Orinoco in South America, Raleigh found none, but he burned a Spanish settlement and was rearrested upon his return on the insistence of the Spanish king, with whom James was attempting to negotiate a marriage for his son. Raleigh was executed on 29 October 1618.

See also Amadas-Barlowe Expedition; Lost Colony; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587); Universities

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Rastell, John (c. 1475–1536)

John Rastell, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas **More**, was a printer, dramatist, businessman, and Protestant activist. Interested in science, geography, **drama**, and history, Rastell, through his writings and publications, sought to make knowledge more widely accessible. Born in Coventry, Rastell may have attended Oxford before reading law at the Middle Temple, one of the **Inns of Court** in **London**. Rastell married Elizabeth More, Sir Thomas More's sister, in 1496, and by about 1507, he had taken up permanent residence in London, where he entered the service of Sir Edward Belknap, a member of the royal **council**. Belknap secured Rastell various government posts, including supervising the unloading of royal ordnance at the **Tower of London** and designing and constructing sets for court pageants and royal entertainments. In the latter capacity, Rastell was employed in the creation of an ornate roof for the great banqueting hall erected for **Henry VIII** at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520 and in the preparation of an elaborate pageant staged at St. Paul's for the reception of **Charles V** in 1522. He also designed the "Father of Heaven" entertainment presented at **Greenwich Palace** in 1527 and constructed the first stage in Tudor England at his house in Finsbury Fields in 1524. In 1515, Rastell obtained, through Belknap, the confiscated property of suspected heretic Richard Hunne.

In about 1517, Rastell set sail in the *Barbara* on a voyage of exploration to North America; he got only as far as **Ireland**, where his crew mutinied and set him

ashore. Rastell's main occupation from about 1512 was **printing**. His first publications were legal works such as Anthony Fitzherbert's *La Grand Abbregement de le Ley* (1516), but he soon undertook such nonlegal projects as *The Merry Jestes of the Widow Edith* (1525) and *The Hundred Merry Tales* (1526). He also printed a number of his own compositions, including three dramatic interludes—*The Four Elements* (1517); *Of Gentleness and Nobility* (1525); *Calisto and Melibea* (1525), a chronicle history based on the works of Robert **Fabyan**—*The Pastime of People* (1529); and a religious polemic written to support More's argument for the existence of Purgatory, *A New Book of Purgatory* (1530). In the late 1520s, Rastell's son, William **Rastell**, followed him into the printing trade.

Rastell sat in the **Reformation Parliament** for the Cornish borough of Dunheved, which was probably secured for him by More. In the Commons, Rastell was associated with a 1531 bill calling for preparation of an English Bible and the 1534 **treason** bill under which More was eventually condemned. Although initially moderate in religion, Rastell, who was an active and outspoken man, had by 1534 parted company with More and attached himself to Thomas **Cromwell** as a zealous advocate of reform. Rastell tried unsuccessfully to convert the imprisoned **Carthusian martyrs** to the **royal supremacy** in 1535 and was himself in trouble in 1536 for refusing to pay **tithes**. Tried before Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Rastell was committed to the Tower in April 1536. Despite pleas to Cromwell for his release, Rastell died in prison in July 1536.

See also Hunne's Case

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Rastell, William (c. 1508–1565)

Lawyer and printer William Rastell published many of the literary works of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas **More**. Rastell attended Oxford in about 1525 but took

no degree and by 1527 was assisting his father, John **Rastell**, in the devising of pageants and entertainments for the royal **court**. He also served an apprenticeship in his father's print shop before opening his own **London** press in 1529. His first publication was *The Supplication of Souls*, a work on purgatory by More. By 1534, Rastell had printed seven other religious works by More, two sermons by Bishop John **Fisher**, an edition of the chronicle of Robert **Fabyan**, several plays by More's associates Henry Medwall and John Heywood, and such literary works as the *Book of a Hundred Riddles*. With More's arrest in 1534, Rastell, who, unlike his father, remained a devout Catholic, abandoned the **printing** trade for an occupation less likely to attract government scrutiny. Having been admitted to Lincoln's Inn, one of the **Inns of Court**, in September 1532, Rastell began a successful legal career that saw him become reader and bencher at Lincoln's Inn in 1546 and treasurer of the inn in 1549.

In 1544, Rastell married Winifred Clement, the daughter of John Clement and More's former ward Margaret Giggs **Clement**. Uncomfortable with the **Protestantism** of **Edward VI**'s regency governments, Rastell, his wife, and his in-laws fled to Louvain on 21 December 1549. In 1550, Rastell's property was confiscated by the Crown, and in March 1553, he was excluded by name from a general pardon issued in the last Edwardian **Parliament**. In Louvain, Rastell edited the English works of his uncle for future publication. In July 1553, the month of **Mary I**'s accession to the English throne, Rastell's wife died in Louvain; Rastell and his in-laws returned to London shortly thereafter. Restored to his offices at Lincoln's Inn in 1554, Rastell became a serjeant-at-law in about 1555 and sat on a heresy commission in 1556. He was also a member of three Marian Parliaments, each time supporting the government's religious legislation. Rastell revived his printing business in 1553, producing various legal texts. In 1557, Rastell, who had long preserved his uncle's papers, dedicated his edition of *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght, Sometye Lorde Chauncellour of England, Wrytten by Him in the Englysh Tonge* to the queen. In October 1558, Mary appointed Rastell a justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, a post he retained after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in the following month. However, on 3 January 1563, Rastell again fled to Louvain for religious reasons. He died there on 27 August 1565.

See also King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

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Rationale of Ceremonial

Completed in 1543 by a committee of bishops appointed by **Henry VIII**, the *Rationale of Ceremonial* was an anthology and description of rites and ceremonies performed by the English Church. Because the document had a definite conservative tone, it was never officially adopted by the Crown.

By the Tudor period, the English Church employed a wide variety of ceremonies and rituals that had evolved over the centuries in various ways and forms. Because these ceremonies were marked by local variation, misunderstood symbolism, and foreign practices, the need for a formal collection and explanation of approved English usages was great, especially after Henry VIII severed the English Church from Rome in the 1530s. Ritual and liturgy became contentious issues by 1540, as reformers sought to abolish Catholic usages they found superstitious and conservatives tried to retain traditional practices they found useful. On 12 April 1540, the king appointed a committee of six bishops to reform and rationalize all religious ceremonies practiced by the English Church. In April 1540, a year after passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** and only months before the arrest and execution of reformist minister Thomas **Cromwell**, the king was anxious to limit theological reformation and to ensure that his Church adhered largely to traditional doctrines and practices. As a result, the committee for ceremonies received a conservative majority, with four traditionalists—Richard **Sampson** of Chichester, John Bell of Worcester, John Clerk of Bath and Wells, and John Salcote of Salisbury—outnumbering two reformers—Robert **Holgate** of Llandaff and Thomas **Goodrich** of Ely.

The committee collected the ceremonies then in use, drafted explanations of their origins and symbology, revised and reformed the ceremonies in light of current ordinances, and translated the Latin rituals into English. The resulting anthology proved to be a competent but complicated document of little use to ordinary parishioners. The *Rationale* was also decidedly conservative in its explanations and usages, so much so that neither Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** nor the king himself was satisfied with it. Probably through Cranmer's influence, the *Rationale* was quietly suppressed and never received royal approval. Instead, in May 1544, the king authorized use of a new English litany drafted by the archbishop. After Henry's death in 1547, Cranmer and the other bishops engaged in revision of the English liturgy studied the *Rationale*, but its conservatism was even less appreciated in the Protestant atmosphere of the new reign, and the document had little influence on the first **Book of Common Prayer** issued in 1549. The failure of the *Rationale* was a serious defeat for the conservative faction at the late Henrician **court** and marked a shift in royal favor toward the reformers, who eventually dominated the regency governments of **Edward VI**.

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Recusants

Anyone in Elizabethan England who refused to attend Anglican services was a recusant. The term referred mainly to Catholics, but it could also be applied to Protestants, such as radical **Puritans** or **Separatists** who found the **Anglican Church** too Catholic in its rituals for their tastes. The Act of **Uniformity** of 1559 assessed a fine of one shilling a week on all recusants. An act of 1581 increased the recusancy fine to the ruinously high sum of £20 per month. Catholics tried to avoid the fines by attending services but refusing to take Communion, even though they were enjoined to do so at least three times per year; such occasional conformity was outlawed by the **penal laws**, a series of parliamentary statutes passed in the second half of **Elizabeth I**'s reign to respond to Catholic plots on behalf of **Mary Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and to the activities of **seminary priests**.

The penal laws imposed stiff fines and serious disabilities on English Catholics. The act of 1581 made it **treason** (and thus punishable by death) to persuade someone, or to be persuaded by someone, to join the Catholic faith with the intention of withdrawing one's obedience from the queen. The 1593 Act against Popish (i.e., Catholic) Recusants restricted the movement of recusants, confining them to within five miles of their homes unless they obtained a license to travel from a bishop or **justice of the peace** (JP). The penal laws were intended to destroy the Catholic minority community that began to develop in England after 1570, the year Pope **Pius V** issued ***Regnans in Excelsis***, the papal bull (proclamation) declaring Elizabeth a heretic and absolving her Catholic subjects from their allegiance to her.

Recusancy fines were more strictly collected after such incidents as the **Ridolfi Plot** had frightened the government into believing Catholic invasions or uprisings were imminent. Recusancy fines, which were collected by the local JPs, tended to be more loosely enforced in such Catholic areas as Lancashire, where many of the local gentlemen were themselves Catholic.

See also Catholicism, English

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Redon, Treaty of

Concluded on 10 February 1489, the Anglo-Breton Treaty of Redon recognized England's vital interest in maintaining the autonomy of the cross-Channel duchy of **Brittany** and committed **Henry VII** to defend the duchy against French attack. In August 1488, only weeks before his death, Duke Francis II of Brittany consigned the wardship and future marriage of his 12-year-old daughter, Anne, to the French Crown, which had long sought to reincorporate the independent duchy into the French state. Henry VII, realizing that England could not allow the seaports, **navy**, and trade of Brittany to fall under French control, commissioned Sir Richard Edgecombe and Henry Aynsworth to negotiate an alliance with the new duchess. The resulting agreement pledged Henry to send 6,000 men for one year to defend Brittany against attack and committed the Bretons to support any English invasion of **France**. Each party also promised to give no shelter within their territories to the other's rebels. Duchess Anne agreed to make no marriage without Henry's consent, to pay the costs of the English defense force, to place two stipulated fortresses in English custody, and to seek additional alliances only among England's friends, such as **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain**, with whom Henry was currently negotiating the Treaty of **Medina del Campo**.

Henry also sought to ring Brittany with an anti-French alliance. Besides the compact with the Spanish monarchs, which was completed in March, Henry concluded the Treaty of Dordrecht with **Maximilian**, king of the Romans, on 14 February. This network of agreements collapsed when the contest for Anne's hand in marriage threw Brittany into a civil war that distracted the English troops sent to the duchy under the Redon agreement. When Maximilian withdrew from the alliance in July 1489 and the French captured Nantes in February 1491, Brittany was lost. With no other choice left to her, Duchess Anne married **Charles VIII** of France on 6 December 1491.

Although he had failed to save the duchy from absorption into France, Henry still led an army into France in October 1492 to honor his Redon pledges. The king was eager to demonstrate that he was a figure of consequence in European diplomacy, a ruler whose agreements and interventions could not be easily flouted. But after briefly besieging Boulogne, Henry quickly came to terms with Charles VIII,

who was anxious to be rid of English entanglements and launch an invasion of **Italy**. By the Treaty of **Etaples**, Henry gained the expulsion of Perkin **Warbeck** from France, payment of a large indemnity, and recognition of legitimacy conferred by the conclusion of a favorable agreement with the king of France.

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Redshanks

The redshanks were Scottish mercenaries who played an important role in the wars of Tudor **Ireland**. Light infantrymen from the Highlands and western isles of **Scotland**, the redshanks usually hired themselves out to an Irish lord for the summer months. Their name came from their habit of going into battle bare-legged and in kilts. Poverty and overpopulation in their homelands, combined with the increasing demand for their services in Ireland, drove many Scotsmen to contract out as mercenaries. Because the redshanks were such an important component of Irish armies, especially in the Connacht and Ulster regions of northern Ireland, Irish chieftains were careful to maintain good relations with the most important redshank clans, such as the MacDonalds, Campbells, and MacLeans, and with the chief noblemen of Highland Scotland, such as the earls of Argyll.

To ensure a steady supply of mercenaries, Irish leaders in Ulster regularly married Scottish wives. Turlough Luineach **O'Neill's** MacDonald wife brought him a handsome dowry of 1,200 redshanks. In the 1590s, the English government began taking steps to curb the flow of mercenaries from Scotland to Ireland. Besides making it worth the Earl of Argyll's time to discourage mercenary recruitment in his territories, the English distributed subsidies in the western islands to keep men at home and sent naval forces into the North Channel between Scotland and Ireland to intercept mercenary shipping.

See also Gallowglasses; Kern

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Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum (*Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws*) is the name given to the revision of English canon (church) law drafted by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and submitted to the last Edwardian **Parliament** in March 1553. The measure failed passage in the House of Lords and then became a dead letter, never to be enacted, following the accession of **Mary I** in the following July.

Although the **Reformation Parliament** abolished papal control of English **church courts** in 1534, the law administered in those courts still followed medieval principles. To remedy this situation, Parliament provided for the creation of a committee of 32, divided equally between laymen and clergy, to thoroughly revise English **canon law**. Until such revision could be completed, church courts were authorized to follow existing canons as they had been applied in England up to 1534, a vague decree that led to much confusion as to what constituted valid canon law. In practice, Tudor ecclesiastical courts accepted the Roman canons so long as they did not contradict parliamentary statutes or royal ordinances. Because it was a complicated undertaking, and because other projects, such as reforming the liturgy, took precedence, the reformation of canon law remained incomplete, despite a 1544 statute renewing authorization for a reform committee. Not until 1552, after promulgation of the second **Book of Common Prayer**, did a committee led by Cranmer finish the *Reformatio*.

Although it recognized all ecclesiastical jurisdiction as flowing from the Crown, the *Reformatio* kept all matters relating to **marriage**, **tithes**, wills, perjury, slander, and ecclesiastical **benefices** within the purview of church courts. The Church would also continue to try **heresy** and to transfer recalcitrant heretics to the royal authorities for punishment. In the area of divorce law, the *Reformatio* was highly innovative, recognizing desertion, adultery, and cruelty as sufficient reasons for either party to obtain a divorce. Another innovation was the provision for holding annual diocesan conferences open to both churchmen and laymen. The plan envisioned bishops consulting with parish clergy and representatives of the laity on matters of concern to the entire diocese, a practice that might have prevented or lessened later disputes in the Elizabethan Church if it had been instituted.

Failure to pass the *Reformatio* stemmed from lay distrust of the bishops, from disputes among the bishops themselves, and from the hostility of common lawyers,

who were loath to strengthen a competing jurisdiction. Although the Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe** attempted to revive the project in 1570 (he published the *Reformatio* for the first time in 1571), the effort failed and no thoroughgoing codification of canon law was completed until 1969.

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Reformation, English

The Tudor period saw the beginnings of a process whereby an English Catholic Church under papal authority was transformed into a Protestant institution under the **royal supremacy**, and a majority of English people came to accept Protestant doctrine and worship. Although the actual dates of the English Reformation are much debated, the period between 1530 and 1560 witnessed no fewer than five officially mandated changes in religion.

Prior to 1530, the English Church faced several challenges to its authority. During the reign of **Henry VII** and the first decades of the reign of **Henry VIII**, the remaining adherents of **Lollardy**, a movement that originated in the fourteenth century, met in small local groups to read their outlawed English **Bibles** and denounce the worldly pretensions of the clergy. From the late fifteenth century, the influence of Renaissance humanism, brought to England from **Italy** by such scholars as William **Grocyn**, Thomas **Linacre**, and John **Colet**, led to the formation of **court** and university circles that were actively interested in reforming Church doctrine and practice. Thanks to the **printing** press, the reformist ideas of **Lutheranism** began to circulate in England in the 1520s, and those of the reformed theology that culminated in **Calvinism** appeared in the 1530s. As these new movements grew, Lollards, believing they had found kindred spirits in continental reformers, were revitalized, while humanists were divided between those, like Sir Thomas **More** and Desiderius **Erasmus**, who put the unity of the Western Church before reform and those who sought reform at all costs.

In the 1520s, the leadership of church and state, most powerfully represented by Thomas **Wolsey**, who was both lord chancellor and papal legate, suppressed these

reform movements. The writings of Martin Luther were outlawed, and Henry VIII himself wrote a treatise attacking Luther, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, which won the king the title “**Defender of the Faith**” from a grateful pope. Cuthbert **Tunstall**, the bishop of **London**, burned the English New Testament of William **Tyn-dale**, while the government, with the active support of conservative humanists like More, burned reformers like Thomas **Bilney** and John **Frith**, who were condemned for heresy. The Crown and the **papacy**, which had shared control of the Church for centuries, continued to cooperate against these threats to their joint authority.

This cooperation ended by 1530, when Henry VIII, frustrated by the refusal (for political reasons) of **Clement VII** to annul his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, initiated a policy that led to abolition of papal authority in England. Through a legislative program devised by Thomas **Cromwell**, the **Reformation Parliament**, between 1530 and 1534, freed Henry to marry Anne **Boleyn** and established the king-in-**Parliament** as the supreme authority in church and state. The **Submission of the Clergy** ended the legislative independence of **Convocation**; the two statutes regarding **annates** abolished payments to Rome; the Act in **Restraint of Appeals** ended judicial appeals to Rome; the **Dispensations Act** allowed Henry’s new reformist archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas **Cranmer**, to dissolve the Aragon marriage; the Act of **Supremacy** acknowledged royal supremacy over the Church; and the **Treasons Act** gave Henry the power to enforce obedience to his new ecclesiastical arrangements. Although none of this altered Church doctrine—Parliament in 1534 specifically declared its resolve not to “decline or vary from . . . any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith” (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 354)—the king’s actions heartened reformers, who believed Henry would soon undertake doctrinal revision. The royal proceedings alarmed others, such as More, Bishop John **Fisher**, and the leaders of the Carthusian order, who could not accept the king’s attack on Church unity and died for their refusal to do so.

The reformers were soon disappointed, and some, such as Robert **Barnes** in 1540, died for their own refusal to conform. The **Ten Articles** and the royal **injunctions** of 1536 and 1538 reformed some rituals and practices and, in the most important religious change of the Henrician Reformation, mandated the placement of an English Bible in every parish church. The **dissolution of the monasteries** between 1536 and 1540 was another significant religious alteration, although its most important consequences were social and economic. By the early 1540s, official doctrine, as required by the Act of **Six Articles** and expounded by the *King’s Book*, was decidedly conservative, matching the king’s own doctrinal tastes. At his death in 1547, Henry left a Church that was still essentially Catholic in doctrine and practice.

However, the men who headed **Edward VI**’s regency governments—Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland—supported further reform. Within six years, working with Cranmer, they gave the Church a Calvinist basis through the **Forty-two Articles**, the *Book of Homilies*,



An allegory of the English Reformation showing a bedridden Henry VIII indicating his Protestant son Edward VI as his successor, thus banishing the pope from England. (National Portrait Gallery, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

an English worship service, and two editions of the **Book of Common Prayer**. They also stripped the Edwardian Church of **chantries**, celibate clergy, and conservative bishops.

Within two years of her accession in 1553, **Mary I**, working, like her predecessors, through Parliament, restored papal authority, revived the **heresy laws**, and suppressed the prayer books, married clergy, and the English Bible. However, people came to associate her Catholic Church with the sufferings of the **Marian martyrs**, the unpopular marriage to **Philip of Spain**, and the loss of **Calais to France**. In 1558, when the queen died childless after only five years on the throne, her Church, like that of her brother, was too weak to survive. It was swept away during the 40-year reign of her successor, **Elizabeth I**, who had the time to craft a lasting religious settlement on the basis of a moderate Protestantism.

Although a majority of the English population at Elizabeth's accession in 1558 may have favored Catholic ritual and doctrine, few opposed the new queen's decision to restore **Protestantism**. As the daughter of Anne **Boleyn**, Elizabeth was the symbol of her father's break with Rome; she had also been tutored by reformers and had been the hope of Protestants during her sister's Catholic restoration. Thus, the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 made Elizabeth supreme governor of the Church, restored the Book of Common Prayer, and based **Anglican Church** doctrine on

Calvinist principles. Despite increasing opposition from **Puritans**, those within the Church seeking more radical reform, and from a minority who continued to adhere to papal **Catholicism**, Elizabeth stoutly maintained her Anglican Church as established in 1559. By her death in 1603, it claimed the allegiance of the great majority of English men and women.

The causes and course of the English Reformation have been much debated. Ecclesiastical historians traditionally stressed what has been called the “official Reformation,” the establishment of the royal supremacy, the enactment of a series of differing religious settlements, and the promulgation of various official doctrines and liturgies. Considered to be the inevitable response to serious abuses in the late medieval Church, the Reformation was also viewed as a specific event that unfolded over a specific period of time and that was largely imposed from above by the policies of Henry VIII and Cromwell. In the last half century, revisionist views, arising mainly out of the new social history, denied that the Reformation was a reaction to abuses in the medieval Church. Such theories see the Reformation as a slow process, not completed until the reign of Elizabeth, and involving both government action and popular support as well as ongoing struggle between Catholic and Protestant minorities.

See also Carthusian Martyrs; Divorce, Royal; Reformation, Irish; Reformation, Scottish; Reformation, Welsh; Separatists

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Reformation, Irish

Unlike England, where the break with the Roman Catholic Church initiated by the Crown in the 1530s led, by 1600, to a Protestant nation, **Ireland** by 1600 had

passed through similar experiences only to come to a renewed commitment to **Catholicism**. In 1536, the Irish Parliament followed the example of its English counterpart and declared **Henry VIII** head of the Irish Church. Suppression of the monasteries in the English **Pale** followed in 1539–1540, with monastic lands going eventually to **Anglo-Irish** landowners, government leaders in **Dublin**, and about 20 Englishmen. Outside the Pale, where the authority of the Dublin government was slight or nonexistent, most monasteries continued to function.

Significant resistance to English religious policies did not appear until the reign of **Edward VI**, when the government abolished the **Mass** and appointed Protestants to Irish bishoprics. By restoring Catholic practice, **Mary I** stifled this opposition after 1553. However, **Elizabeth I**'s accession in 1558 restored **Protestantism** to the Irish Church. Like the English Parliament in 1559, the Irish Parliament of 1560 passed an Act of **Supremacy** declaring Elizabeth supreme governor of the Church and an Act of **Uniformity** mandating use of the **Book of Common Prayer** for all worship services. All citizens were required to attend church on Sunday or be fined 12 pence for their recusancy.

Up to this point, the Irish and English Reformation experiences had been similar, but after 1560 they diverged, with Protestantism taking strong root in England but becoming a minority faith in Ireland. The reasons for Protestantism's failure in Ireland were several. The Dublin government controlled only part of the island and was never able to consistently enforce religious uniformity. Also, the Irish Church had few Protestant clergymen; most had to be brought from England, a circumstance that strengthened the perception that Protestantism was a foreign imposition and not an Irish movement. Finally, the weakness of the Protestant Church of Ireland gave Catholicism time to regroup and allowed priests from Catholic Europe to revive Irish Catholicism. The Catholic Church won the allegiance of the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish by identifying itself with resistance to English political and cultural conquest. By Elizabeth's death in 1603, England had won political control of Ireland, but Catholicism had won religious dominance in the island.

See also Anglican Settlement; Catholic Reformation; Recusants; Reformation, English; Reformation, Scottish; Reformation, Welsh; Royal Supremacy

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Reformation, Scottish

Reformation in Scotland was not initiated by the Crown, as occurred in England, but in opposition to the Crown and as a nationalistic reaction to the perception that a foreign power was imposing **Catholicism**. This perception was the reverse of the contemporaneous situation in **Ireland**, where **Protestantism** suffered from its identification with the English government in **Dublin**. The death of **James V** in 1542 left Scotland to be governed by a series of regents for James's infant daughter, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. The weakness of the government allowed the spread of Calvinist ideas, especially in **Edinburgh** and the towns of the southern lowlands. By the late 1550s, Mary was in **France**, and the regency was held by her French mother, Marie de **Guise**, whose government was supported by French troops.

By 1559, when the regent tried to suppress John **Knox** and the influential Protestant preachers, Protestantism came to be identified with friendship for England, while Catholicism meant alliance with France. To protect the Protestant preachers, the powerful Lords of the Congregation, a confederation of Protestant landholders, took arms against the Catholic regent and her French troops. **Elizabeth I** broke the ensuing military stalemate in 1560 by sending English troops into Scotland to support the Lords. The death of Marie de Guise and the conclusion of the Treaty of **Edinburgh** in the summer of 1560 led to the withdrawal of all foreign troops and left the Lords of the Congregation in control.

In August 1560, the Scottish **Parliament** abolished papal authority, banned the **Mass**, and established a presbyterian church based on Calvinist doctrines and independent of the Crown. When Mary, Queen of Scots, returned to Scotland in 1561, she promoted tolerance for fellow Catholics but reluctantly accepted the Protestant national church. After Mary's deposition in 1567, the various regency governments of young James VI were unquestionably Protestant but sought to impose a greater measure of royal control on the Scottish Church. In 1572, the government restored bishops as a means of reestablishing this control. Between 1578 and 1610, the authority of the bishops waxed or waned depending on the political position of the king. By James's death in 1625, the Scottish Church was still an unusual hybrid, a presbyterian church with bishops.

See also Calvinism, English; James I; Presbyterian Movement; Reformation, English; Reformation, Irish; Reformation, Welsh

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Reformation, Welsh

The Reformation in **Wales** was imposed from above by the English Crown in the same manner and at the same time as Reformation was undertaken in England. **Protestantism** was not nearly as strong in Wales in the 1530s and 1540s as it was in England during those decades. Wales exhibited much less **anticlericalism** than did England, and, being on the western coast of Britain, lacked the close and regular contacts with Europe that had brought reformist ideas and writings into **London** and southeastern England. Although Wales did not send representatives to **Parliament** until 1542, all the religious statutes enacted by the **Reformation Parliament** in the 1530s applied to Wales, as well as to England.

Henry VIII's chief advantage in his successful effort to alter religion in Wales was the strong bond of loyalty and affection the Welsh people felt for the Welsh House of **Tudor**. Also, most of the important noble and **gentry** families of Wales quickly conformed to the Crown's religious dictates, thus reinforcing a habit of conformity among the common people of Wales. By **Elizabeth I**'s reign, Welsh reformers and antiquaries supplemented loyalty to the dynasty with arguments that presented the **Anglican Church** as a restoration of the early Celtic Church of Wales stripped of the impurities with which it had been polluted over the centuries by the Church of Rome.

In 1563, Parliament authorized a Welsh translation of the **Bible**, which was undertaken by a small group of Welsh reformers, largely at their own expense. Richard **Davies**, bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. David's, and reformer William **Salesbury**, who had published an English-Welsh dictionary in 1547, published Welsh translations of the New Testament and the **Book of Common Prayer** in 1567. Although Salesbury did most of the translating, the two men shared the cost of the project. A Welsh translation of the entire Bible, completed by William **Morgan**, bishop of the Welsh diocese of St. Asaph, appeared in 1588. These translations combined with Elizabeth's appointment of native Welshmen to Welsh bishoprics to firmly establish Protestantism and the Anglican Church in Wales by the queen's death in 1603.

See also Antiquarianism; Reformation, English; Reformation, Irish; Reformation, Scottish

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Reformation Parliament

Because it enacted the legislative program that withdrew the English Church from papal allegiance and placed it under the Crown, the fifth Parliament of **Henry VIII** became known as the Reformation Parliament. Convening in November 1529 and sitting for seven sessions until its dissolution in April 1536, the Reformation Parliament, by providing statutory confirmation of the revolutionary changes arising from the English **Reformation**, greatly enlarged the scope, authority, and competence of all future **Parliaments**.

In August 1529, the government ordered elections to the House of Commons and issued writs of summons to the House of Lords for a new Parliament to meet at Blackfriars Monastery in **London** on 3 November. Since the dissolution of the fourth Parliament of the reign in August 1523, the king had become entangled in a fruitless attempt to secure from Rome an annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. In July, a legatine court headed by Cardinals Thomas **Wolsey** and Lorenzo **Campeggio** failed to dissolve the marriage, thereby throwing Wolsey into disgrace and forcing Henry to cast about for another means to achieve his purpose. Hoping that Parliament would provide those means and also vote the Crown much-needed taxation, Henry consented to the new session.

The Commons that assembled at Blackfriars comprised 310 members: 74 knights of the shire and 236 burgesses from parliamentary boroughs. The Lords had 107 members: 57 titled peers and 50 ecclesiastics, the latter including 19 bishops, 2 archbishops, and 29 abbots and priors of religious houses. Although the election to the Commons of many men with government connections prompted complaints that the government had unduly influenced elections to “pack” the house with supporters, modern research has dismissed such charges and found the Reformation Commons to be largely representative of the political realm.

The first session (November–December 1529) elected Sir Thomas **Audley** as Speaker of the Commons and moved the Parliament’s sitting to Westminster, where it remained for the rest of its life. With the government as yet unsure how to proceed with the **divorce**, the strongly anticlerical Commons seized the initiative and submitted petitions complaining of various clerical abuses, which resulted in the passage of bills curbing excessive probate and mortuary fees and limiting the practices of pluralism and nonresidence. The second session (January–March 1531) revolved around **Convocation**’s qualified recognition of Henry as supreme

head of the Church. Threatened with **praemunire**, Convocation bought their pardon, which was embodied in a statute passed by Parliament, with the granting of a huge subsidy. Other measures passed in this session include limitations on the right of sanctuary and a harsh law against begging.

The third session (January–May 1532) was characterized by stronger government direction, now being provided by the king's new chief minister, Thomas **Cromwell**. A government program aimed at making the king head of a Church severed from Rome, and thereby able to settle the divorce without reference to the pope, led to passage of the Act in Restraint of **Annates**, which conditionally withdrew the payment of taxes and fees to the papacy. Passage by the Commons of the ***Supplication against the Ordinaries***, a petition complaining of various clerical abuses, allowed the king to pressure Convocation into surrendering its legislative independence to the Crown. Various other measures proposed by the government in this session—improving navigation, reforming land law, and controlling trade and industry—indicate the government's growing use of Parliament as the chief instrument for regulating the economy and shaping society.

The fourth (February–April 1533), fifth (January–March 1534), and sixth (November–December 1534) sessions resolved the divorce question and tackled a host of important social and economic issues. The Act in **Restraint of Appeals**, the **Dispensations Act**, and the Act of **Supremacy** freed the English Church from papal authority and placed it firmly under the Crown, while the **Treasons Act** provided means for enforcement of this new arrangement. Acts of **attainder** destroyed various opponents of the king's proceedings, including Elizabeth **Barton**, the Nun of Kent, and Bishop John **Fisher**. Other important legislation passed during these sessions fixed food prices, encouraged the cloth trade, limited **enclosures**, and regulated dress. The Act for **First Fruits and Tenths** combined with the grant of a subsidy to provide the government with a substantial new revenue and to establish the important precedent of voting taxation during peacetime.

The seventh and last session (February–April 1536) saw the passage of 63 acts, including the second Act of **Succession**, which settled the descent of the Crown; the act dissolving the lesser monasteries, which eventually removed priors and abbots from the Lords and made that house more secular; the Welsh Act of Union, which incorporated **Wales** into the English political and administrative system; and the Statute of **Uses**, which strengthened collection of the Crown's feudal dues. Thus, upon its dissolution on 14 April 1536, the Reformation Parliament had substantially broadened its range of activities, thereby making the king-in-Parliament the unquestioned sovereign authority in the realm.

See also Anticlericalism; Dissolution of the Monasteries; Peerage; Poor Laws; Sumptuary Laws

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Regnans in Excelsis

Promulgated by Pope **Pius V** in February 1570, the bull (papal edict) *Regnans in Excelsis* excommunicated **Elizabeth I**, deprived her of her title to the Crown of England, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance to her. A papal court tried Elizabeth in absentia and found her to have unjustly seized control of the kingdom of England and the English Church, over which the pope was declared to have true headship. Elizabeth was also found guilty of appointing heretical ministers, abolishing Catholic worship, persecuting Catholic worshippers, and compelling her subjects to forsake the pope and embrace **heresy**.

Besides cutting Elizabeth off from the Roman Catholic Church, the bull also excommunicated any English subjects who continued to obey her and recognize her authority. After waiting for a decade after Elizabeth's accession for her return to Roman Catholicism, the pope issued *Regnans in Excelsis* in 1570 to encourage the northern rebels of the previous year by assuring them that their actions in forcibly restoring Catholic worship in the areas under their control were lawful and justified. Pius issued the bull without consulting any Catholic ruler, and both **Philip II of Spain** and Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II strongly disapproved of the pope's action.

Pius made no attempt to persuade any Catholic power to take military action against England to put the bull into effect. In England, the bull put Catholics into a difficult position. It gave the government grounds to view all English Catholics as potential traitors, and severe **penal laws** were passed against Catholics in the **Parliament** of 1571 and in subsequent Parliaments. In the next decades, especially with the coming of the Spanish **Armada** in 1588, English Catholics had to choose between their faith and their country. Although most Catholics chose their country by denying or ignoring the pope's power to deprive the queen of her title, the continual plots of the supporters of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, such as the **Babington Plot** and the **Ridolfi Plot**, and of the Jesuits active in England made life difficult for both the English government and English Catholics throughout the reign.

See also Catholicism, English; Jesuit Mission; Northern Rebellion; Recusants

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Regulated Company

The merchant members of a regulated trading company, unlike the investors in a **joint-stock company**, traded with their own capital and at their own risk and profit. Members paid an entrance fee and followed the general guidelines and restrictions laid down by the company, but otherwise conducted their own business largely in their own way. Regulated companies were an older form of trading enterprise than the joint-stock company, and they tended to be the preferred method of conducting trade in established markets, such as the cloth markets of western Europe, where English merchants had done business for hundreds of years.

Because they did not personally conduct trade, the investors in a joint-stock trading company did not need to be merchants themselves, simply individuals with capital to invest. The members of a regulated trading company were always merchants because they conducted all trade on their own for themselves, not on behalf of the company. The largest regulated company in Tudor England was the **Merchant Adventurers**, an association of wool and cloth merchants, whose trade centered on the **Netherlands** and western Europe. Other regulated companies formed during the Elizabethan period included the **Eastland Company**, the **Guinea Company**, and the short-lived Morocco Company.

See also Cloth Industry; East India Company; Levant Company; Muscovy Company

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Renard, Simon (c. 1513–1573)

Simon Renard, **Charles V**'s ambassador at the court of **Mary I**, exercised an extraordinary degree of influence over the queen and her government because



Simon Renard was Charles V's ambassador to the court of Mary I and he used his considerable influence with the queen to further Spanish interests in England. (Musée du Temps, Besançon, France/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library)

he was the representative of her royal cousin and longtime protector. Born at Vesoul in the Franche-Comté, Renard, although French in language and culture, was an Imperial subject. An ambitious and talented man, Renard was educated at the University of Louvain, where he befriended Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the later Imperial minister and son of the Imperial chancellor. After 1540, the chancellor gave Renard a series of increasingly responsible posts. Named to the Council of State in 1548 and raised to the **peerage** as Seigneur de Barmont in 1549, Renard was soon after appointed Imperial ambassador to **France**, where his pessimistic tendencies led him to believe that renewal of the Franco-Imperial war was inevitable. Recalled to the Imperial **court** in 1551, Renard was thereafter sent to the Council of **Trent**, which was devising a program of Catholic reform, and to the Franche-Comté to persuade the provincial estates to provide war funds. In 1552, he served with the Imperial army at Metz but fell ill and retired from court until his appointment in June 1553 as one of three extraordinary ambassadors to England.

Arriving in **London** only hours before **Edward VI**'s death, Renard and his colleagues were initially convinced that **Northumberland's Coup**, the attempt to enthrone Jane **Grey**, would be successful. However, after her victory, Queen Mary turned naturally to the representatives of her trusted cousin for advice and support. As the most able member of the embassy, Renard soon engineered his colleagues' recall and began to steer the queen toward marriage with Charles's son, Prince **Philip**. Advising the queen, against her natural inclinations, to deal severely with **treason** and leniently with **heresy**, Renard sought always to tie England firmly to the Imperial interest. In February 1554, at the height of **Wyatt's Rebellion**, an uprising against the Spanish marriage, Renard advised the queen not to flee London, a display of courage that won Mary much support and undercut the rebels' appeal. After the rebellion, Renard again counseled severity, especially against Princess Elizabeth, whom he painted as a threat to Philip and the marriage. By April, Renard's influence was such that he began negotiating with royal ministers in an effort to reform the council and make it more responsive to Imperial policy.

Renard's greatest triumph, the marriage of Philip and Mary in July 1554, also signaled the end of his influence. Although Renard was not recalled until September 1555, his position of trust with the queen fell immediately and naturally to Philip, with whom Renard found little favor. In the 1560s, Renard fought and lost a political duel for control of the Dutch Council of State with his former friend Cardinal Granvelle. Thus, by his death on 8 August 1573, Renard was in disgrace and his career in ruins.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Elizabeth I

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Requests, Court of

The Court of Requests, known also as the Court of Poor Men's Causes, was a **prerogative** court of **equity** that developed out of the Tudor council as a means of providing speedy, efficient redress for subjects too poor to avail themselves of the costly and complicated procedures of the courts of **common law**.

As early as the mid-fourteenth century, members of the council had sat to consider the requests and petitions brought to the king by subjects unable or unlikely to obtain redress in a court of common law. Although a clerk of requests was appointed in 1483 to collect and process the supplications of poor petitioners, the first records of the council of requests date from 1493. Under **Henry VII**, that council had no formal composition and no set location; it simply comprised a group of royal councillors meeting wherever the king was in residence to consider requests submitted to him. From 1497, the council of requests began to observe the same annual terms as the common law courts and the council in **Star Chamber**. The keeper of the Privy Seal often sat as the president of the council of requests, and, by the end of Henry VII's reign, certain councillors may have specialized in the hearing of requests. Until the reign of **Henry VIII**, the distinction between the council of requests and the council sitting in Star Chamber was vague. The main difference was that Star Chamber handled both criminal and civil cases, while the council of requests confined itself to the latter, especially cases concerning trade, property, contracts, family law, and fraud. By 1509, the notion that the council of requests determined only poor persons' causes had become a fiction. Many plaintiffs of substantial means brought or had their cases sent to requests as the most effective and expeditious venue for resolution of their matter.

In about 1516, Thomas **Wolsey** permanently headquartered the council of requests at White Hall. Called the court of White Hall until 1529, when it became officially known as the Court of Requests, the body was still associated with the judicial workings of the council. However, from the late 1530s, royal councillors gradually ceased to sit on Requests, and two permanent professional judges were added to the court in about 1550. Known as masters of requests, they eventually took over direction of the court, formalizing its rules of procedure and abandoning meetings during fixed terms in favor of year-round accessibility.

A case began when a subject presented a petition to the monarch. The defendant was required to answer the petition, and evidence was gathered by questions put to witnesses who were compelled to appear before the court. Requests was more popular than the common law Court of **Common Pleas**, whose jurisdiction in civil cases it paralleled, because its procedures were simpler, speedier, and less costly. By the Elizabethan period, Common Pleas began interfering in the hearing of cases by Requests, claiming that Requests lacked any proper authority to hear suits because its existence was not based on royal grant, ancient custom, or parliamentary statute. Requests continued to function until the start of the civil war in 1642. Although not specifically abolished by statute like Star Chamber, the Court of Requests was not reestablished after the monarchy was restored in 1660.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Restraint of Appeals, Act in

Enacted by the **Reformation Parliament** in April 1533, the Act in Restraint of Appeals abolished English appeals to papal courts in matters involving ecclesiastical law and policy. The immediate, though unstated goal of the statute was to authorize English **church courts** to annul **Henry VIII's** marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** without recourse to Rome. Although probably not recognized as such by most of those who voted for it, the act was revolutionary in its broader consequences. By acknowledging that the Crown had, by divine right, full authority in the realm over all spiritual matters, the statute effectively transferred the English Church from papal to royal control.

Although frustration had caused him to issue vague threats against the pope, Henry VIII initially considered the annulling of his marriage to be a matter under papal jurisdiction and requiring papal action. However, in September 1530, the king's approach changed radically. From the various pro-divorce evidences collected by his advisors in the compilation of documents known as the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa*, Henry determined that the Crown of England had been imbued by God with an imperial authority that encompassed all causes arising within the realm, whether temporal or spiritual. Papal claims of jurisdiction over English

ecclesiastical affairs were therefore unfounded, unjust, and usurped. The king could himself authorize the English Church to hear and decide the case for annulment, without any possibility of appeal to the pope or any other foreign power. Although originally a device for eliminating Catherine's right of appeal to Rome, the royal claim to imperial power soon broadened into a full-scale attack on all papal authority in England. Because English common and canon lawyers were not initially enthusiastic about the royal claims, Henry and his advisors, now led increasingly by Thomas **Cromwell**, initiated a series of steps designed to compel the Church to acknowledge royal headship.

In 1531, the threat of **praemunire** wrested a qualified acceptance of **royal supremacy** from **Convocation**; in 1532, the **Submission of the Clergy** secured a complete surrender that was sealed in 1533 by papal confirmation of the strongly Erastian cleric Thomas **Cranmer** as archbishop of Canterbury. Between September 1532 and its introduction into **Parliament** on 14 March 1533, the appeals bill went through eight successive revisions. The preamble of the draft finally submitted to the Commons contains a claim to English national sovereignty that is one of the most famous passages in Tudor statute: "Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and owe to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience" (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 344).

The statute declares that all English testamentary and matrimonial matters, as well as all matters concerning ecclesiastical income, be decided within the kingdom, regardless of any contrary claims or sanctions made by foreign jurisdictions. Final appeal of any such case was to rest with the appropriate archbishop, or, in matters touching the king, with the upper house of the appropriate Convocation. The statute allowed Archbishop Cranmer to annul the Aragon marriage in May, which in turn allowed public announcement of the king's marriage to Anne **Boleyn** and her coronation as queen on 1 June. Although the Appeals Act represented the most momentous step in the break with Rome, some ties with the papacy, involving other jurisdictional claims and the payment of such fees as **annates**, were not abrogated until the following year with the passage of such statutes as the **Dispensations Act** and the Act for **First Fruits and Tithes**.

See also Divorce, Royal; Erastianism

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Revenue and Taxation

The ordinary revenues with which the Crown supported itself and conducted the business of government came from a variety of sources. As opposed to extraordinary revenue—taxation that could only be granted by vote of **Parliament**—the Crown's ordinary revenues belonged to the monarch by right and could be spent without approval from Parliament. Royal estates generated the largest portion of Crown revenues. This revenue also included income generated by lands forfeited to the Crown through **treason** and, from the late 1530s, by the monastic properties confiscated by Henry VIII during the **dissolution of the monasteries**. Although many of the monastic lands had been sold or granted away by the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, the Crown's annual revenues from land in the late sixteenth century varied between £50,000 and £100,000.

The Crown also received revenue from the profits of justice—the fines, fees, and assessments of the royal courts—and from the income deriving from the Crown's ancient feudal rights. The most important feudal assessments were livery, a small tax paid by heirs upon inheriting land legally held of the Crown, and wardship, the monarch's right to hold the lands and dispose of the marriages of minors. Crown revenue from wardship eventually reached £15,000 per year. Henry VIII and his successors also derived another £15,000 each year from two taxes on the clergy—first fruits, a one-time payment representing a portion of the first year's income of any church **benefice**, and tenths, a fixed annual payment representing a percentage of the yearly income of a benefice. Before the Reformation, these payments had gone to the pope.

The **customs revenue**, taxes on imports and exports, was another important revenue component, averaging £75,000 per year under Elizabeth. The monarch also relied on loans, both from **London** merchants and from foreign lenders. The Crown also obtained indirect financial benefit from the right of **purveyance**, by which it could set the price it would pay for needed commodities. By the end of the Tudor period, the Crown's annual income from all sources, including parliamentary taxation, was over £250,000.

To meet budgetary shortfalls or to fight wars, the English monarch had to ask Parliament for grants of extraordinary taxation to supplement the Crown's ordinary revenues. The medieval view was that subjects had a duty to support the government with taxes in times of emergency. Deciding when emergencies existed had always been left to the Crown. Nonetheless, the expectation was that monarchs would fund the ordinary workings of government out of their own revenues and not trouble Parliament for taxation.

By the sixteenth century, the costs of government, of maintaining the monarch and the royal **court**, and, especially, of waging war, had risen dramatically, while the Crown's ordinary revenues had risen only slightly or declined. Henry VIII's wars of the 1540s left the regency governments of **Edward VI** in a serious financial bind. Although Elizabeth was a frugal monarch who had no family to support, she had to turn increasingly to Parliament to meet expenses, particularly after the start of war with **Spain** in 1585. Since the late fifteenth century, the first Parliament of a reign had granted the monarch the right to collect customs duties for life, as the Parliament of 1559 did for Elizabeth. However, the usual parliamentary grant was the tenth and fifteenth, a tax assessed on movable property. By Elizabethan times, this tax no longer reflected the actual value of property but was set at a fixed amount, with one tenth and fifteenth raising about £30,000 from the laity and about one-third that amount from the clergy. If the government required more money, it asked for several tenths and fifteenths and often spread collection (which was handled in the counties by the **justices of the peace**) over several years.

From Henry VIII's reign, the government began asking for subsidies, a tax in varying percentages on land, goods, fees, and wages that was to be reassessed each time it was granted to reflect the true value of the taxable items. Depending on the rate asked for, a subsidy could raise over £100,000. However, by Elizabeth's reign, the subsidy, like the tenth and fifteenth, had begun to harden into a lesser fixed amount, and the queen had to ask for several subsidies at one time.

See also Fiscal Feudalism; Tithes

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Rich, Penelope, Lady Rich (1563–1607)

The inspiration for “Stella” in Sir Philip **Sidney**'s cycle of love **sonnets**, Penelope Rich, Lady Rich, may also have been the mysterious “dark lady” to whom William

Shakespeare alluded in some of his sonnets. She was born Penelope Devereux, daughter of Walter **Devereux**, first Earl of Essex, and brother of the second earl, Robert **Devereux**, Elizabeth's **favorite** in the 1590s.

Penelope was proposed as a bride for Philip Sidney in 1576, but her father died before the match could be arranged, and she was instead married in 1581 to the unattractive but wealthy Robert Rich, Lord Rich, by her guardian, Henry **Hastings**, Earl of Huntingdon. Sidney, however, fell deeply in love with Penelope, his almost bride. How much Lady Rich encouraged Sidney's attentions is uncertain, for she had fallen in love with Charles **Blount**, Lord Mountjoy, whose mistress she became after Sidney's death in 1586. Sidney poured his passion for Lady Rich into the ***Astrophel and Stella*** sonnets, which are addressed to Lady Rich as "Stella."

In the 1590s, Lady Rich and her lover Mountjoy were strong supporters of her brother Essex. When Essex fell into disgrace in 1599 after his questionable undertakings as lord deputy of **Ireland**, Mountjoy was sent to **Dublin** in his place. Lady Rich also fell into disfavor for writing an impertinent letter to **Elizabeth I** in her brother's behalf. Although implicated in her brother's conspiracy in 1601, Lady Rich suffered only a brief spell of house arrest. She lived in retirement until Elizabeth's death in 1603, when she was welcomed back to **court** by **James I** and made a lady of the bedchamber to Queen Anne.

In 1605, Lord Rich divorced her, and she secretly married Mountjoy (by then, Earl of Devonshire), by whom she had given birth to five children (she had six by Lord Rich). She died in 1607. The theory that Lady Rich was Shakespeare's "dark lady" (not blonde, as preferred by Elizabethan notions of beauty) was proposed in the nineteenth century. The sonnets describe a woman who was sensual, desirable, and promiscuous (she apparently seduced the poet's friend), qualities that could describe Lady Rich, who was known as a great beauty. However, most modern Shakespeare scholars either reject the theory or consider it unprovable.

See also Essex's Rebellion; Ladies-in-Waiting

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Rich, Richard, Lord Rich (c. 1496–1567)

Best known as the witness upon whose testimony Sir Thomas **More** was convicted of **treason**, Richard Rich (or Riche) was also a successful royal servant who held

various important offices, including lord chancellor of England. Demonstrating a flexibility in matters both religious and political, as well as high ambition and a genuine belief in obedience to the Crown, Rich served four Tudor monarchs and survived as many changes in religion.

Born in Hampshire, Rich trained in the law at the Middle Temple, one of the **Inns of Court in London**. After several unsuccessful attempts to obtain office by bringing himself to the attention of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, Rich was elected to the **Reformation Parliament** in 1529. In 1533, Rich, perhaps through the influence of Thomas **Audley**, Speaker of the Commons, became solicitor-general, an office that involved him in the drafting of various important statutes, including the bill for the dissolution of lesser monasteries. As solicitor-general, Rich also participated in the examination and prosecution of the leading figures brought to trial in the 1530s for opposition to the royal **divorce**, including Elizabeth **Barton** and Bishop John **Fisher**.

Because his testimony convicted More in 1535, Rich was subsequently depicted by More's apologists, particularly More's son-in-law and biographer William **Roper**, as a perjurer who advanced his own ambitions by betraying More. According to Roper, More himself charged Rich with perjury at the trial. Modern research has modified this view, although it is still the popular portrayal of Rich (as attested by the 1966 film *A Man for All Seasons*). Rich may have committed perjury, or he may have embellished his statement in the heat of the moment, but he may also have given an accurate account of the **Tower of London** conversation with More that was the subject of his testimony. Contemporary accounts of the trial make no mention of the perjury accusation, and More may indeed have said more than he intended to Rich.

In 1536, Rich, sitting as knight of the shire for Essex, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. In the same year, he became a member of the **council** and chancellor of the Court of **Augmentations**, a position that allowed him to build a considerable landed estate in Essex. In 1544, he managed finances for the French war with Lord Chancellor Thomas **Wriothesley**, with whom he was later accused of personally racking the suspected heretic Anne **Askew**. Raised to the **peerage** at **Edward VI**'s accession in 1547, Rich shortly thereafter succeeded Wriothesley as chancellor, having assisted Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, in arranging Wriothesley's dismissal. In 1549, Rich supported the coup that overthrew Somerset but was himself dismissed by Somerset's supplanter, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, in 1551.

Although Rich signed the *Devise* making Jane **Grey** heir to the throne, he declared for Princess Mary upon Edward's death and thereby retained a place on the new queen's council. Despite his high office in the Protestant regimes of the previous reign, Rich vigorously enforced the Catholic restoration in Essex, presiding at the burning of a number of heretics. After 1558, Rich remained a councillor

to **Mary I**'s Protestant successor, **Elizabeth I**. Although the new queen did not appoint him to office, Rich was influential in his county, sitting again for Essex in the **Parliaments** of 1559 and 1566. Rich died in Essex on 12 June 1567.

See also Dissolution of the Monasteries; Northumberland's Coup

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Richard III (1452–1485)

Richard III was the last king of the House of **York**. His death in battle in 1485 ended the **Wars of the Roses** and initiated the rule of the House of **Tudor**. Born in October 1452, Richard was the youngest son of Richard, Duke of York, who challenged the ruling House of **Lancaster** for possession of the throne in 1460. Although Richard's father died in battle in December 1460, his eldest brother secured the throne as **Edward IV** in March 1461. In June, Richard was created Duke of Gloucester and given liberal grants of land and office. In October 1470, when **Henry VI** of Lancaster regained the Crown, Gloucester accompanied Edward into exile. Returning with Edward in March 1471, Gloucester, now 18, commanded the van of the Yorkist army during the campaign that restored Edward to the throne. Although various reports implicated Gloucester in the murders of Henry VI and his son Prince Edward, the duke's direct involvement in either death cannot now be proven.

In the 1470s, Gloucester's marriage to Anne Neville made him heir to the Neville influence in the north, where he resided after 1475. By 1480, Gloucester had constructed an extensive affinity in the north, which he governed on Edward's behalf. In 1475, Gloucester participated in Edward's invasion of **France** and in the early 1480s led several campaigns into **Scotland**. In 1478, Gloucester was suspected of encouraging Edward to eliminate their troublesome brother, George, Duke of Clarence, although no evidence links Gloucester directly to the duke's execution.

When Edward died in April 1483, Gloucester immediately swore allegiance to his nephew, **Edward V**. However, the duke suspected Queen Elizabeth **Woodville** and her ambitious family of using their influence with Edward to control the government. Gloucester therefore seized the king and frightened the queen into taking sanctuary at Westminster. In June, after being named lord protector by the **council**, Gloucester arrested and executed various nobles loyal to the young king and secured custody of Edward V's brother, the Duke of York. Having at some



Richard III was the last king of the House of York and the controversies surrounding him still fascinate people today. (Corel)

point concluded that his best interests required him to take the throne, Gloucester launched a propaganda campaign to discredit his nephews' right to the Crown. Although the duke was crowned king as Richard III on 6 July 1483, his regime, which was almost immediately met by rumors that Edward and York had been murdered in the **Tower of London**, never overcame the opposition generated by the usurpation.

The failure of an October 1483 uprising aimed at crowning the remaining Lancastrian heir, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, drove many southern gentlemen into exile. Forced to intrude his northern supporters into the leadership of southern counties, Richard reaped further ill will, which only intensified the condemnation and mistrust arising from his silence regarding the disappearance of his nephews. The death of his son in 1484 and of his queen in 1485 further weakened his position and led to damaging rumors that Richard intended to marry his niece, **Elizabeth of York**. Accused of tyranny and suspected of murder, the king confronted Richmond at **Bosworth Field** in August 1485. The defection of Thomas **Stanley**, Lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William **Stanley**, combined with the lukewarm adherence of other lords, led to Richard's defeat and death.

After Bosworth, the continuing mystery surrounding the fate of the princes, and **Henry VII's** need to secure the new dynasty, fostered the writing of a series of works that progressively blackened Richard's reputation. Culminating in William **Shakespeare's** *Richard III* and answered later by many passionate defenses of Richard, these writings created a controversy that continues today.

See also Princes in the Tower

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Richmond, Countess of

See Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby

Richmond, Duchess of

See Howard, Mary, Duchess of Richmond

Richmond, Duke of

See Fitzroy, Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset

Richmond, Earl of

See Henry VII; Tudor, Edmund, Earl of Richmond

Richmond, Treaty of

See Hampton Court, Treaty of

Richmond Palace

Richmond Place in Surrey was a favorite residence of both **Henry VIII** and **Elizabeth I**. When the old royal palace of Sheen burned down in 1497, **Henry VII** immediately replaced it with a large new structure that he called Richmond, the title of his former earldom. Located along the Thames southwest of **London**, Richmond became a symbol of the power and glory of the new **Tudor** dynasty.

Laid out around a series of large courts, the palace covered 10 acres and was surrounded by gardens, fruit orchards, and elm-lined walks. Of the three main courts, the outer Wardrobe Court was formed by two-story brick buildings that contained lodgings for members of the **court**. The Middle Court was flanked by the great hall and the royal chapel, which were each 100 feet long and 40 feet across. The great windows in the hall were separated by paintings of England's great warrior kings, including Henry VII as victor of the Battle of **Bosworth Field**. The windows of the richly decorated chapel were interspersed with paintings of England's most saintly kings, including Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund. The last of the main courts, the higher and more ornate Inner Court, housed the royal apartments and was ringed by 14 towers topped with onion domes that were themselves crowned with painted weather vanes that sang in the wind. Each of the main courts gave way to three or four subsidiary courts that housed offices, stables, and storerooms. The palace also boasted 18 kitchens, the noise and bustle of which impressed the Spaniards who stayed at Richmond with **Philip II** during **Mary I**'s reign.

Elizabeth loved Richmond not only because it was built by her grandfather, whose memory she honored, but also for more practical reasons. The palace had an ingenious custom-built plumbing system that gave it an excellent supply of fresh water drawn from two nearby springs. And even more important in the cold, damp English climate, Richmond's chambers and state rooms were free of drafts, leading

Elizabeth to call the palace “a warm nest for my old age.” The queen spent her last weeks at Richmond, dying in the palace on 24 March 1603.

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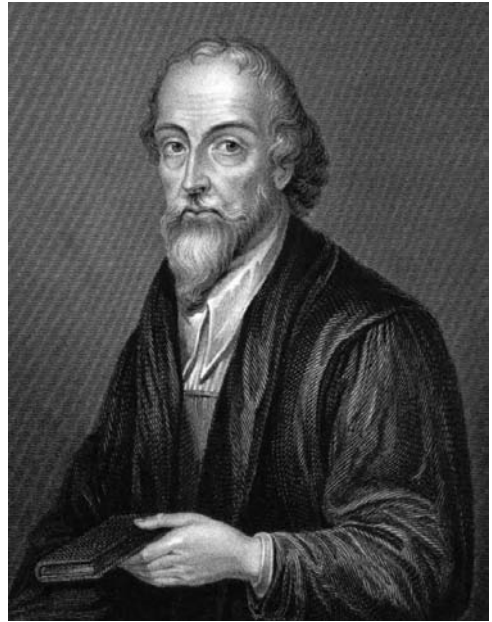
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Ridley, Nicholas (c. 1500–1555)

Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of **London**, was a leading English reformer and a prominent **Marian martyr**. Born in Northumberland, Ridley entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1518. Elected a fellow of Pembroke in 1524, Ridley completed his master's degree in about 1526. He studied divinity at the universities of Paris and Louvain from 1527 until 1530, when he returned to Cambridge to become junior treasurer of Pembroke, proctor of the university, and, in 1534, chaplain to the university. Having acquired a high reputation as a debater and **Bible** scholar, Ridley won the patronage of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, who made Ridley his chaplain in 1537 and provided him with a Kentish **benefice** in 1538. After completing his doctorate of divinity in 1540, Ridley received a series of promotions, becoming master of Pembroke Hall and royal chaplain in 1540, chaplain to Prince Edward and canon of Canterbury in 1541, and canon of Westminster in 1545. Residing mainly at Herne, his living in Kent, Ridley sought to resolve his growing doubts about the Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**; he therefore devoted himself to a study of scripture and the Church Fathers. By 1546, Ridley had embraced the Calvinist view of the Eucharist, seeing it as a symbolic partaking of Christ's body and blood, not a repetition of the sacrifice on Calvary.

In September 1547, eight months after the accession of **Edward VI**, Ridley became bishop of Rochester. Working with Cranmer, whom he had



Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, was a prominent reformer who served on the commission that helped draft the first *Book of Common Prayer*. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 2. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

converted to his view of the Eucharist, Ridley played a leading role in implementing Protestant reform of the Church's liturgy and doctrine. Although he served on the commission that helped draft the first **Book of Common Prayer** in 1549, he later believed that laypeople would find the final wording on the Eucharist unhelpfully vague. Upon Edmund **Bonner**'s deprivation in 1550, Ridley became bishop of London. He initiated an immediate visitation of the diocese to abolish all unauthorized ceremonies and, in accord with his stand on the Eucharist, to replace all altars with Communion tables. Anxious to have only sound reformed doctrine taught in his diocese, Ridley appointed numerous Protestant preachers and preached regularly himself. An active promoter of social justice, Ridley opposed the confiscation or misuse of Church property for political purposes and encouraged the king to found numerous **grammar schools** and hospitals.

Because he supported **Northumberland's Coup**, preaching at **Paul's Cross** for the enthronement of Jane **Grey** and the rejection of Princess Mary, Ridley was committed to the **Tower of London** after the princess succeeded as **Mary I** in July 1553. In 1554, Ridley was taken to Oxford, where he was forced to defend his views in public disputation before a hostile audience. Twice tried and excommunicated, Ridley refused all attempts to persuade him to recant. With Hugh **Latimer**, Ridley was burned at the stake in Oxford on 16 October 1555.

See also Calvinism, English; Commonwealth Men; Education; Eucharist, Views of the

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Ridolfi, Roberto (1531–1612)

A papal agent resident in England, Roberto Ridolfi gave his name to a Catholic conspiracy that led to the execution of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, and the near execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Born into a Florentine banking family, Ridolfi settled in England during the reign of **Mary I**, to whose government he frequently gave financial assistance.

In 1567, Ridolfi became a secret papal agent. Under the guise of his banking business, he acted as a contact for the pope with English Catholics and with the French and Spanish ambassadors. In 1568, Ridolfi involved himself in Norfolk's scheme to wed Mary and to have her recognized as heir to the English throne. In 1569, Ridolfi transferred a large sum of money from the pope to the leaders of the **Northern Rebellion**, an outgrowth of Norfolk's enterprise. In October 1569, the

government arrested Ridolfi. Although he admitted knowing of Norfolk's activities, he was able to convince William **Cecil**, who had employed Ridolfi on various financial matters, that his suspicious disbursements of funds were merely part of his normal banking business. Warned not to meddle further in affairs of state, Ridolfi was released in January 1570.

Cecil and the queen may have hoped to use such a well-connected man for their own purposes, but, if so, they were deceived, for Ridolfi immediately began coordinating a new plot that combined Norfolk's marriage scheme with a Spanish plan for assassinating Elizabeth and invading England from the **Netherlands**. Mary approved of the plan, and Ridolfi left England in March 1571 to explain the conspiracy to Pope **Pius V** and **Philip II** of **Spain**, who both endorsed the plan. From Rome, Ridolfi sent an associate back to England with letters for Norfolk and other English Catholics. The government uncovered the plot when it intercepted the agent and the letters.

When the Ridolfi Plot became public, the outcry against Mary was intense, especially in **Parliament**. Elizabeth managed with difficulty to save her Scottish cousin but was forced to consent reluctantly to Norfolk's execution, and he was beheaded in June 1572. After the failure of his conspiracy, Ridolfi, now barred forever from England, returned to Florence, where he died in February 1612.

John A. Wagner

See also Catholicism, English; Ridolfi Plot

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Ridolfi Plot

The Ridolfi Plot was a Catholic conspiracy against **Elizabeth I** coordinated by Roberto **Ridolfi**, an Italian banker living in England. Ridolfi was a secret papal agent who had brought *Regnans in Excelsis*, the papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth, into England in 1570. In 1571, Ridolfi concocted a plot with the Spanish ambassador, and others, that called for 6,000 Spanish troops from the **Netherlands** to invade England and bring money and arms to support the English Catholics who would join the invasion. Thomas **Howard**, fourth Duke of Norfolk, whom Ridolfi had persuaded to join the conspiracy, would raise a revolt in conjunction with the invasion and either rescue Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots (then confined in England), or seize Elizabeth. **Catholicism** would be restored in England, and Mary and Norfolk would jointly rule both **Scotland** and England.

The plotters later decided that Elizabeth would be assassinated, an action to which both **Philip II** of **Spain** and Pope **Pius V** agreed. Ridolfi left England to meet with the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands in March 1571; the plot began to unravel when one of Ridolfi's messengers to his fellow conspirators in England was captured and confessed all he knew. Norfolk was arrested and condemned for **treason**, and **Parliament** called for his and Mary's execution. The government expelled the Spanish ambassador, and Elizabeth allowed, for the first time, the publication of the **Casket Letters**, which seemed to prove Mary's complicity in the murder of her second husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley. Elizabeth was hesitant to execute either Mary or Norfolk, but finally consented to the duke's execution, which took place on 2 June 1572. The queen spared Mary despite the outcry against her. Ridolfi returned to **Italy** where he lived until 1612.

See also Darnley Murder

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Rizzio, David (c. 1533–1566)

David Rizzio (or Riccio) was a key figure in Scottish politics during the personal rule of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. An accomplished musician and singer, Rizzio began his career in his native **Italy**, performing at the court of the Duke of Savoy. In 1561, he accompanied the duke's ambassador to **Scotland**, where he won a position as a singer in the Scottish queen's private suite of performers. By 1564, Rizzio had advanced sufficiently in the queen's confidence to be appointed her French secretary. When Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, arrived in Scotland in 1565, Rizzio befriended him and promoted his marriage to the queen, a position that did not endear Rizzio to the queen's Protestant ministers, who were suspicious of Darnley's ambition and Rizzio's foreign birth and Catholicism. Nevertheless, Mary and Lord Darnley married that year.

When the queen became pregnant in late 1565, rumors began to circulate that Rizzio, not Darnley, was the father. Such gossip, and the queen's increasing reliance on Rizzio for advice, soon alienated the weak and unstable Darnley, who conspired with James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, then in exile in England, and other Protestant lords to rid the country of the queen's enemies, especially one "stranger [i.e., foreigner] Italian called David." On 9 March 1566, Darnley admitted an armed party led by Patrick, Lord Ruthven, into the palace at Holyrood, where they

invaded the queen's chambers and seized Rizzio as he sat at supper with Mary. Dragging Rizzio out of the pregnant queen's sight, but not her hearing, the murderers stabbed the secretary over 50 times, leaving Darnley's dagger in the corpse as a sign of his complicity in the act.

As he had turned on Rizzio, Darnley now betrayed his confederates, denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. To bolster her political position, Mary accepted Darnley's protestations of innocence, but she never forgave him for his part in Rizzio's murder. Within a year, Darnley was himself murdered. The career and death of David Rizzio revealed the deep and violent tensions that existed in Scotland between the Francophile Catholic queen and her increasingly Protestant subjects.

See also Darnley Murder; Ruthven Raid

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Roanoke Colony (1585)

In 1584, Walter **Raleigh** obtained a six-year grant from **Elizabeth I** to establish an English colony in North America. Raleigh immediately sent out the **Amadas-Barlowe expedition** to explore the east coast of the continent and locate a likely settlement site. After exploring Roanoke and Hatteras (Hatarask) islands and claiming the region for England, the expedition returned with a glowing description of the area and two Indians named Manteo and Wanchese. Hoping to secure the queen's financial backing for his colonization efforts, Raleigh named the newly explored region "Virginia," after the **Virgin Queen**. When this ploy failed, Raleigh attracted private backers by claiming that Virginia could supply England with commodities then only available from the Spanish-controlled Mediterranean.

In April 1585, six vessels carrying 600 men left Plymouth under the command of Sir Richard **Grenville**, Raleigh's cousin. By July, the colonization expedition had, with the aid of Manteo and Wanchese, established friendly relations with the Roanoke chief Wingina, who allowed the Englishmen to settle on the northern end of Roanoke Island. Because much of the colony's food supply had been lost when one of the ships ran aground, Grenville decided in August to leave a settlement of only about 100 men under Ralph **Lane** and to return to England with the rest of the colonists.

Seeking sources of immediate wealth, Lane began to explore the surrounding region and in the fall discovered Chesapeake Bay. In the spring, Lane decided to move the colony to Chesapeake when he heard reports from the Indians that pearls and metals that sounded like gold and copper could be found in the area. The



Roanoke colony was established under the grant Sir Walter Raleigh obtained from Queen Elizabeth, but it was abandoned after barely a year. (Library of Congress)

coming of spring brought hostilities with the Indians. Having arrived too late to plant crops, the colonists bartered for food with the Indians, whose willingness to trade lessened as their own food supplies declined.

In June, having learned through Manteo of Indian plans to attack the settlement, Lane launched a preemptive raid on the Roanoke village that left Wingina dead. One week later, a relief expedition of 29 vessels under Sir Francis **Drake** reached Roanoke after a successful raid on the Spanish West Indies. Given the precarious state of the colony's food supply and its relations with its Roanoke neighbors, Lane and the surviving colonists left for England with Drake on 18 June 1586.

See also America; *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*; Harriot, Thomas; Roanoke Colony (1587); Spanish America; White, John

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Roanoke Colony (1587)

After the voluntary return of the first Roanoke colonists in 1586, Sir Walter **Raleigh** sent out a second colonization expedition in 1587. Unlike the all-male first colony, the new venture, under the governorship of John **White**, a member of the first colony, included whole families. Three vessels carrying 89 men, 17 women, and 11 children departed Plymouth on 8 May 1587. Although intending to settle on Chesapeake Bay, the settlers were forced on 22 July to take up the first colony's site on Roanoke Island (off present-day North Carolina) when the ships' crews, eager to raid in the Spanish West Indies, refused to sail up the Chesapeake.

The ill will the previous colonists had left among the Roanoke Indians led quickly to tragedy. On 28 July, George Howe, who had gone alone to catch crabs, was found murdered, perhaps an act of revenge for the previous colony's killing of the Roanoke chief Wingina. Attempts to reestablish relations with the Indians through Manteo, one of the Indians who had gone to England with the **Amadas-Barlowe expedition** in 1584, failed. On 18 August, White's daughter Eleanor, the wife of Ananias Dare, gave birth to a daughter. The first English child born in North America, the baby was christened Virginia Dare by her grandfather. Poor relations with the Indians meant the colony was totally dependent on England for supplies, and the colonists decided that White was best suited to ensuring that Raleigh sent regular provisions and that the English public remained aware of, and interested in, the colony. Accordingly, White set sail on 27 August and reached England on 16 October.

In April 1588, White set out with two relief ships, but he had to turn back when the crews' taste for piracy led to an unfortunate encounter with a Spanish vessel. The **Armada Crisis** of 1588 tied up all shipping and prevented White from returning to Virginia until 1590. On 16 August, he landed on Roanoke but found no trace of the colony, only the word "Croatoan" carved on a tree. This seemed to indicate the colony had moved to nearby Croatoan Island, but storms prevented investigation, and White returned to England without ever knowing what became of his family and the **Lost Colony** of Roanoke.

See also America; *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*; Harriot, Thomas; Roanoke Colony (1585); Spanish America

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Robsart, Amy

See Dudley, Amy Robsart

Rochford, Lady

See Boleyn, Jane, Lady Rochford

Rochford, Lord

See Boleyn, George, Lord Rochford; Boleyn, Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire

Rogers, John (c. 1500–1555)

John Rogers was the first of the **Marian martyrs**; that is, the first Protestant burned for **heresy** during the reign of **Mary I**. Educated at Cambridge, Rogers was ordained into the priesthood, and in 1532, he became rector of the **London** parish of Holy Trinity. In 1534, he became chaplain of the company of **Merchant Adventurers** in Antwerp, where he was converted to **Protestantism** by William **Tyndale**. Upon Tyndale's execution for heresy in 1536, Rogers devoted himself to the completion of Tyndale's great unfinished work—the publication of a complete English **Bible**. Rogers combined Tyndale's manuscript translation of the Old Testament books from Genesis to 2 Chronicles and his published translation of the New Testament (1526) with Miles **Coverdale**'s published translations of the Apocrypha and the remainder of the Old Testament (1535). He also added a preface and a series of marginal notes, which constituted the first English Bible commentary, as well as a calendar, almanac, and dedication to **Henry VIII**. Printed by Matthias Crom in Antwerp in 1537, the volume became known as Matthew's Bible, from the pseudonym of "Thomas Matthew" that Rogers printed on the title page. Matthew's Bible, which remained in print until 1551, was later drawn upon for the compilation of the Great Bible in 1539, the Bishops' Bible in 1568, and the Authorized (King James) Version in 1611.

Rogers remained in Antwerp, where he married and fathered children, until 1548 when the Protestant regime of **Edward VI** drew him back to England. He was appointed to serve various London parishes, and, in 1551, Bishop Nicholas **Ridley** named him a prebendary (stipendiary cleric) and lecturer of divinity at St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1553, Rogers's beliefs led him to support the king and John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, in their unsuccessful bid to enthrone the Protestant Jane **Grey** in preference to her Roman Catholic cousin Princess Mary. In 1554, Mary's **council** committed Rogers to Newgate Prison for the preaching

of anti-Catholic sermons that offended the queen. While in confinement, he gave further offense by devising a radically Protestant confession of faith with such fellow religious prisoners as former Edwardian bishop John **Hooper**. After being harshly interrogated by Lord Chancellor Stephen **Gardiner**, Rogers was tried and condemned for heresy. Denied a farewell visit from his family, he smiled at his wife and 11 children as they stood in the crowd that watched him walk from the prison to Smithfield, where he was burned to death on 4 February 1555.

See also Northumberland's Coup

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Roper, Margaret More (1505–1544)

The daughter of Sir Thomas **More** and the wife of More's biographer William **Roper**, Margaret More Roper is best known for the exceptional humanist education provided to her by her father. Her humanist training and her own remarkable intellect brought her personal fame and promoted the radical idea of **education** for women. Roper was More's eldest child by his first wife, Jane Colt More, who died in 1511. Sir Thomas More held advanced views on education, especially for women; he believed they needed classical instruction to become teachers to their own children and stimulating intellectual companions to their husbands. Like other sixteenth-century men, More viewed the roles of wife and mother as the proper ones for women, but he was extraordinary in believing that an exposure to **humanism** was an important part of preparing for those roles. The school that More established in his household included his own four children, his wards, his foster daughter and stepdaughter, and other relatives and friends. The curriculum designed by More included training in Latin, Greek, theology, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, rhetoric, logic, and astronomy. Margaret eventually became the most accomplished pupil to come out of this so-called school of More.

Because much of what we know about Margaret Roper comes from mentions of her in the letters of others, especially those of her father, it is difficult to obtain a clear idea of her life and works. It is also hard to develop a true picture of her intellectual attainments, since many of her early writings have been lost. Her most famous work, *A Devout Treatise upon the "Pater Noster,"* an English translation

of Desiderius **Erasmus's** *Precatio Dominica*, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, was printed in 1524, a rare distinction for a sixteenth-century woman. Running through three editions by the early 1530s, the book did not identify the translator beyond noting that she was a 19-year-old gentlewoman. Despite approving of this anonymity as appropriate for women, More was immensely proud of his daughter's intellectual ability and circulated her works among his humanist friends. In his 1524 colloquy between an educated woman and an ignorant monk, Erasmus praised the learning of More's daughters and is generally thought to have based the character of the woman on Margaret Roper. Margaret is also known to have written poetry, translated Eusebius from the Greek, and disputed with her sisters before **Henry VIII**. More pronounced her essay on the Four Last Things to be superior even to his own writing on the subject.

On 2 July 1521, when she was about 16, Margaret married William Roper, with whom she had five surviving children, three girls and two boys. She provided them with the same humanist training she had received, even unsuccessfully attempting to engage the scholar Roger **Ascham** as their tutor. Her daughter, Mary **Bassett**, also acquired a reputation for scholarship, having several of her translations of her grandfather's works printed during the reign of **Mary I**.

Upon her father's arrest in 1534, Margaret visited him in the **Tower of London**. Through private circulation of their Tower correspondence, Margaret served as his agent and mouthpiece. His letters to her record important episodes of his imprisonment, including interrogations. Margaret's letter to her stepsister, written in dialogue form and perhaps a collaboration with her father, is a detailed explanation of why More refused the oath to the Act of **Succession**. After her father's death, Margaret bribed the executioner for More's parboiled head, which she kept until her death. Although called before the **council** for retaining this unusual keepsake and for distributing her father's writings, Margaret was not otherwise molested. Margaret Roper died in December 1544.

See also Clement, Margaret Giggs

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Roper, William (c. 1495–1578)

William Roper was the son-in-law of Sir Thomas **More** and the author of *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, the best-known and most influential of the early More biographies. The son of John Roper of Canterbury in Kent, Roper is thought to have studied at Oxford before being admitted in 1518 to Lincoln's Inn, where he

followed his father into a legal career. In the same year, he entered More's household in Chelsea, where he resided for the next 16 years. In July 1521, he married More's eldest daughter, Margaret More **Roper**, who died in 1544. An inclination to **Lutheranism** put him at odds with his father-in-law in the early 1520s, when his outspoken opinions brought him before Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** on a charge of **heresy**. As a favor to More, Wolsey dismissed Roper with a warning, which, combined with his father-in-law's prayers and exhortations, eventually returned him to Catholic belief and More's friendship. In 1529, Roper, likely through More's influence, secured election to the **Reformation Parliament**.

More's execution in 1535 did not harm Roper's career. He may have served in the **Parliaments** of 1536 and 1539, was undoubtedly a member for Rochester in the Parliaments of 1545 and 1547, and sat for Rochester or Canterbury in all the Marian Parliaments. He remained prothonotary of the Court of **King's Bench**, a lucrative office in which he succeeded his father in 1524. A firm Catholic, Roper was fined £100 and briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London** in 1543 for involvement in the unsuccessful **Prebendaries Plot** against Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, but otherwise he went unnoticed by the Protestant regimes of **Edward VI**.

Roper became increasingly active in local administration after the accession of **Mary I** in 1553. He served on commissions of the peace in Kent and Middlesex, sat on two local commissions for the discovery of heresy, and was sheriff of Kent in 1554–1555. About 1557, he wrote *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, a loving portrait of his late father-in-law. Based largely on Roper's personal recollections, the *Life* is not straightforward biography—it makes no mention of *Utopia*, for example—but an attempt to preserve the image and story of “a man of singular virtue and . . . clear, unspotted conscience” (Roper, “Life of Sir Thomas More,” 197). Roper's work was instrumental in creating the popular image of More and is a core source for all later depictions of him (such as *A Man for All Seasons*). Because of his association with the Marian regime, Roper was dropped from most of his local offices and served no further in Parliament after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. He was examined by the **council** in 1568 for helping subsidize books that criticized the **royal supremacy**, but the Elizabethan government largely ignored his well-known **Catholicism** and left him unmolested until his death on 4 January 1578.

See also Inns of Court

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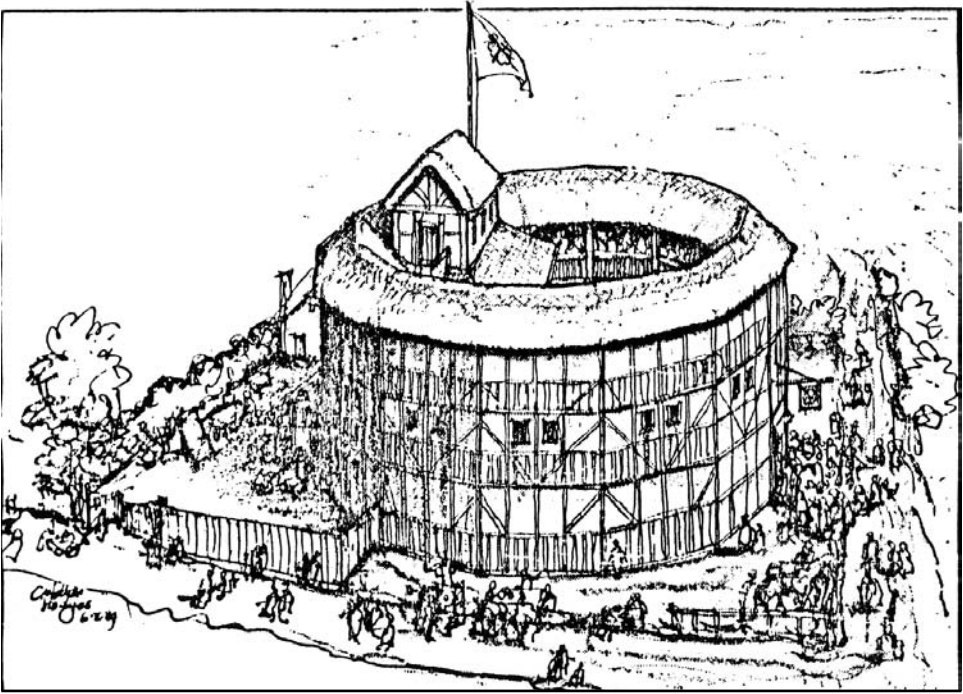
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Rose Theatre

The Rose Theatre, the first public playhouse to be built in **London's** Bankside area south of the Thames, remains significant for early modern theater historians because of the comparatively rich quantities of extant information about the playhouse and its running. The Rose's operations from 1592 until 1603 were meticulously documented in Philip **Henslowe's** *Diary*. The playhouse itself was excavated in the 1980s, leading to additional revelations about the construction, size, and use of open-air playhouses during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.

Philip Henslowe and grocer John Cholmley acquired the lease on the messuage known as the "Little Rose" in 1587. The messuage, a portion of property which included a house with its adjacent buildings and the lands appropriated to the use of the household, was bounded to the south by Maid—or Maiden—Lane, and to the west by Rose Alley, named for the notorious brothel that had existed on the northwestern side of the alley since the Middle Ages. Although built in 1587, the playhouse appears to have remained relatively unused for the first several years. Given the existence of purpose-built arenas for bearbaiting in Bankside at the time of the Rose's construction, scholars hypothesize that the space was perhaps first used for **animal sports** as well as plays. The twentieth-century excavations reveal that the rounded Rose had an external diameter of 72 feet and an internal diameter of 49 feet. These measurements allow enough sitting room for about 1,100 spectators in galleries in addition to a raked yard with uncovered stage without much of a thrust. The stage was only 18 feet deep and 490 square feet in total.

The Rose burst onto the theatergoing scene in 1592, when Henslowe renovated the structure by enlarging and covering the stage. Famed actor Edward **Alleyn** brought to the Rose the Lord Admiral's Men, a well-regarded group of players drawn together from the collapse of earlier companies such as Strange's Men. Several incidents helped ensure the Rose's visibility and success during the early 1590s. First, the Rose's location on the Thames in Bankside made it far easier to reach than other playhouses and inns such as the Theatre, located in the northern suburbs, and Newington Butts, which was a long ride south on bad roads. Indeed, the playhouse's ameliorative effect on river travel may be seen clearly by the watermen's complaints to the Privy **Council** about lost wages when the Rose was closed for **plague**. Second, Edward Alleyn and his company debuted several of Christopher **Marlowe's** plays at the Rose to great acclaim. These include *Doctor Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*. Additionally, Alleyn



This drawing of the Rose Theatre as it looked during Elizabethan times is based on information from the Museum of London's excavations at the Theatre site on London's Southbank. (Arena-PAL/Topham/The Image Works)

himself carried his considerable fame as an actor and his public following to the Rose after leaving the Theatre and his previous company. Finally, the Privy Council named the Rose as an approved playing location for the Admiral's Men in 1594, along with James **Burbage's** Theatre playhouse, which was licensed for the Lord **Chamberlain's Men**.

Playing companies at the Rose—which would include the Admiral's Men when they were in residence, or other visiting companies, such as Sussex's players or Worcester's men—probably numbered some 16 players, including apprentices, hirelings, and sharers together. When possible, the company would play for six afternoons a week, excepting Sundays, and stage a different play each afternoon. The repertoire at the Rose included the works of Marlowe; early works of William **Shakespeare**, including *Titus Andronicus* and *Henry VI*; and early works by playwrights including Ben **Jonson**, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, and John Webster.

The Rose's fortunes shifted with the construction of the **Globe Theatre** not 100 yards from its front door in 1599. Built from the timbers of the old Theatre, the Globe was a larger and more technologically advanced playing space than the Rose, and ticket sales reflected the disparity. Other playhouses had come to Southwark, including Francis Langley's Swan in 1595, but the Globe's arrival seems to

have pushed Henslowe to invest in other spaces. Henslowe acquired the Fortune playhouse in 1600, and the Admiral's Men (known at the time as Nottingham's Men) vacated the Rose and moved north.

While the Rose continued to be used by other companies, such as Pembroke's Men and Worcester's Men in the last years of **Elizabeth I's** reign, it was no longer one of London's licensed playhouses. In June 1600, the Privy Council specified once more that the Admiral's Men and Chamberlain's Men were the only two licensed stage companies, but named the Fortune and the Globe as their respective theaters. The lease on the Rose came up for renewal in 1603 with a substantial rent increase, and Henslowe noted in his diary that he would rather tear the playhouse down than pay what was asked. After 1603, Henslowe no longer refers to the Rose in the *Diary*.

Henslowe's *Diary* provides the standard practices for a playing company and its playhouse in the late sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth. From Henslowe's notes about the Rose, historians have extrapolated the common practices of other playing companies. Collaboration, repertoire practices, the revivals of old plays for easy money, and the payments for new plays are all well documented. In addition, Henslowe's renovations to the Rose indicate the preferences of playing companies and their audiences. Perhaps to please the newly arriving players led by Edward Alleyn, Henslowe covered the stage so that the players would have cover in inclement weather. He moved the stage for better daytime lighting, also increasing its size. However, interest in the Rose is often overshadowed by interest in Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, later the King's Men, and their public playhouse, the Globe.

Meg F. Pearson

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Rough Wooing

The Rough Wooing was a period of intermittent Anglo-Scottish warfare extending from 1542 to 1551 and characterized both by **Henry VIII's** claims of suzerainty over **Scotland** and English attempts to force a marriage between **Edward VI** and Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. The term derives from a jest made after the Battle of **Pinkie** by George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly (1513–1562), who declared that

he favored the marriage of the two sovereigns, but liked “not this wooing” (Merri-man, *Rough Wooings*, 8).

In the late 1530s, **James V**’s pro-French policies and orthodox Catholicism strained relations between the Scottish king and Henry VIII. When James supposedly reneged on a promise to meet his uncle at York in September 1541, Henry renewed claims of English overlordship and launched two invasions of Scotland. The first, under Sir Robert Bowes, met defeat at Haddon Rig in August 1542, and the second burned Roxburgh and Kelso but achieved little else. The Scottish counterattack came to disaster in late November at the Battle of **Solway Moss**, which left few Scots dead but many captured. Disheartened by defeat and the recent deaths of his two sons, James V died on 14 December 1542, only six days after the birth of his daughter Mary.

With an infant on the Scottish throne and many Scots nobles in his custody, Henry saw an opportunity to place Scotland under the English Crown. The king immediately opened negotiations with James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, a descendant of James III, whom the Scottish **Parliament** proclaimed governor of the infant queen and heir to the throne. Despite opposition from a pro-French party led by Cardinal David **Beaton** and the queen mother, Marie de **Guise**, Arran, supported by many newly freed prisoners from Solway Moss, who had pledged themselves to support Henry, concluded the Treaty of **Greenwich** with England in July 1543. Besides ending the war, the agreement arranged a marriage between Queen Mary and Prince Edward, a union that Henry hoped would result in the birth of a Tudor prince who would eventually wear both Crowns. However, Henry’s demands for immediate custody of the young queen and for the end of the French alliance created a backlash in Scotland. By December, Arran had allied with the French party, and the Scottish Parliament had abrogated the treaty.

The real Rough Wooing now began. Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford, invaded Scotland in May 1544, causing much destruction along the border. A new English invasion in 1545 wrecked further havoc until defeated at Ancrum Moor in February. Despite infighting among the various Scottish factions and the murder of Beaton by vengeful Protestants in 1546, Henry VIII, by his death in January 1547, had achieved nothing in Scotland but the expending of treasure and the strengthening of French influence. The English regained the upper hand when Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and lord protector for his nephew Edward VI, changed strategy and renewed the war. After crushing the Scots at the Battle of Pinkie in September 1547, Somerset established well-armed garrisons at various strongpoints, including a massive new fortress at Haddington. Possession of these garrisons allowed the English to make almost continuous war. The Scots responded by drawing closer to France. By the 1548 Treaty of Haddington, **Henri II** agreed to send French troops to Scotland in exchange for the marriage of his eldest son to Queen Mary, who was sent immediately to **France**.

Despite the relative success of Somerset's military strategy, domestic rebellion precipitated the duke's overthrow in October 1549, and the new English regime, led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, found itself financially unable to maintain the expensive Scottish war. By the spring of 1550, Haddington and many other English strongholds had been lost. When the French reinforced their troops in early 1551, Warwick sent a commission headed by Thomas **Thirlby**, bishop of Norwich, to meet with a Franco-Scottish peace delegation. Unable, for the moment, to contest French ascendancy in Scotland, the English agreed in June in the Treaty of **Norham** to surrender their remaining garrisons, thus ending the Anglo-Scottish war and the failed policy of Rough Wooing.

See also Kett's Rebellion; Western Rebellion

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Royal Exchange

The Royal Exchange, the **London** stock market built as a meeting place for bankers and merchants to conduct business, was constructed by Sir Thomas **Gresham** in 1566–1567. In 1565, Gresham, the Crown's financial agent in Antwerp and an extremely wealthy man, offered to build an exchange if the city of London would provide a site. Upon completion of the building, Gresham promised to transfer ownership to the city and to his guild, the Mercers' Company.

Gresham ceremonially laid the first brick in June 1566, and the building was completed by the next year. Modeled on the Antwerp Bourse, the structure had a square, paved central court surrounded by a covered walkway. Statues, including one of **Elizabeth I**, were placed in a series of columned arches surrounding the square. Above the walkway, the building housed 100 shops of various kinds, including milliners, armorers, booksellers, goldsmiths, and apothecaries. Fruit sellers and other small merchants set up shop around the gates. The main entrances were on the north and south, with a large clock tower, its bell summoning merchants at 6:00 a.m., rising just to the east of the south entrance. A grasshopper, the symbol of the Gresham family, stood at each of the corners of the building.

In January 1572, Elizabeth visited the structure and declared it the Royal Exchange. Gresham's promise to turn the Exchange over to the city and the Mercers was not fulfilled until 1596 when his wife died. She had enjoyed the income from the Exchange since Gresham's death in 1579, and after her death the income became

an endowment for Gresham College, which Sir Thomas Gresham had founded in London in 1575. The Exchange burned to the ground in the Great Fire of 1666. A rebuilt Exchange opened three years later and stood until it was demolished in 1838.

See also Liveried Company

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Royal Supremacy

The term “royal supremacy” refers to the right of the English monarch to govern the English Church, a right first claimed by **Henry VIII** in the 1530s. After 1532, control of the Church, a right previously shared by Crown and **papacy**, belonged solely to the monarch.

During the course of his campaign to convince **Clement VII** to annul his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, Henry authorized the compilation of the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa*, a collection of ancient sources supporting his cause. When certain documents in the *Collectanea* suggested that the king of England had no superior on earth, and that ancient British rulers had governed the national Church, Henry changed his attitude about how to obtain the **divorce**. After 1530, he argued that the pope had no right to interfere in the case or in the administration of the English Church. With his minister Thomas **Cromwell**, Henry sought recovery of his rights over the Church and thus the ability to achieve the divorce without Rome. In 1531, he tried to compel **Convocation** to acknowledge his headship of the Church by charging the entire clergy with **praemunire**. Unwilling to accept such radical claims, Convocation sought to distract Henry with a large cash gift, but the king insisted, and Convocation offered a token submission that was rendered meaningless by the qualifying clause “as far as the law of Christ allows.”

In May 1532, Henry forced the clergy to accept the royal supremacy without reservation by threatening Convocation with the **anticlericalism** of **Parliament**. This **Submission of the Clergy**, which was embodied in statute in 1534, ended the legislative independence of Convocation, which now functioned solely at the pleasure of the Crown. Having subdued the clergy, Henry now turned to Parliament as the best instrument for exercising his new spiritual authority. In 1533, the Act in **Restraint of Appeals** abolished the papal right of appeal in ecclesiastical cases, thus effectively severing the English Church from Rome.

Several other important acts relating to the royal supremacy were passed in 1534. The Act in Restraint of **Annates** ended papal taxation of the clergy and removed the pope from the selection and consecration of bishops, a process now completely

controlled by the Crown. The **Dispensations Act** transferred the granting of dispensations to the archbishop of Canterbury, whose decisions could be appealed to the king. The Act of **Supremacy** officially acknowledged Henry's right to control the Church, while the Act of **First Fruits and Tenths** gave the imposition and collection of clerical taxation to the Crown. As finally enunciated in these and other statutes, the royal supremacy gave the king the right to appoint bishops, discipline and tax the clergy, declare doctrine, determine ritual, and conduct Church administration. Henry did not claim the sacramental functions of a priest and could not, for instance, administer the sacraments.

Although exercised through Parliament, and until 1540 through Cromwell, who was named the king's vicar-general and vicegerent for spiritual matters, the royal supremacy was recognized as a God-given right, and not as something conferred by Parliament. As vicegerent, Cromwell issued **injunctions** for the conduct of clergy; promulgated the **Ten Articles**, a new formulary of faith; commissioned the printing and distribution of an English **Bible**; and conducted a propaganda campaign that promoted the royal supremacy with antipapal tracts and sermons.

Resistance to the supremacy was met by various weapons supplied by Parliament. The 1534 Act of **Succession**, which recognized the heirs of Anne **Boleyn** and thus also implied rejection of papal authority, required all adult males to swear an oath accepting the new succession. The Treasons Act of 1534 made it **treason** to deny the royal supremacy or call the king a heretic, tyrant, usurper, or schismatic. Later statutes required various persons, such as parish clergy or royal officeholders, to swear oaths renouncing Rome or affirming the supremacy. Although overall resistance to the royal supremacy was slight—only about 65 persons died for opposing it—some prominent figures, such as Sir Thomas **More**, Bishop John **Fisher**, and the **Carthusian** leaders, were among that number.

In 1554, Henry's Catholic daughter, **Mary I**, used Parliament to abolish the royal supremacy and return the Church to papal authority. In 1559, when **Elizabeth I** sought to reestablish the royal supremacy, she faced difficulties imposed by her gender and by the growth of English **Protestantism**. That a woman should govern the state, let alone the Church, was a difficult proposition for most Englishmen. That any layperson, male or female, should hold absolute sway over ecclesiastical matters was a proposition increasingly questioned not only by Catholics, but also by radical Protestants, especially the **Marian exiles**, who had observed the continental churches of Germany and Switzerland. To meet these objections, the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy gave the queen the title of supreme governor, rather than her father's more exalted title of supreme head. Also, by stating that the right to govern the Church was given to the Crown by Parliament, the act associated Parliament with the queen in the leadership of the Church and gave Parliament greater authority over Church doctrine and administration. Although the royal supremacy

has been much modified over the years and is now effectively exercised by Parliament, the monarch remains the head of the English Church.

See also Anglican Church; Anglican Settlement

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Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell (1529–1609)

Elizabeth Russell was the third daughter of Sir Anthony **Cooke**, the tutor to **Edward VI**, and wife of Lord John Russell, the son of Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford. The Cooke sisters were known as the most learned women in England, thanks to the excellent education given to them by their father. Elizabeth Cooke married Sir Thomas **Hoby** in 1558; Hoby died in 1566 in Paris where he was serving as English ambassador. Pregnant with the couple's second child, Elizabeth Hoby hurried back to England to give birth there to a son named Thomas Posthumous Hoby.

Although in her mid-40s when she married Lord John Russell in 1574, Lady Russell bore her new husband two daughters—Elizabeth, for whom **Elizabeth I** stood godmother, and Anne. Lord Russell predeceased his father in 1584, and Lady Russell had her husband buried in Westminster Abbey in a tomb decorated with Latin and Greek inscriptions devised by Lady Russell herself. In 1592, the queen stopped while on progress at Lady Russell's house in Berkshire and was entertained by a **masque** written by John **Lyly**. In 1596, Lady Russell, who owned a town house in **London's** Blackfriars district, led a successful effort among her Blackfriars neighbors to prevent James **Burbage** from opening a public theatre in the area.

As an old woman, Lady Russell intervened frequently and usually unwelcomely in the lives of her children and her Bacon and Cecil nieces and nephews. She nagged Anthony **Bacon** about his lifestyle and his Catholic friends—Lady Russell was, like all Cookes, a strong Protestant—and bombarded Sir Robert **Cecil**, the secretary of state, with political advice and demands for support in her many lawsuits. She became involved in a particularly long and bitter legal fight in **Star**

Chamber with Lord Admiral Charles **Howard**, Earl of Nottingham, over custody of Donnington Castle. Even in old age, Lady Russell engaged in scholarly pursuits, completing an English translation of a French religious treatise in 1605. She died, having composed her own epitaphs, in 1609.

See also Bacon, Anne; Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Albans; Cecil, Mildred, Lady Burghley; Progresses, Royal

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Russell, Francis, Earl of Bedford (c. 1527–1585)

A firm Protestant, Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, was an Elizabethan privy councillor and diplomat. The son of John **Russell**, Earl of Bedford, a prominent courtier under **Henry VIII**, Francis Russell was educated at Cambridge. During the reign of **Edward VI**, Russell served in **Parliament** for Bedfordshire and as sheriff of the county. In 1549, he helped his father quell the **Western Rebellion**, an uprising against the first **Book of Common Prayer** in Devon and Cornwall. Russell supported **Northumberland's Coup** in 1553 and, as a consequence, spent some time in prison after **Mary I** won the throne. Opposed to Mary's Catholic regime, Russell secretly supported **Wyatt's Rebellion** in 1554.

After succeeding to the earldom of Bedford in 1555, he fled to the English Protestant community in Geneva and spent time in Venice before returning to England in 1557. In the last year of Mary's reign, to win his way into the queen's good graces, Bedford served in the Anglo-Spanish army in **France** and was appointed lord lieutenant of several western counties. Upon her accession in 1558, **Elizabeth I** appointed Bedford to the Privy **Council** and sent him on embassies to the French king and to Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. The earl involved himself in the **Anglican Settlement** of religion, helping to devise the new liturgy and serving on the commission charged with administering the oath of supremacy.

In 1564, Bedford was appointed warden of the Scottish marches (i.e., borders) and governor of the border town of Berwick. He also served on various diplomatic missions to **Scotland**, including acting as Elizabeth's representative at the baptism of Prince James. In 1572, he was a commissioner at the trial of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, and later in the year had the expensive honor of entertaining the queen, who visited his house at Woburn while on progress. He served as lord president of **Wales** in 1576, and in 1581 he was named one of the commissioners charged with negotiating the queen's marriage to Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon. Despite declining health, Bedford in his later years diligently attended meetings of

the Privy Council and took a leading role in the administration of the West Country, where he was the ranking peer, even standing godfather to Francis **Drake**. He died in **London** in July 1585.

See also James I; Marian Exiles; Peerage; Progresses, Royal; Royal Supremacy; Russell, Elizabeth, Lady Russell; Universities

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Russell, John, Earl of Bedford (c. 1485–1555)

John Russell was a loyal and capable servant of four Tudor monarchs and the leading peer in the West Country after 1539. Other than his birth into a Dorset **gentry** family, little is known of Russell's early life. He entered the service of **Henry VII** in 1506 and fought in **Henry VIII**'s French campaign in 1513. In 1514, he accompanied the king's sister Mary **Tudor** to **France** for her marriage to **Louis XII**. He was present at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520 and lost an eye fighting the French in 1522. In 1523, he entered the service of Thomas **Wolsey** and spent much of the next four years in Europe on various diplomatic missions. Although he survived Wolsey's fall, sitting for Buckinghamshire in the **Reformation Parliament**, he was not a partisan of Anne **Boleyn**; his career advanced little until Anne's fall in 1536, when he was admitted to the **council**.

When the leading West Country peer, Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, was executed for involvement in the **Exeter Conspiracy** in 1538, the king chose Russell to inherit the marquis's territorial influence, raising Russell to the **peerage** and granting him many of Exeter's former lands and offices. Named lord president of the newly created **Council of the West**, one of the regional boards maintained by the Tudors to administer distant counties, Russell soon established a personal ascendancy in the West Country. Although a friend of Thomas **Cromwell**'s, Russell remained in favor after that minister's fall, becoming lord admiral in 1540 and Lord Privy Seal in 1542.

On Henry's death in 1547, Russell was named an executor of the king's will and bequeathed £500. In June 1549, the council charged him with suppressing the **Western Rebellion** in the southwest. Although hampered by a lack of men and supplies, and criticized for inaction by Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Russell restored order by August. In October, when a coup threatened to topple Somerset, Russell abandoned the protector, thereby ensuring his overthrow. In 1550, the new regime led by John **Dudley**, future Duke of Northumberland, rewarded Russell with more lands in the southwest and elevation to the earldom of



John Russell, Earl of Bedford, served four Tudor monarchs beginning with Henry VII and weathered many political events. (Library of Congress)

Bedford. In June 1553, Bedford signed **Edward VI's** *Devise* altering the succession. Upon the king's death in July, Bedford served on Jane **Grey's** council until public opinion turned against her. The earl's timely change of allegiance earned him a seat on **Mary I's** council, where he opposed her marriage to **Philip of Spain** until persuaded to accept the match by the outbreak of **Wyatt's Rebellion** in January 1554. Thereafter, the earl remained high in the queen's confidence, even being

entrusted with the embassy that conducted Philip to England. Bedford died in **London** on 14 March 1555.

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Russia Company

See Muscovy Company

Ruthven Raid

The Ruthven raid was an attempt by Scottish Protestant noblemen to prevent James VI from embracing **Catholicism**. In 1582, 16-year-old James VI fell under the influence of his French Catholic cousin, Esmé Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, whom James had raised to the Scottish peerage as Duke of Lennox. Lennox had succeeded in overthrowing the pro-English regent, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, in 1578 and in engineering his execution in 1581. The rising power of Lennox caused Scottish presbyterians and the English government to worry that James would adopt Catholicism and return **Scotland** to an alliance with **France**. In early 1581, James sought to calm these fears by signing, and causing Lennox to sign, the "King's Covenant," a document repudiating Catholicism. The Covenant, however, failed of its purpose, for a group of Protestant nobles led by John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, seized the king in August 1582 and carried him captive to Ruthven Castle.

Supported by English funds, the Ruthven raiders took control of the Scottish government and forced Lennox to flee to France. The General Assembly of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, much relieved at its deliverance from Catholicism, gathered in **Edinburgh** to sing the 124th psalm: "We have escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowlers." In June 1583, James, then 17, escaped from Ruthven Castle and, with a single servant, rode to St. Andrews where he proclaimed himself of full age and able to rule without a regent. Although no Catholic, James emerged from captivity a convinced opponent of presbyterianism and determined to control the Scottish Church.

In early 1584, the king arrested and executed his chief captor, the Earl of Gowrie. In May, the Scottish parliament passed the "Black Acts," which declared the king head of the church, forbade the General Assembly from meeting without royal consent, made bishops Crown appointees, and prohibited ministers from preaching politics. The English government, meanwhile, gave the remaining Ruthven raiders

sanctuary in England and allowed them to cross the border in 1585 when James was ready to pardon them. The Ruthven raid demonstrated the volatility of Scottish politics and the need of the English government to work with whatever group or faction provided the best hope of keeping Scotland Protestant and pro-English.

See also Gowrie Conspiracy; James I

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Sackville, Thomas, Earl of Dorset (1536–1608)

Thomas Sackville was lord treasurer of England, as well as a playwright and poet. Because the Sackvilles were cousins to the Boleyn family, Thomas Sackville was a distant relative of Elizabeth. His father was a financial official of the Crown through four reigns, from 1538 to 1566. Sackville was educated at both Oxford and Cambridge and in 1554 began his legal training at the **Inns of Court** in **London**. In the early 1560s, while still a student, Sackville began writing plays and **poetry**. With fellow student Thomas **Norton**, Sackville wrote the play *Gorboduc*, the first English tragedy. Written in blank verse, *Gorboduc* was performed at the Inner Temple on Twelfth Night in 1561. Drawn from English legend, but written in the style of the Roman playwright Seneca, the play describes the sorrows that befall King Gorboduc when he divides his kingdom between his sons Ferrex and Porrex. Sackville also contributed two pieces to the 1563 edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a collection of verse accounts of the downfall of famous figures.

His mounting debts in England forced Sackville to travel for a time in Europe, where he was briefly imprisoned in Rome on suspicion of being a spy. He returned to England upon his father's death in 1566 to take up a huge landed inheritance that restored his financial position. In 1567, the queen elevated Sackville to the **peerage** as Lord Buckhurst; she also granted him a house at Knole in Kent, which he rebuilt on a magnificent scale. Buckhurst undertook various administrative and diplomatic duties, including serving as the queen's envoy in the **Netherlands**. In 1586, he was given the difficult task of informing Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, that she had been condemned to death. He was made a knight of the Garter in 1589 and succeeded William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, as lord treasurer in 1598. **James I** retained him as treasurer and created him Earl of Dorset. In 1608, as the king's extravagance brought the country near to bankruptcy, Dorset was accused of taking bribes. The earl collapsed and died while appearing before the Privy **Council** to answer the charges.

See also Christmas; Universities

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Sacraments

In Christian churches, sacraments are those acts or ceremonies that provide an outward, visible recognition of an inward, invisible grace or connection to God. As medieval theologians adapted Christian beliefs to Platonic ideals the sacraments could be viewed as a means for humans to become more godlike and thus know God more fully; but Martin Luther and other sixteenth-century **Reformation** thinkers argued that becoming like God was not necessary, and faith alone was enough for personal salvation. Because the span of the Tudor era encompassed both the medieval church and the Protestant and Catholic reform movements, one sees many changes in the understanding and observance of the sacraments during this period.

There was some debate in the early church about exactly what constituted a sacrament, but after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the Roman church observed seven: **baptism**, confirmation, the **Eucharist**, penance, anointing of the sick (last rites/extreme unction), holy orders (ordination), and matrimony. The church established rules for observing the sacraments. For example, one was to make a confession once a year and to partake in the Eucharist at least once a year, preferably three times, and certainly at Easter. Ignoring the sacraments or being banned from receiving them imperiled one's eternal soul. **Church courts**, which enforced **canon law** (church law), helped enforce compliance with their penalties by threatening lawbreakers with a withholding of the sacraments. In addition, the celebrations surrounding sacraments such as baptism and marriage were part of the social fabric; they gave people something to look forward to, helped mark important milestones, and reinforced the role of community.

Parish priests were expected to understand the sacraments and their requirements, educate parishioners about them, and know how to administer them properly. One instruction book for priests advised that at confession they should determine that a parishioner could say in English the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Creed. In an era when not all priests were well educated and competent, there were concerns not only among church authorities but also among regular churchgoers as to whether or not the sacraments were still valid if performed incorrectly or by an unqualified person. Failure to perform rituals properly was one of the complaints most likely to be made to church authorities about a local priest. In addition, because priests were allowed to charge a fee for performing some of



A panel from *The Seven Sacraments* by Weyden. Parish priests were expected to understand the sacraments and be able to administer them properly. (Rogier van der Weyden, *The Seven Sacraments*, 1445–1450, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp)

the sacraments, or functions related to them, there were often complaints about abusive pricing; these complaints were taken up by reformers.

Practitioners of **Lollardy**, an early English reform movement originating in the late fourteenth century, rejected most of the sacraments. Although Lollards were persecuted and remained underground, many of their ideas resurfaced among proponents of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, including the rejection of rituals and nonbiblically based sacraments. Reformers argued that through regulation of the sacraments, the church retained for itself the power to regulate a person's relationship with God in a way that had no scriptural basis. In addition, the sacraments made priests, as intermediaries, an absolute necessity.

For the Roman Catholic Church the seven sacraments were firmly established by the Council of **Trent**, which ended in 1563, and the church observes them to this day. Most other Christian denominations since the Reformation observe at most two: baptism and some form of the Eucharist, and they do so because these were the sacraments held to be biblically based rather than a human or church invention. The **Anglican Church**, since the approval of the **Thirty-nine Articles** by **Convocation** in 1563, has observed just these two. Even still, the terminology, substance of belief, and forms of celebration vary among denominations, reflecting the debates and changes during the Reformation.

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Lutheranism; Marriage; Transubstantiation

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Sadler, Sir Ralph (1507–1587)

During the last years of **Henry VIII**, Sir Ralph Sadler, who learned the workings of government by acting as secretary and chief man of business for Thomas **Cromwell**, held such important administrative and diplomatic posts as principal secretary and ambassador to **Scotland**. Born in Middlesex, the eldest son of the steward of Thomas **Grey**, second Marquis of Dorset, Sadler entered Cromwell's

household at an early age. Although no evidence exists for his attendance at a university, Sadler was well educated, having knowledge of French, Latin, and Greek and some training in the law. By the late 1520s, Sadler was one of Cromwell's most valuable servants. When Cromwell became chief royal minister in the early 1530s, Sadler had the keeping and drafting of the minister's enormous correspondence, as well as the conduct of his routine legal business and the running of his household. In these capacities, Sadler soon became known to the king and **court** as Cromwell's messenger and agent, and also became familiar with the management of national affairs.

Through Cromwell's influence, Sadler became a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1536 and was sent on his first diplomatic missions to Scotland and **France** in 1537. He also sat for the borough of Hindon in the **Parliament** of 1536, the first of 11 Parliaments in which he would serve. Knighted in 1538, Sadler was appointed joint principal secretary with Thomas **Wriothesley** in April 1540. His duties as secretary were frequently interrupted by further missions to Scotland, where he undermined the influence of Cardinal David **Beaton** and negotiated the 1543 Treaty of **Greenwich**. Although he risked his position by carrying Cromwell's plea for mercy to the king, Sadler survived the minister's fall in 1540 and then in 1541 actively investigated Queen Katherine **Howard**'s alleged adultery. He acquired frequent grants of monastic property from the king and by 1547 was a wealthy landowner with estates in numerous counties, particularly Hertfordshire, which he regularly represented in Parliament after 1542. Although he lost the secretaryship in 1543, Sadler continued to serve on royal commissions and hold several official posts, including the receivership of the Court of **General Surveyors**.

Under **Edward VI**, Sadler, who was Protestant, remained a member of the **council**. He fought with distinction at **Pinkie** in 1547 and accompanied William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, during his abortive attempt to crush **Kett's Rebellion** in 1549. Sadler supported the subsequent overthrow of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and was rewarded with two duchy of Lancaster offices. In 1553, he signed the *Devise* for the succession replacing Princess Mary with Jane **Grey**, but he did not actively support **Northumberland's Coup**. Upon winning the throne, Mary I placed Sadler under house arrest and stripped him of many of his offices. He was pardoned in October 1553 but took little further part in government until after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558, when he was restored to the council and again employed in Scottish diplomacy. Sadler died on 30 March 1587.

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Saint Bartholomew Massacre

On 24 August 1572, the feast of Saint Bartholomew, thousands of French Protestants, known as **Huguenots**, were murdered at the instigation of the French queen mother, Catherine de **Medici**. In the 1560s, **France** suffered from a series of civil wars between Catholics and Huguenots. In August 1570, the peace of Saint Germain had ended the latest conflict by granting liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to Huguenots everywhere except in heavily Catholic Paris. The agreement also allowed Protestants to hold public office and gave them possession of four cities—La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. The peace also led in 1572 to the signing of the Treaty of **Blois**, a defensive alliance against **Spain** with Elizabethan England, and plans for a marriage between the sister of Charles IX and Henri of Navarre, a prince of royal blood and a leader of the Huguenots.

In June 1572, Catherine called Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the most prominent of the Protestant leaders, to court to arrange the marriage. When Catherine realized that Coligny's influence over the young king was beginning to rival her own, she grew alarmed and plotted with the ultra-Catholic **Guise family** to murder the admiral. An unsuccessful attempt on Coligny's life occurred on 22 August, when Paris was full of Huguenots awaiting the wedding. News of the assassination attempt caused Protestants to loudly demand revenge. Fearing the Huguenots might carry out their threats, Catherine conspired with the Guises to murder the Huguenot leadership while it was so conveniently assembled in Paris; only Navarre and the other Protestant princes of royal blood were to be spared. The king agreed to the plan only after lengthy argument with his mother.

In the early morning of 24 August, tolling bells signaled the start of bloodshed; Catholic Paris exploded in anti-Huguenot violence as Catherine's plan to kill the Protestant leadership became the mass murder of all Huguenots who could be caught. Coligny and some 4,000 Protestants died in Paris by various means—shooting, hanging, drowning, stabbing, or defenestration (being thrown out a window or pushed off a roof). In all, over 10,000 died throughout France. Catholic Europe applauded the massacre; **Philip II** called it “one of the greatest joys of my life.” In Protestant England, **Elizabeth I** dressed her **court** in mourning and listened in stern silence to the French ambassador's attempt to explain the deed. The Huguenot party, shorn of its aristocratic leadership, turned on the monarchy and became strongly republican. The French wars of religion resumed, removing France from involvement in the coming Anglo-Spanish conflict over the **Netherlands Revolt**.

See also Catholic League; Henri IV

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Salesbury, William (c. 1517–c. 1584)

William Salesbury was an important Welsh reformer and a collaborator with Richard **Davies** on the first translations into Welsh of the New Testament and the **Book of Common Prayer**. Born into a distinguished Welsh **gentry** family, Salesbury was educated at Oxford and at the **Inns of Court** in **London**. Both a strong Protestant and an advocate for the preservation of the Welsh language, Salesbury had, by 1547, published a collection of proverbs and a Welsh-English dictionary, possibly the two earliest works to be published in Welsh. Salesbury also produced many other religious works supporting the Reformation.

In 1563, Salesbury joined with Richard Davies, bishop of St. David's, to promote a private bill in **Parliament** authorizing the translation of the **Bible** and the prayer book into Welsh, a task the two men considered vital to the success of the Reformation in Wales. The bill passed, but Parliament made no provision for funding to support the work. Salesbury and Davies thus collaborated both on producing the translations and on paying for the project.

Salesbury did most of the work on the Welsh New Testament, which was published in 1567. His work was criticized for its odd spelling scheme and difficult constructions, but it provided the basis for the later and widely used Welsh translation of the entire Bible prepared by William **Morgan**. Although something of an eccentric—he is said to have worked in a secret room that could only be reached by climbing up a chimney—Salesbury was a leading figure in the reform of the Welsh Church.

See also Reformation, Welsh; Universities

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Salisbury, Countess of

See Pole, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury

Sampson, Richard (d. 1554)

Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was an experienced diplomat, capable lawyer, and able administrator. Educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Sampson spent six years studying at Paris and Sens before taking his doctorate of **canon law** at Cambridge in 1513. By April 1514, Sampson was in **France** at Tournai, where he acted as agent for Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, who was bishop of the English-held town. In 1515, Sampson served on a trade mission to the **Netherlands** with Thomas **More** and Cuthbert **Tunstall**. In 1516, probably through Wolsey's influence, Sampson became royal chaplain and dean of the **Chapel Royal**. Accompanied by Sir Thomas **Boleyn**, Sampson left England in October 1522 to serve as ambassador to the **court** of **Charles V** in **Spain**. Recalled in 1525, Sampson collected a series of ecclesiastical offices in the following years, including the vicarage of Stepney in 1526; prebendaries at Lincoln and St. Paul's, **London**, in about 1527; and the archdeaconry of Suffolk in 1529. In 1529–1530, Sampson worked actively for **Henry VIII's** **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**, traveling to Rome with Sir Nicholas **Carew**, soliciting various European universities for opinions supporting the king's cause, and signing a petition to **Clement VII**. In 1533, the publication of Sampson's Latin oration extolling the **royal supremacy** elicited a response from Cardinal Reginald **Pole**.

For his services, Sampson became bishop of Chichester in June 1536. He participated in the compilation of the **Bishops' Book** in 1537 and served on a commission for the rooting out of suspected **Anabaptism** in 1538, the same year he took part in the trial of accused heretic John **Lambert**. Although active in the divorce and supportive of the royal supremacy, Sampson was doctrinally conservative and voted in **Parliament** for passage of the Act of **Six Articles** in 1539. In April 1540, the king named Sampson to an episcopal commission charged with ending religious controversy—the body eventually devised the **Rationale of Ceremonial**—but the bishop's conservatism led to his arrest on Thomas **Cromwell's** initiative in late May. However, Cromwell was himself arrested on 10 June, a sign that the conservative faction to which Sampson adhered had won the struggle within the **council** for Henry's ear. Although forced to make submission, the bishop was soon released. In February 1543, Sampson was translated to the see of Coventry and Lichfield and named president of the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, a post he held until 1548. In 1551, the regency government of John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, named Sampson to the commission that concluded the Treaty of **Norham** with **Scotland**. Having retained his offices under the Protestant regimes of **Edward VI**, Sampson readily accepted the Catholic queen **Mary I** in 1553. Sampson died on 25 September 1554.

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Sander, Nicholas (c. 1530–1581)

Nicholas Sander was an English Catholic polemicist and staunch defender of papal primacy. As a papal agent, he worked to convince **Philip II** of **Spain** to launch an invasion of schismatic England, and as a religious controversialist, he helped shape the Catholic interpretation of the English **Reformation**.

Born into a Surrey **gentry** family, Sander entered Winchester College in 1540 and became a fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1548. He earned his bachelor's degree in **civil law** in 1551 and served as university lecturer in **canon law** in 1557. In about 1560, Sander fled England for Rome after refusing to swear to the **royal supremacy** as demanded by the government of **Elizabeth I**. Ordained a priest in 1561, Sander obtained the patronage of Cardinal Marone, for whom he wrote a report on the position of Catholics in England. His reputation as a scholar won him a position at the Council of **Trent** as theological advisor to Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius.

In 1564, Sander entered the University of Louvain in the **Netherlands**. By the late 1560s, he was a professor at the university and an influential figure in the English Catholic exile community in Louvain, where he wrote several replies to the pro-Anglican writings of John **Jewel**, Bishop of Salisbury. Believing that Elizabeth was a heretic who had therefore forfeited her right to the Crown, Sander supported the **Northern Rebellion** of 1569 and defended the decision of Pope **Pius V** to formally declare the queen's deposition in his 1570 bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. This stand brought Sander into conflict with such other English Catholic exiles as William **Allen**, who believed the bull only harmed the position of Catholics in England.

In 1571, Sander published *De visibili monarchia*, which not only reprinted *Regnans in Excelsis*, but strongly defended the divine origins of the **papacy** and the subordination of all other worldly rulers to papal authority. The work also offered a list of English Catholic martyrs, a laudatory description of Cardinal Reginald **Pole**'s restoration of the English Catholic Church under **Mary I**, and an attempt to refute the Protestant identification of the pope as Antichrist.

In 1572, Pius V summoned Sander to Rome, where it was thought he would be elevated to the cardinalate. Although the pope's death denied him this promotion, Sander began in Rome to write his most famous work, *De origine ac progressu schismatici anglicani*, which was published posthumously in Reims in 1585. *De origine* is a seminal work in the historiography of the English Reformation. Sander characterized the English break with Rome as simply the result of **Henry VIII**'s

desire to annul his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** and contract a new marriage to Anne **Boleyn**, who, along with Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, is particularly criticized for her role in the Reformation. *De origine* drew numerous rebuttals from Protestant historians of the Reformation, who, in one instance, mocked Sander as “Dr. Slanders” for his harsh attacks on Anne Boleyn.

In 1573, Pope **Gregory XIII** sent Sander to Spain to induce Philip II to launch an invasion of England. When Philip proved reluctant to fund such an undertaking, Sander proposed a papal invasion of **Ireland** and requested that he be allowed to accompany it. Thus, when James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald** landed in Ireland in July 1579 with 600 Spanish and Italian troops supplied by the pope, Sander was present as his treasurer. He was instrumental in convincing Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Desmond, to participate in what eventually became known as the **Desmond Rebellion** and gave constant assurances to the Irish that more papal troops were on the way. However, no such help ever arrived, and Sander left the besieged papal fort at **Smerwick** only days before its surrender in November 1580. Although later rumors said Sander died a raving madman while wandering the mountains of Ireland alone, he appears to have died of dysentery by June 1581.

John A. Wagner

See also Anglican Church

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Sandys, Edwin (c. 1516–1588)

Edwin Sandys was **Elizabeth I**’s third archbishop of York. Born into a Lancashire **gentry** family, Sandys was educated at Furness Abbey and then at St. John’s College, Cambridge. From the early 1540s, he served in a number of increasingly important church **benefices**. A zealous Protestant who had risen rapidly in the English Church under **Edward VI**, Sandys supported **Northumberland’s Coup** in 1553, even preaching at Cambridge in favor of Jane **Grey**’s cause. He was briefly imprisoned in the **Tower of London** by the Catholic regime of **Mary I** but was released and fled to Antwerp in 1554. He then moved among the various English exile communities in Germany before returning to England after Elizabeth’s accession in 1558.

Sandys involved himself in framing the new Anglican liturgy and was allowed to preach at St. Paul's Cathedral in **London** and at **court**. Like other **Marian exiles**, Sandys thought the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 was too conservative, and he particularly opposed the vestments ministers were required to wear. In December 1559, he became bishop of Worcester, initiating an immediate visitation for the reform of his diocese. Sandys was one of the translators of the Bishops' Bible in the 1560s, and in 1570 he succeeded Edmund **Grindal** as bishop of London. A **Puritan** at heart, Sandys fell into temporary disfavor with the queen for supporting **prophesyings** in his diocese.

Sandys became archbishop of York in March 1576, again in succession to Grindal. In this new position, Sandys, a stern and quarrelsome man, was soon involved in various disputes with his subordinates and with lay leaseholders of church lands. He argued with William **Whittingham**, one of the translators of the Geneva Bible, over the validity of Whittingham's ordination, and with John **Aylmer**, his successor as bishop of London, over the revenues of the London bishopric. A learned man, Sandys founded a **grammar school** in his archdiocese at Hawkshead and engaged Richard **Hooker**, the future author of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, to tutor his son. Sandys died in July 1588.

See also Bible, English; Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland; Universities; Vestiarian Controversy

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San Juan d'Ulloa

Located on the eastern coast of Mexico, San Juan d'Ulloa was the main port for Mexico City. In the late summer of 1568, English seaman John **Hawkins** was in **Spanish America** conducting illegal trade in slaves with Spanish colonists. Hawkins left the port of Cartagena on the Spanish Main (the South American coast of Spanish America) in late August, but contrary winds prevented his six-vessel fleet from sailing east, forcing him to enter San Juan d'Ulloa on 15 September to make repairs and collect supplies.

Because the Spanish garrison was expecting a treasure fleet, they did not identify Hawkins as an Englishman until after he had seized control of a series of strategic shore batteries. By assuring the Spanish authorities that his intentions were peaceful, Hawkins extracted a promise of food and time to effect repairs from the captain of the port. However, the silver fleet bearing the new viceroy of the Indies to Mexico City arrived on 17 September, much earlier than expected. Hawkins

permitted the Spanish ships to enter the port after the viceroy agreed to allow the English to retain control of the batteries until their repairs were completed, at which time they were to depart unmolested. To seal this agreement, the two sides exchanged hostages. But the viceroy, considering the English heretics and enemies of **Spain**, launched a surprise attack on the morning of 23 September.

Although the shore batteries were quickly recaptured by the Spanish, a naval battle raged for most of the day. One English ship escaped, but two more were captured and two others sank, leaving Hawkins and his second-in-command, Francis **Drake**, to escape with two ships and what little they could salvage of their cargo. News of the battle at San Juan d'Ulloa, when it reached England at the end of the year, considerably aggravated the ongoing **Treasure Crisis** of 1568 and began the souring of Anglo-Spanish relations that led eventually to war with Spain. By instilling an intense hatred of Spaniards in Hawkins, Drake, and other English seafarers who heard of their experience, the viceroy's treachery also helped start an unofficial war on Spanish shipping by English pirates and privateers.

See also Privateering

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Santa Cruz, Marquis of

See Bazán, Alvaro de, Marquis of Santa Cruz

Science

Tudor contributions to the development of modern science are generally considered few and slight, especially when compared to English advances in science in the late seventeenth century. The Elizabethan physician William **Gilbert**, with his work on magnetism and astronomy, is usually deemed the leading man of science in the Tudor period. Nonetheless, significant advances were achieved in mathematics, astronomy, and natural science, especially in the service of such practical applications as navigation and surveying.

English interest in the teaching and study of mathematics was high throughout the sixteenth century. Attempts were made to initiate or improve the teaching

of mathematics at both **universities**, with such men as John **Dee** and Richard **Hakluyt**, who advocated English exploration and colonization; Thomas Hood, who began lecturing in mathematics at Cambridge in 1582; and Edward Wright, who was a prominent surveyor and cartographer, working for the endowment of lectureships in mathematics. These men and others like them formed a core of university-trained mathematicians who saw the advantages of improving and expanding teaching in mathematics to turn out more and better English navigators, instrument makers, cartographers, surveyors, and other scientifically trained artisans and craftsmen. Thanks to these efforts, **London**, by the accession of **James I** in 1603, was home to a growing group of mathematics teachers, surveyors, navigators, and the like who were not associated with a university but could apply their university training in mathematics to their chosen field of practice. Also, the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods saw important advances in the design or improvement of scientific instruments for navigation, surveying, and astronomical observation, and in the number of trained individuals to craft and use such instruments.

An important milestone in the teaching of science and the development of an English scientific community was the founding of Gresham College in 1597. The will of Sir Thomas **Gresham**, the founder of London's **Royal Exchange**, provided for the establishment of the college in Gresham's mansion in Bishopsgate, with rental income from the shops surrounding the Royal Exchange provided as an endowment for the institution. Gresham College funded the first two professorships in mathematics in England and soon became both a center of English study and research in mathematics and science and a meeting place for those interested in both to discuss new ideas and topics. Perhaps the oldest learned society for science in the world, the Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge (known simply as the Royal Society), often met at Gresham College from the society's founding in the 1660s until 1710, when it moved to its own quarters.



Title page of John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation*, 1577, an important scientific work of the Elizabethan period. (Charlotte Fell Smith. *John Dee*, Constable & Co.: London, 1909.)

Many Elizabethans also contributed to the rapidly developing field of astronomy. Thomas Digges, the son of the mathematician and surveyor Leonard Digges, and the ward of John Dee, was the first to teach the Copernican model of the solar system in England. He also studied the supernova observed by Tycho Brahe in 1572 and through his calculations determined it to be beyond the orbit of the moon, a conclusion that contradicted current theories of the nature of the universe. He also expanded on Brahe's conclusions regarding a comet he observed in 1577. Digges may also have been the first person to propose that the universe was infinite and filled with an almost infinite number of stars. Henry Savile, who was Greek tutor to **Elizabeth I**, was an important English adherent of Copernicanism and the founder of a professorship of astronomy at Oxford in 1619. With Dee, Digges, and others, he helped the study of the new astronomy flourish in England and encouraged the collaboration of scholars and enthusiasts in mathematics and astronomy on both practical and theoretical researches. Other Elizabethans who advanced the study of science in England were the navigators Robert Norman and William **Borough**, the natural philosopher Nicholas Hill, and the mathematician and cartographer Thomas **Harriot**.

Finally, the backwardness of Tudor science in certain areas became, ironically, a strength in the Stuart period. The strong focus on **humanism** at both Oxford and Cambridge during the sixteenth century meant that among Englishmen of science there was only a weak adherence to Aristotelian tradition, especially as compared to universities in **Italy**, **France**, and Germany. When the new ideas of such men of science as Sir Francis **Bacon**, Galileo, René Descartes, and Pierre Gassendi emerged in the seventeenth century, they were readily accepted in England and never formally condemned, as happened frequently on the Continent.

John A. Wagner

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Scotland

During the Tudor period, Scotland evolved from a Catholic, pro-French state generally hostile to English interests and wary of English ambitions to a Protestant state whose monarch had a strong claim to the English throne. At the accession of **Henry VII** in 1485, Anglo-Scottish relations were poor thanks to the English capture of Berwick in 1482. However, James III sent a Scottish delegation to Henry's coronation and opened negotiations to improve relations. Opposition to this move and to James's internal policies led to a revolt and James's defeat and murder at Sauchieburn in 1488. The new king, **James IV**, allowed relations with England to deteriorate by providing shelter and support to the Yorkist pretender Perkin **Warbeck**. A failed invasion of England in 1496 led to Warbeck's expulsion from Scotland and the commencement of peace talks that eventually resulted in the 1502 Treaty of **Ayton**, the most momentous clause of which was the provision arranging the 1503 marriage of James to Henry VII's daughter, Margaret **Tudor**. A century later, this marriage secured the English throne for the Scottish House of **Stuart**.

After the accession of **Henry VIII** in 1509, Anglo-Scottish concord collapsed. Henry's invasion of **France** in 1513 led James to renew Scotland's ancient alliance with England's ancient enemy. In September, James was defeated and killed at **Flodden Field** by an English army under Thomas **Howard**, future second Duke of Norfolk. The new Scottish king, **James V**, was 17 months old; during his long minority, various people contended for power, including the queen mother and her estranged second husband, Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus. After Angus's overthrow in 1528, James began his personal rule. He maintained close ties with France, taking two French wives, but also stayed on good terms with his English uncle until the late 1530s, when Henry began pressing James to break with Rome. Although James financially oppressed the Scottish Church, he was an orthodox Catholic who suppressed **heresy**. The collapse of a planned meeting between the two monarchs at York in 1541 led to an English invasion of Scotland in 1542. The English were defeated at Haddon Rig, but a subsequent Scottish defeat at **Solway Moss** was followed by James's sudden death on 14 December 1542.

The Scottish Crown now passed to James's six-day-old daughter, Mary, whose age and gender convinced Henry to press English claims to lordship over Scotland. With Scotland now divided between pro-French and pro-English factions that were also beginning to divide along religious lines, Henry opened talks with the regency government headed by James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, for arrangement of a marriage between Queen Mary and Prince Edward. Although Henry achieved this goal with the 1543 Treaty of **Greenwich**, his demands that Mary be sent immediately to England persuaded the Scots to compose their internal differences and repudiate

the agreement. Henry then commenced the so-called **Rough Wooing**, an ongoing military attempt to compel the Scots to honor the Greenwich treaty. After Henry's death in 1547, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset and head of **Edward VI**'s regency government, continued hostilities, defeating the Scots at **Pinkie** and establishing English garrisons on Scottish soil.

The Rough Wooing allowed the pro-French party, headed by the queen mother, Marie de **Guise**, and Cardinal David **Beaton**, to gain the upper hand. The Scottish government concluded a French alliance, accepted French troops, and dispatched Mary to France in 1548 to be betrothed to the son of **Henri II**. In 1551, the financially exhausted government of John **Dudley**, future Duke of Northumberland, concluded the Treaty of **Norham** with Scotland; the agreement ended the war, resolved Anglo-Scottish border disputes, and left French influence paramount in Scotland. Marie de Guise replaced Arran as regent in 1554, and Mary wed the French dauphin in 1558. This marriage, which aroused fears of French domination, and the growing strength of Scottish **Protestantism**, which was much enhanced by the return of John **Knox** in 1559, initiated a civil war that ended in 1560 with the death of the regent and the triumph of the Protestant lords, who had received support from the new Protestant queen of England, **Elizabeth I**. The Treaty of **Edinburgh** of 1560, a three-way agreement among Scotland, France, and England, removed the French from Scotland and allowed the subsequent creation of a Protestant Scottish Church. Thus, upon her return to Scotland in 1561, the newly widowed Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, who considered herself the true Catholic heir to her English cousin's throne, found herself ruler of a Protestant kingdom that was thereby linked more closely to England.

In the 1560s, Mary's misrule was marked by the murder of her secretary, David **Rizzio**; the murder of her second husband, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley; and her mysterious third marriage to Darnley's likely killer, James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell. Deposed in favor of her infant son James VI in 1567, Mary tried and failed to regain her Crown in 1568. Driven into England where she expected the assistance of her cousin Elizabeth, Mary found herself confined in a series of English country houses for the next 19 years. Elizabeth could neither give Mary her freedom nor bring herself to order Mary's death.

Raised a Protestant, Scotland's James VI was more highly motivated by the promise of eventual succession to the English throne than by affection for a mother he never knew. By concluding the Treaty of **Berwick** with Elizabeth in 1586, James signaled his willingness to sacrifice the latter to have the former. In 1587, when Mary was finally executed for plotting against Elizabeth, James did no more than protest. On Elizabeth's death in 1603, the Crowns of Scotland and England were peacefully united in the person of Mary's Protestant son, and the process that led to the eventual political union of Scotland and England in 1707 was begun.

See also Babington Plot; Carberry, Battle of; Darnley Murder; James I; Langside, Battle of; Ridolfi Plot

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Sea Beggars

The sea beggars were an informal and irregular Dutch naval force created in 1568 to support the Dutch rebellion against **Spain**. The beggars were welcomed into English ports and soon became a thorn in the side of Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alva, the Spanish commander trying to subdue the rebellion in the **Netherlands**. The beggars quickly became a menace to shipping in the English Channel, where they indiscriminately attacked neutral vessels. The complaints of victimized merchants compelled **Elizabeth I** to expel the beggars from English ports on 1 March 1572. Deprived of any secure land base, the beggars descended on the Dutch ports of Flushing and Brill, which were but lightly defended by the Spanish. The capture of these ports revitalized the Dutch war effort, not only giving the rebel fleet secure bases, but providing a beachhead for rebel land forces. The continued activities of the sea beggars were instrumental in ensuring the eventual triumph of the rebellion in the northern provinces of the Spanish Netherlands and in drawing England further into conflict with Spain.

See also Cautionary Towns; Netherlands Revolt; William, Prince of Orange

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Seminary Priests

During the reign of **Elizabeth I**, over 800 Englishmen were trained as Roman Catholic priests in continental seminaries, and many of them returned to England to preach the faith and administer the sacraments to English Catholics. The two principal English seminaries were at Douai in the **Netherlands** and at Rome. The Douai seminary was founded by Cardinal William **Allen** in 1568. The first seminary priests returned to England in 1574. They scattered about the country ministering secretly to English Catholics and receiving the support and protection of Catholic **gentry** families. These first missionaries were secular priests (they were not members of any religious order like the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits) and were usually not interested in political activity. The first seminary priest was executed in 1577 for breaking the law that forbade anyone from bringing a papal bull into England.

In 1580, the first English Jesuits entered the country; many of the Jesuits were interested in plotting against Elizabeth and bringing about the political restoration of **Catholicism**. The two best-known Jesuits active in England were Edmund **Campion**, who was executed in 1581, and Robert **Parsons**, who saved his own life by fleeing abroad. In 1581, **Parliament** made it **treason** to reconcile anyone to the Catholic faith with the intent of convincing them to withdraw their allegiance from the queen. In 1584, simply being a Catholic priest in England became treason.

Seminary priests were shadowed by spies and stalked by informers; they traveled about in disguise but always carried the incriminating articles of their office—the **Mass** books and vestments. They were heavily dependent on the Catholic gentry and their household servants for shelter and sustenance. Many Catholic homes contained a **priest hole**, a small hiding space in a chimney, ceiling, floor, or false wall where a priest could hide during searches or at times of heightened watchfulness. The Elizabethan government executed 123 Catholic priests, four of them Jesuits. The seminary priests did not reconvert England, but they did prevent the remaining body of English Catholics from leaving the faith and stabilized and strengthened the English Catholic community to survive the persecution of Elizabethan and Stuart times.

See also Jesuit Mission; Penal Laws

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Separatists

Separatists were radical **Puritans** who rejected the **Anglican Church** as established by **Parliament** in 1559. They believed that the established Church had to be abandoned, that they had to “separate” themselves from it and establish a new more scriptural church in its place. Separatists rejected a national church subject to the authority of the monarch, Parliament, and bishops and sought instead a church of self-governing congregations adhering strictly to the injunctions of scripture. They found the doctrine, ritual, and governance of the Anglican Church, as defined by Parliament and the opinions of **Elizabeth I**, to be too Catholic, nonscriptural, and anti-Christian to be tolerated.

Separatist congregations began to spring up, especially in **London**, in the 1580s and 1590s. An important Separatist group known as the Brownists, for their leader Robert **Browne**, arose in Norfolk in the 1580s. The Brownists moved to Middelburg in the **Netherlands** to escape persecution but soon disbanded because of poverty and personal quarrels. However, the Brownist Separatist tradition remained alive in eastern England through the writings and teaching of Browne’s follower Henry **Barrow**, whose followers, known as Barrowists, advocated a church of independent congregations. The Elizabethan government persecuted many of these congregations and imprisoned the leaders; other congregations were forced into exile.

One London Separatist group fled to the Netherlands in 1593 after its leaders were executed; the descendants of this group sailed to the New World in the *Mayflower* in 1620 to find a place to worship as they chose. The Separatist idea of independent congregations thus took root among the Puritan colonists of New England, and Browne and Barrow are today seen as founders of modern Congregationalism.

See also Anglican Settlement; Congregationalists

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Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset (c. 1506–1552)

Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was the elder brother of Queen Jane **Seymour**. As lord protector for his nephew **Edward VI**, Somerset was ruler of England from 1547 to 1549. Known as the “good duke” for his popular program of social and political reform, Somerset was overthrown by fellow councillors who believed him greedy, arrogant, and misguided.

After studying at both Oxford and Cambridge, Seymour entered royal service and won a knighthood during the French campaign of 1523. Appointed esquire of the body in 1524 and thereafter granted numerous lands and offices, Seymour had already become a royal **favorite** by the time of his sister’s marriage to **Henry VIII** in 1536. However, his new status as royal brother-in-law led to more rapid and spectacular advancement. Seymour was sworn of the council and created Viscount Beauchamp in 1536, and he was made Earl of Hertford on the birth of his nephew in October 1537. His sister’s death a few weeks later stopped neither the rewards nor the king’s favor. In the 1540s, Hertford served ably in military campaigns in **France** and **Scotland**. As the prince’s eldest uncle and a moderate Protestant in religion, Hertford won appointment through Henry VIII’s will to Edward’s regency council.

On Henry’s death in January 1547, Hertford circumvented the council by having Edward create him Duke of Somerset and declare him lord protector of the realm and governor of the royal person. Somerset now ruled as de facto king on behalf of his nine-year-old nephew. Continuing Henry VIII’s foreign policy, Somerset sought union with Scotland, and he invaded the northern kingdom in 1547 when his offer was rejected. He won the Battle of **Pinkie**, but his costly policy of garrisoning Scotland bankrupted the government and invited French intervention. Although his association with a party of social reformers known as **Commonwealth Men** has been largely demolished by modern research, the duke did attain a certain measure of popularity among the commons for sponsoring the repeal of Henrician **heresy** and **treason** statutes and for supporting the enclosure commissions of John **Hales**. However, his Protestant reform of the Church, culminating in the issuance of the first **Book of Common Prayer** in 1549, alienated Catholics and sparked the **Western Rebellion**, while his economic policies heightened expectation of reform and led to **Kett’s Rebellion** and other uprisings over **enclosures** and related economic grievances. His personal position had already been undermined in March 1549 by the trial and execution of his ambitious and unstable brother, Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

The widespread disorder of the summer of 1549 discredited Somerset's government, and, as his ally William **Paget**, Lord Paget, had warned, his furious temper, refusal to hear criticism, and inability to delegate authority alienated his fellow councillors. In October 1549, John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, led the council in overthrowing Somerset. Although released from the **Tower of London** in February 1550, Somerset remained a serious threat to the new regime, and by 1551, he had initiated covert efforts to regain his former power. For this, Somerset was rearrested in October 1551. Tried and convicted in the following December, Somerset was beheaded on 22 January 1552.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Seymour, Jane (c. 1509–1537)

Jane Seymour was the third wife of **Henry VIII** and the mother of his long-awaited male heir. The fifth child and eldest daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wiltshire, Jane was, through her mother, a distant cousin of Henry VIII. She attracted the king's interest in 1535, when she was at **court** as lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne **Boleyn**. Growing weary of his high-strung, outspoken queen, who had also failed to produce a son, Henry was frequently in Jane's company. Her brothers, Edward **Seymour** and Thomas **Seymour**, who were already well-favored royal servants, probably advised their sister on how to encourage the king's attention. Courtiers who favored the cause of **Catherine of Aragon** and who were hostile to the Boleyns may also have promoted the king's involvement with Jane, although it is unclear how organized such a faction may have been or how much its members may have coached Jane to present herself as an alternative queen.

Aside from her promise of fertility—her parents had produced 10 children, including 6 sons—it is also uncertain what first attracted the king to her. Although Sir John **Russell** called Jane “the fairest of all [the king's] wives,” the Imperial ambassador Eustace **Chapuys**, who was no friend of Anne Boleyn, described Jane as “no great beauty” (Fraser, *Wives of Henry VIII*, 235, 236). Her most



Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII and mother of Edward VI. (Corel)

distinguishing physical feature was her pale, fair complexion, something not fully captured in her portrait by Hans **Holbein**. Probably her sweet, gentle nature and virtuous demeanor—features common to all descriptions of her—were of more importance than her appearance; they provided sufficient contrast to Queen Anne to engage and hold Henry’s affection.

The announcement of the queen’s pregnancy in late 1535 put the king’s relationship with Jane on hold. However, when Anne miscarried of a son in January 1536, Henry intensified his courtship of Jane. Anne was arrested, tried, and executed for adultery and **treason** in May 1536, and Henry married Jane on 30 May, having received a dispensation to wed his cousin from Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** on the

day of Anne’s execution. The new queen chose as her motto “Bound to obey and serve,” a distinct change in tone from the previous queen. Jane’s marriage greatly increased her brothers’ influence and standing at court. As queen, Jane reconciled Henry with his elder daughter, Princess Mary, who had been estranged from her father since her late mother’s banishment from court in 1531. On 12 October 1537, Jane gave birth to a healthy son, the future **Edward VI**. The queen died of puerperal fever 12 days later and was buried in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor. As he lay dying in January 1547, Henry called out for Jane and ordered that he be buried next to her.

See also Mary I

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Seymour, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley (c. 1508–1549)

The brother of Queen Jane **Seymour** and of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour, was an attractive but unstable character

whose schemes to increase his importance within his nephew's regency government led to his downfall and death. His sister's marriage to **Henry VIII** in 1536 spurred Seymour's rapid advancement at **court**; he received numerous land grants and was knighted at his nephew's baptism in 1537. After the queen's death, Seymour was appointed to various European embassies and held a number of military commissions. He fought in the French campaign of 1543 and was named master of ordnance and admiral of the fleet in 1544. Although appointed to the **council** in January 1547, only five days before Henry's death, Seymour afterward found himself excluded from the council of regents nominated by Henry's will. When his elder brother became lord protector and Duke of Somerset at **Edward VI**'s accession, Seymour, as the king's next uncle, claimed the governorship of the royal person, thereby causing much tension between himself and Somerset. The protector compromised with his brother by naming him to the council, securing him a **peerage**, and appointing him lord admiral.

Despite these concessions, Seymour, apparently out of ambition and jealousy of his brother, undertook a number of reckless and provocative actions, including secretly marrying the former queen, Katherine **Parr**; seeking the hand of Princess Elizabeth after Katherine's death; trying to win the confidence of the young king by slipping him pocket money; and attempting to persuade the king to revoke Somerset's commission as lord protector. Seymour's inappropriate advances to Elizabeth while she was resident in Katherine Parr's household in 1547–1548 brought the princess and her servants under suspicion when the admiral was arrested on 17 January 1549. Elizabeth, in her teens at the time, was flattered by Seymour's attention and attracted by his looks and charm, but she was never seriously swayed by his proposals of marriage. Seymour's dangerous schemes and unstable personality put him beyond salvation, even by his brother, the lord protector, whose council rivals used the admiral's misdeeds to weaken Somerset's position. Because the council could not prove **treason**, Seymour was not brought to trial but was condemned in **Parliament** by act of **attainder**. He was executed on 19 March 1549. In his journal, the 11-year-old king coolly recorded his uncle's death as follows: "Also the Lord Sudeley, Admiral of England, was condemned to death and died the March ensuing" (Jordan, *Chronicle and Political Papers*, 10–11).

See also Elizabeth I

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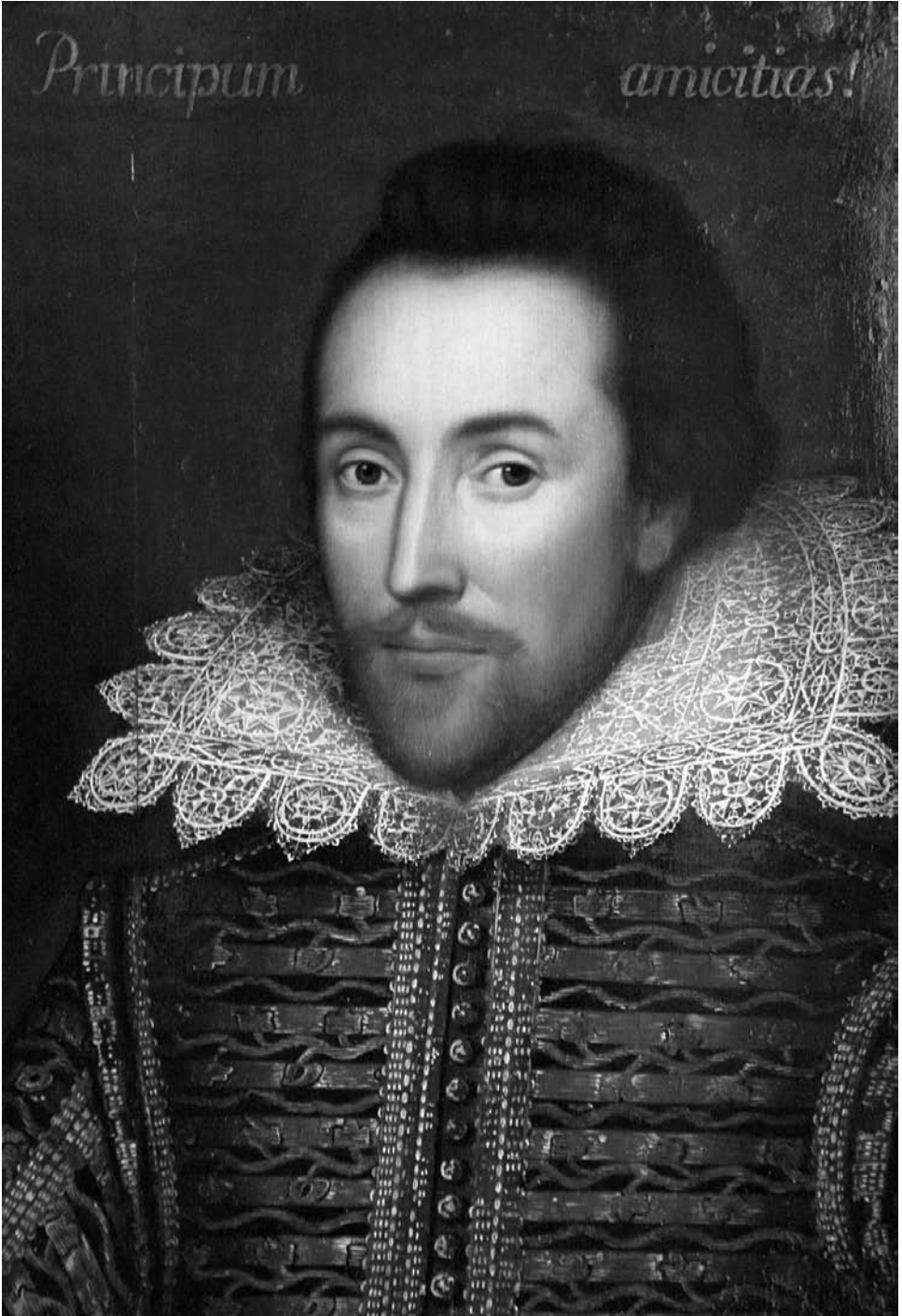
Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)

William Shakespeare is considered by many to be the greatest poet and playwright in the English language. He was born in April 1564 in Stratford-on-Avon, the son of John Shakespeare, a glove maker and dealer in timber and grain. As far as is known, Shakespeare's only formal education was acquired at the **grammar school** in Stratford. In 1582, he married Anne **Hathaway**, with whom he had three children—Susanna, born in 1583, and Hamnet and Judith, twins born in 1585. Little else is known about Shakespeare's life before his appearance on the **London** theatrical scene about 1592.

By 1594, Shakespeare was part of the **Chamberlain's Men** acting company (later known as the King's Men). He was successful enough by 1597 to help pay his father's many debts and to buy a house, New Place, and other property in and around Stratford. Two years later, he became a shareholder in Richard **Burbage's** new London theater, the **Globe Theatre**, where he also served as playwright and actor. He returned to Stratford about 1610, dying there on 23 April 1616. Because Hamnet, his only son, died in 1596 and his daughters' children died childless, he left no direct descendants. Because we know so little about large parts of Shakespeare's life and because his education seems to have been brief, many other Elizabethan figures have been proposed as the true author of Shakespeare's plays, the most popular candidates being Francis **Bacon**; Christopher **Marlowe**; and Edward de **Vere**, Earl of Oxford. Opponents of Shakespeare's authorship argue that the son of a provincial glove maker lacked the education and experience to write brilliant plays that spoke of their author's familiarity with the court, the military camp, the legal world, and other specific realms of experience.

A severe lack of documentary evidence only adds to the mystery—no manuscript survives for any of Shakespeare's 37 plays, and only six signatures can be definitely attributed to him. Most Shakespeare scholars, however, dismiss the arguments for alternative authorship as unconvincing; they maintain that Shakespeare was well known in the London theatre community and had already gained a reputation as a talented playwright by the end of the 1590s. In the preface to the **First Folio** (first collected edition) of Shakespeare's plays, published in 1623 by John **Heminges** and Henry **Condell**, the playwright Ben Jonson first attested to the greatness of Shakespeare, saying, he was “not of an age, but for all time.”

See also Drama; Poetry; Shakespeare, Works of; Shakespeare Family; Sonnet, Shakespearean



William Shakespeare. The “Cobbe portrait” was only unveiled in 2009 and may be the only portrait painted in life and the source from which other known likenesses were copied. (AP Images)

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Shakespeare, Works of

William **Shakespeare** wrote, or has had attributed to him, 37 plays. Although the complete lack of any manuscripts makes the dating of the plays highly conjectural, most are thought to have been written in **London** between about 1592 and **Elizabeth I**'s death in 1603. Dates are assigned by a careful reading of both internal evidence (allusions to datable events; nature and type of rhyme, imagery, or vocabulary) and external evidence (actual date of publication; the date the work was entered in the **Stationers' Register**). Several of the classic tragedies, such as *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, were written in the first years of **James I**, and the last few works, including *The Tempest* and *Henry VIII*, were probably written in Stratford.

The plays can be divided into four categories:

1. The history plays, such as *Henry V* and *Richard III*, that draw on English history for their themes.
2. The comedies, such as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, that employ extensive rhyme and wordplay and borrow heavily from Roman and other comic traditions.
3. The tragedies, such as *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*, that, in their powerful explorations of human conflict, are often considered the greatest dramas ever written.
4. The romances or tragicomedies, such as *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, that were written late in the playwright's career and explore themes of reconciliation rather than conflict.

Shakespeare was also known for his **poetry**; he published the love poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* in the early 1590s, and a collection of 154 sonnets, entitled simply *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, in May 1609. The two love poems were dedicated to Henry **Wriothesley**, Earl of Southampton, a young

Possible Dating of Shakespeare's Works

Comedies			
<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>	1602–1603	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	1595–1596
<i>As You Like It</i>	1599	<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	1598–1599
<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	1592–1594	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	1593–1594
<i>Love's Labor's Lost</i>	1594–1595	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	1601–1602
<i>Measure for Measure</i>	1604	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	1601–1602
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	1596–1597	<i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	1594
<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	1597		
Romances			
<i>Cymbeline</i>	1609–1610	<i>The Tempest</i>	1611
<i>Pericles, Prince of Tyre</i>	1607–1608	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>	1610–1611
Poems			
<i>The Phoenix and Turtle</i>	1601	<i>Sonnets</i>	1593–1599
<i>The Rape of Lucrece</i>	1593–1594	<i>Venus and Adonis</i>	1592–1593
Histories			
<i>Henry IV, Part 1</i>	1596–1597	<i>Henry VI, Part 3</i>	1590–1591
<i>Henry IV, Part 2</i>	1598	<i>Henry VIII</i>	1612–1613
<i>Henry V</i>	1599	<i>King John</i>	1594–1596
<i>Henry VI, Part 1</i>	1589–1590	<i>Richard II</i>	1595
<i>Henry VI, Part 2</i>	1590–1591	<i>Richard III</i>	1592–1593
Tragedies			
<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>	1606–1607	<i>Macbeth</i>	1606
<i>Coriolanus</i>	1607–1608	<i>Othello</i>	1604
<i>Hamlet</i>	1600–1601	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	1595–1596
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	1599	<i>Timon of Athens</i>	1607–1608
<i>King Lear</i>	1605	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	1593–1594

Note: Adapted from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 77.

courtier whose wealth made him much sought after by writers as a literary patron. Written probably in the 1590s, the sonnets are also believed to have been in some way associated with Southampton, who was prominent at **court** during this period as a friend of the royal **favorite**, Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Scholars have searched the sonnets for biographical information on Shakespeare himself, looking intently but so far unsuccessfully for the identities of “Mr. W. H.,” to

whom the poems are dedicated, and the “dark lady,” who is mentioned in a number of sonnets.

Shakespeare’s elegy (i.e., a poem of mourning, reflection, or melancholy) *The Phoenix and Turtle*, appeared in 1601. The 1609 edition of the sonnets also contained a poem entitled *A Lover’s Complaint*, which it attributed to Shakespeare; however, modern scholars dispute this attribution. In 1599, a collection of poetry entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim* printed the words “by W. Shakespeare” on its title page, but only five of the poems (two sonnets and three verses from the play *Love’s Labor’s Lost*) are known to be Shakespearean; a few are known to be by other poets, and the Shakespearean authorship of the rest is doubtful.

See also Drama; First Folio; Globe Theatre; Sonnet, Shakespearean

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Shakespeare Family

Although William **Shakespeare** is considered by many to be the greatest writer in the English language, his family origins are obscure and known only from occasional mentions in civic and legal records. Shakespeare’s father, John Shakespeare (c. 1530–1601), was born in Warwickshire, the son of Richard Shakespeare, a yeoman farmer (i.e., not of the **gentry** class). John became a glove maker in Stratford, where he married Mary Arden (c. 1540–1608) about 1557. The couple had eight children, of whom the following five are known: William (1564–1616), Gilbert (1566–1612), Joan (1569–1646), Richard (1574–1613), and Edmund (1580–1607).

John Shakespeare became an alderman of Stratford in 1565, town bailiff in 1568, and chief alderman (head of the town council) in 1571. By 1575, John owned several houses in Stratford, but his financial fortunes declined in the following years, and he was dropped from the council in 1586. John mortgaged and lost much of his property, including his wife’s inheritance, and was frequently suing or being sued for debt. In 1592, he was listed as a **recusant**, but his nonattendance at church may have been out of fear of being arrested there for debt rather than for **Catholicism**.

His son William, to whom he left his remaining property in Stratford, helped him obtain a coat of arms in 1596, thus allowing John to die a gentlemen in 1601.

Mary Shakespeare lived on in Stratford with her daughter Joan and her son-in-law William Hart, a hat maker, until 1608. Although Shakespeare's brother Gilbert was a haberdasher in **London** in the late 1590s, he was, by 1602, back in Stratford, where he acted as William's agent in land transactions. Gilbert died, unmarried, in February 1612. The next brother, Richard, apparently never left Stratford; other than occasional minor brushes with the law, little is known of his life. Youngest brother Edmund Shakespeare became an actor in London, but nothing is known of his career; he died in December 1607.

William Shakespeare married Anne **Hathaway** in 1582, only six months before the birth of the couple's first daughter, Susanna (1583–1649). Beyond giving birth to twins in 1585—Hamnet (1585–1596) and Judith (1585–1662)—and receiving her husband's "second-best" bed in his will, little else is known of Anne Shakespeare's life. Hamnet Shakespeare died at age 11 in August 1596. The other twin, Judith, married Thomas Quiney in 1616 and bore two sons—Richard in 1618 and Thomas in 1620—but both of these grandsons of William Shakespeare died unmarried in 1639. Susanna Shakespeare married John Hall, a **Puritan** physician, in 1607 and gave birth to her only child, Elizabeth, in February 1608. The Halls inherited most of William Shakespeare's property, including New Place in Stratford. Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's only granddaughter, died childless in 1670, leaving her grandfather without any direct descendants.

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Shaxton, Nicholas (c. 1485–1556)

Nicholas Shaxton, Henrician Bishop of Salisbury, began his ecclesiastical career as a reformer but repudiated his opinions when faced with execution for **heresy**. Born into a Norfolk **gentry** family, Shaxton was educated at Cambridge, where he was elected fellow of Gonville Hall in about 1506. In the early 1520s, Shaxton was a member of the reformist-minded fellowship that met to discuss theology at the **White Horse Tavern** in Cambridge. In 1531, Shaxton's unorthodox opinions on **purgatory** and clerical celibacy, as well as his possession of heretical books, led Bishop Richard Nix of Norwich to compel him to make formal abjuration of his views before receiving license to preach in Norwich diocese. In 1533, Anne **Boleyn**

rewarded Shaxton's reformism with a series of ecclesiastical offices, including that of queen's almoner. At the request of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**, Shaxton preached before **Henry VIII** during Lent 1534. In February 1535, Shaxton, probably again through the queen's **patronage**, became bishop of Salisbury.

The execution of Anne Boleyn in May 1536 deprived Shaxton of his patron and left him in debt to the king, who assumed collection of all sums owed to the late queen. As bishop, Shaxton continued to express reformist views, opposing Bishop John **Stokesley**'s defense of the seven sacraments and endorsing the Lutheran-influenced **Bishops' Book** of 1537. However, the bishop's outspoken personality soon embroiled him in a number of controversies. In October 1536, Shaxton was one of the episcopal appointments denounced by the **Pilgrimage of Grace** rebels. In 1537, Shaxton became involved in a jurisdictional dispute with the municipal authorities in Salisbury, and he fell into disfavor at **court** for hesitating to surrender an **advowson** (i.e., the right to present a **benefice**) to the king.

Upon passage of the conservative Act of **Six Articles** in 1539, Shaxton and Hugh **Latimer** resigned their bishoprics. Committed to the custody of Bishop John Clerk of Bath and Wells and forbidden from preaching, Shaxton was eventually pardoned in early 1540. He lived quietly until 1546, when he was summoned to **London** to answer charges of heresy. Accused of maintaining unorthodox opinions regarding the **Eucharist**, Shaxton was arraigned at the Guildhall with Anne **Askew**. Condemned to death, Shaxton recanted his views and then attempted unsuccessfully to persuade Askew to recant hers. Shaxton was next compelled to preach the sermon at Askew's execution on 16 July and to make public recantation at **Paul's Cross** on 1 August. Henry rewarded the repentant cleric with the mastership of St. Giles's Hospital in Norwich, but Shaxton was forced to surrender the office to **Edward VI** in 1547. Thereafter, Shaxton maintained his newfound conservatism, even under Edward's Protestant regimes. Shaxton received no further office until the reign of **Mary I**, when he became a suffragan under Bishop Thomas **Thirlby**. In this capacity, Shaxton passed judgment upon several **Marian martyrs** in 1555. Shaxton died on 5 August 1556.

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Shelton, Mary (c. 1510–c. 1571)

A cousin and lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne **Boleyn**, Mary Shelton is best known for her contributions to the "Devonshire" manuscript, a valuable collection of

Tudor court **poetry**, for her possible sexual relationship with **Henry VIII**, and for her tangential involvement in the downfall of Anne Boleyn.

Mary was the daughter of the Norfolk gentleman Sir John Shelton and his wife Anne Boleyn, who was the sister of Thomas **Boleyn**, Earl of Wiltshire, and thus aunt to Queen Anne Boleyn. Mary was apparently an enthusiastic participant in the amorous game of courtly love that characterized the household of Anne Boleyn, who, in one instance, rebuked Mary Shelton for filling her prayer book with “ydill poesies” (Dowling, “William Latymer’s Chronicklle,” 62). Mary’s hand is also found answering poems addressed to her and copying or perhaps even composing some of the romantic, courtly poetry in the “Devonshire” manuscript now found in the British Library (Add. MS 17492).

Mary was linked romantically with the king in a February 1535 letter by the Imperial ambassador Eustace **Chapuys** and was again mentioned as one of Henry’s **favorites** in early 1538. Mary Shelton was also amorously connected with both Sir Henry **Norris** and Sir Francis **Weston**, two men later accused of and executed for adultery with Anne Boleyn. In the **Tower of London** in May 1536, Anne had revealed a conversation with Norris that began with her chiding him for not marrying Mary Shelton and ended with her indiscreet observation that Norris sought to have Anne herself if anything happened to the king. In another Tower revelation, Anne said that she had admonished the married Weston for flirting with Mary Shelton and that Weston then dangerously revealed that he came to the queen’s apartments not to see Mary but the queen herself, whom he loved more than either Mary or his wife. In this way, Mary Shelton became an important figure in the story of Anne Boleyn’s downfall.

Mary Shelton has often been confused with her sister-in-law Margaret (Madge) Shelton, who is sometimes incorrectly described as the woman Chapuys claimed was Henry’s mistress in 1535. The confusion is heightened by the fact that Madge Shelton, the daughter of Henry Parker, Lord Morley, was the elder sister of Jane **Boleyn**, the wife of Anne Boleyn’s brother, George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, who was executed for committing incest with his sister. Mary Shelton was later said to have had close relationships with other men, including Sir Thomas Clere (d. 1545) and the Henrician poet Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey. By 1546, she was married to Sir Anthony Heveningham, by whom she had five children, including the youngest, Abigail Heveningham, who was later a lady-in-waiting to **Elizabeth I**, Anne Boleyn’s daughter. In 1558, following Heveningham’s death, Mary married Philip Appleyard. She was buried in Heveningham church in Suffolk on 8 January 1571.

John A. Wagner

See also Ladies-in-Waiting

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Shrewsbury, Countess of

See Hardwick, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury

Shrewsbury, Earl of

See Talbot, George, Earl of Shrewsbury

Shute, John (d. 1563)

John Shute was the author of the first treatise on **architecture** published in England. Although little is known of his early life or career, Shute was likely born in Devonshire and is believed to be the painter John Shute, who, according to an extant deed, purchased a house in **London** in December 1550. He also designed and built the pageant that the Merchant Tailors' Company presented at the lord mayor's show in London in 1561.

Shute was a servant of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, who sent him to **Italy** in 1550 to "confer with the doings of the skillful masters in architecture, and also to view such ancient Monuments hereof as are yet extant" (Shute, *The First and Chief Grounds*, dedication). While in Rome and other Italian cities, Shute made drawings of buildings, paintings, sculptures, and other important works of **art** and architecture. Upon Shute's return to England, Northumberland showed his drawings to **Edward VI**, but Shute did not publish his study until 1563, when it appeared as *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture Used in All the Ancient and Famous Monuments: With a Farther & More Ample Discourse upon the Same, than Hitherto Has Been Set Out by Any Other*. Dedicated to **Elizabeth I**, Shute's treatise was the first such work on architecture to be published in English. It is also illustrated with wood and metal cuts that were likely made and designed by Shute himself, making him the first English engraver to be known by name.

In *First and Chief Grounds*, Shute discussed the origins and characteristics of the five classical orders of architecture as laid out by the Italian architect Sebastiano Serlio in his 1537 work *Regole Generali di Architettura*. In his work, Shute

identified each of the orders—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite—with a Greek mythological figure of appropriate type, such as Hercules to represent Doric. Shute also described a sixth order, the Attic, which he based upon cites from such ancient writers as Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder and such architectural examples as the Pantheon and the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome. It is uncertain how much influence Shute's work had on English architecture. There is only one clear instance of the integration of one of Shute's illustrations into an actual structure, but the book was directed to other artisans and craftsmen and generated sufficient interest to be brought out in a new abridged edition in 1587. Shute died and was buried in London in September 1563, only months after the publication of *First and Chief Grounds*.

John A. Wagner

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Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586)

As lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney was instrumental in maintaining English rule in **Ireland**. Because his father, Sir William Sidney, was an official in the household of Prince Edward, Henry Sidney was selected to be one of the prince's childhood companions. When the prince came to the throne as **Edward VI** in 1547, he showed Sidney great favor, knighting him in 1550. Although Sidney married a daughter of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, he took no part in **Northumberland's Coup** in July 1553, and was soon in favor with Edward's successor, **Mary I**, who appointed him vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1556. In Ireland, Sidney served under his brother-in-law Lord Deputy Thomas **Radcliffe**, the future Earl of Sussex.

By the time Sidney returned to England in 1559, **Elizabeth I** was queen, and she appointed him president of the Council of Wales, a post he held until his death. In 1565, Elizabeth sent Sidney back to Ireland as lord deputy. He crushed the rebellion of Shane **O'Neill** in Ulster, persuaded other Irish chieftains to submit to the queen's authority, and calmed Irish religious fears by delaying or laxly enforcing much anti-Catholic legislation. Seeking to pacify southern Ireland, Sidney imprisoned the troublesome Gerald **Fitzgerald**, Earl of Desmond, and set up English presidencies to administer Irish provinces. Combined with various schemes to plant

English settlers on Irish lands, the presidencies, by seeming to prove the **Dublin** government's desire to impose English law and religion on the Irish, caused a massive rebellion in southern Ireland in 1569–1570.

Sidney resigned his post in 1571 but was reappointed lord deputy in 1575. Attempting to put the Irish government on a sounder financial footing, Sidney imposed an unpopular tax on landholders, but he fell afoul of the queen's Irish **favorite**, Thomas **Butler**, Earl of Ormond, when he refused to exempt Ormond from the tax. The earl then accused Sidney of corruption, and, despite a brilliant defense of his actions written by his son Philip **Sidney**, Sir Henry was recalled in 1578. Swayed by Ormond's charges, Elizabeth refused Sidney further employment, and he spent his last years on his estates or at his post in **Wales**, where he died in May 1586.

See also Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Plantations, Irish

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Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586)

Handsome and talented, Sir Philip Sidney was accepted in his time as the archetypal Elizabethan courtier-poet. The son of Sir Henry **Sidney**, lord deputy of **Ireland**, and the nephew of Robert **Dudley**, **Elizabeth I's favorite**, with **Philip II of Spain** standing as his godfather, Philip Sidney was born into a wealthy and highly favored courtier family. Sidney was educated at Shrewsbury School, where he met his lifelong friend Fulke **Greville** and at Oxford, where he befriended such future figures of prominence as William **Camden**, Richard **Hakluyt**, Walter **Raleigh**, and Edmund **Campion**.

In 1572, Sidney witnessed the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** in Paris while on a tour of Europe to further his education. In 1577, at age 22, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Germany. A strong Protestant, he fell into disfavor in 1579 when he advised the queen to forego her proposed marriage to Francis **Valois**, the Catholic Duke of Alençon. Temporarily deprived of an official post, Sidney turned to literature. He had already defended his father's Irish policies in *Discourse on*

Irish Affairs (1577) and had written a play, *The Lady of May*, which was presented to Elizabeth in 1578. In the early 1580s, he began writing a prose romance entitled *Arcadia*, which influenced many later writers, including William **Shakespeare**, and the first English **sonnet** cycle, *Astrophel and Stella*, which expressed his passion for Penelope **Rich** (“Stella”), Lady Rich, daughter of Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex. Wishing to make English literature as vigorous as continental writing, Sidney became the head of a circle of poets and writers that included Greville, Gabriel **Harvey**, and Edmund **Spenser**, who dedicated his *Shepherd’s Calendar* (1579) to Sidney. In his *Defense of Poesie* (1595), Sidney set standards for the new English literature he envisioned.



Sir Philip Sidney, a prominent Elizabethan courtier and poet, was the nephew of Elizabeth I’s favorite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. (Library of Congress)

Sidney also became interested in American exploration through his friendship with John **Dee**. He invested in the voyages of Sir Martin **Frobisher** and was about to set sail with Sir Francis **Drake** in 1585 when Elizabeth named him governor of Flushing, one of the Dutch **cautionary towns**. In September 1586, he was mortally wounded leading a charge against the Spanish during Leicester’s **Netherlands expedition**. Matching the tenor of his life, the heroic manner of his death caused great sorrow and elicited written tributes from nearly every poet in England.

See also Drama; Grammar School; Poetry; Universities

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Simnel, Lambert (c. 1475–c. 1535)

By impersonating Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, the Yorkist heir to the throne, Lambert Simnel became the center of the first major effort to overthrow **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. Little is known of Simnel, whose very name may have been invented. Polydore **Vergil**, in his *Anglica Historia*, claimed that Simnel was the son of Thomas Simnel of Oxford, who was variously described as a baker, joiner, or shoemaker. About 1486, a priest named Richard (or William) Simonds conceived a plan to pass off Simnel, who was apparently an attractive and intelligent youth, as one of the sons of **Edward IV**, who had disappeared in the **Tower of London** in 1483. However, upon hearing a rumor that Warwick had escaped from captivity, Simonds took Simnel to **Ireland**, which was strongly Yorkist, and declared him to be the earl and rightful king of England. Gerald **Fitzgerald**, eighth Earl of Kildare, the Irish lord deputy, accepted the imposture, as did **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy and sister of Edward IV, who recognized Simnel as her nephew, and **Maximilian** of Austria, who sent a force of German mercenaries. Among the Yorkists who joined Simnel in Ireland was John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, nephew and heir apparent to **Richard III**. Because all were probably aware that Simnel was an impostor, the Yorkist leaders likely planned to use the Simnel movement to eventually put Lincoln on the throne.

To meet the growing threat, Henry VII had the real Warwick paraded through the streets of **London** and convened a great council at Sheen in February 1487 to discuss a response. Upon learning of her involvement in the Simnel enterprise, Henry banished his mother-in-law, Elizabeth **Woodville**, widow of Edward IV, to a nunnery. On 24 May 1487, Simnel was crowned in **Dublin** as “Edward VI”; the Irish government accepted his authority, and coins and proclamations were issued in his name. On 4 June, Simnel crossed to England accompanied by Simonds, his chief Yorkist supporters, and a force of German and Irish mercenaries. Enlarged by the retinues of various Yorkist gentlemen, Simnel’s army encountered the royal forces on 16 June. After a stiff three-hour fight, the Battle of **Stoke** ended in the death of Lincoln and the captures of Simonds and Simnel. While the former was imprisoned for life, the latter was pardoned. To emphasize Simnel’s unimportance and low birth, Henry sent the boy to the royal kitchens. Little is known of the remainder of Simnel’s life; he appears to have been employed for a time as a royal falconer and to have later transferred out of royal service. The date of Simnel’s death is also uncertain, being placed as early as 1525 and as late as 1535.

See also Princes in the Tower; Warbeck, Perkin; York, House of

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Six Articles, Act of

Formally titled “An Act Abolishing Diversity in Opinions,” the Act of Six Articles reinforced existing **heresy laws** and reasserted traditional Catholic doctrine as the basis of faith for the English Church. Approved by **Convocation** and enacted by **Parliament** in June 1539, the statute arose from **Henry VIII**’s personal conservatism in matters of doctrine, his need for better relations with the Catholic powers of **Spain** and **France**, and his desire to curb the growth of heresy in England and religious unrest in **Calais**. The act also represented a political defeat for Thomas **Cromwell**, Thomas **Cranmer**, and the other reformist leaders at **court**.

Without mentioning the word, the first article affirmed **transubstantiation**, the Catholic doctrine of the **Eucharist**. The remaining five articles similarly upheld Catholic positions, declaring the distribution of Communion in both kinds unnecessary, forbidding priests to marry, maintaining vows of chastity or widowhood by laymen and women, approving private Masses, and endorsing auricular confession. Penalties for opposing any of the affirmed beliefs were ferocious, justifying the Protestant characterization of the act as “the whip with six strings.” Those who contravened the first article or who showed disrespect to the Eucharist were guilty of heresy and were subject to burning and forfeiture of lands and goods. Anyone who preached, taught, or obstinately promoted any positions contravening the other articles was guilty of felony and worthy of death. Merely holding opinions not compatible with the articles meant imprisonment and loss of property. Refusing to make confession or take Communion also made one liable to fines and imprisonment on the first offense and death on the second. Any priest who remained married after 12 July 1539 faced imprisonment and loss of property and **benefices** for a first offense and death for a second, with the same penalties applying for the wife. The statute empowered bishops, officials of the **church courts**, and **justices of the peace** to enforce its provisions; allowed royal commissioners to destroy books containing contradictory material; and directed priests to periodically read the act to their parishioners.

Passage of the act prompted Hugh **Latimer**, bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas **Shaxton**, bishop of Salisbury, to resign their sees, and forced Cranmer to send his wife back to Germany (the delayed effect of this provision may have been for Cranmer’s benefit). By 1540, Franco-Imperial amity had dissolved, lessening Henry’s need to impress the Catholic states with his orthodoxy. By the mid-1540s, the ascendancy of the conservative party had waned, although not before it succeeded in destroying Cromwell by convincing the king that his minister shielded heretics, especially in **Calais**. For these reasons, the Act of Six Articles was not strictly enforced and was never the scourge reformers had feared. Nonetheless, the act, along with the **royal supremacy**, remained the official standard of orthodoxy for the Henrician Church until repealed by the first Parliament of **Edward VI** in 1547.

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Skelton, John (c. 1463–1529)

An important early Tudor poet and man of letters, John Skelton helped develop English as a literary language and significantly influenced such Elizabethan poets as Thomas **Sackville** and Edmund **Spenser**. Born in northern England, Skelton claimed to have been educated at both Oxford and Cambridge, taking degrees at the latter in the 1480s. Although the first extant poem definitely identified as his is *Upon the Dolorous Death and Much Lamentable Chance of the Most Honour-*

able Earl of Northumberland, an elegy on the earl's murder during the 1489 **Yorkshire Rebellion**, Skelton had probably been writing throughout the 1480s, for a poem written on the death of **Edward IV** in 1483 is also thought to be his. In about 1488, Oxford granted Skelton the title of poet laureate, a relatively new academic degree awarded with a wreath of laurel to any graduate who had distinguished himself in **poetry** and rhetoric. By 1493, similar titles had been conferred on him by both Cambridge and Louvain.

The awarding of these degrees may have been due to royal **patronage**, particularly that of **Henry VII's** mother, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond, who was likely responsible for Skelton's appointment in the 1490s as tutor to Prince Henry. Although not officially recognized as **court** poet, Skelton clearly acted as the commemorator of important events in the royal family, writing verses to celebrate



Frontispiece of *The Garlande of Laurelle* by John Skelton, Tudor poet and man of letters. (Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

Arthur **Tudor**'s creation as Prince of **Wales** in 1489 and Prince Henry's creation as Duke of York in 1494. Skelton is also thought to be the author of elegies written on the death of Jasper **Tudor**, Duke of Bedford, in 1495, and of Henry VII himself in 1509. Skelton probably also enjoyed the patronage of important noble families. The Northumberland elegy indicates a connection to the Percy household, while *The Laurel*, a dream-allegory later retitled *The Garland of Laurel*, indicates a long-term association with the Howard family. Although published in 1523 for the wife of Thomas **Howard**, future third Duke of Norfolk, *The Laurel* was originally written in the 1490s.

In about 1502, Skelton took holy orders and accepted appointment to a Crown **benefice** in Norfolk at Diss. He may shortly thereafter have lost royal favor, for records indicate a John Skelton was briefly imprisoned in June 1502. Perhaps the biting satire of such works as *Bowge of Court* (*bouge* or *bouche* of court was the right of courtiers to eat at royal expense), an allegorical depiction of seven sins illustrative of court life, was responsible for Skelton's temporary disgrace. Although restored to favor by 1504, Skelton now lived mainly at Diss, where he continued to write poetry, although his output was less than that produced during his court years. Nonetheless, at Diss, Skelton wrote his best-known poem, *Phillip Sparrow*, a mock-serious lament for a pet sparrow written for Jane Scrope, a kinswoman of the Howards. Immediately popular, the poem may have been a source for the later nursery rhyme "Who Killed Cock Robin?" At Diss, Skelton also produced *Ware the Hawk*, an attack on a local curate who went hawking in the town's church, and devised the original meter that came to be known as Skeltonic (short, usually rhyming couplets of irregular meter and alternating rhythms).

Upon **Henry VIII**'s accession in 1509, Skelton sent the king a number of laudatory verses such as *A Laud and Praise Made for Our Sovereign Lord the King* and *Speculum Principis*, a collection of Latin writings that Skelton had prepared for Henry when he was Skelton's pupil. If meant to secure favor and a return to court, these presentations were successful. Calling himself "orator regius," Skelton thereafter wrote a series of progovernment pieces, such as *A Ballad of the Scottish King* and *Against the Scots* (both 1514), which celebrated the English victory over **James IV** of **Scotland** at **Flodden Field**. Skelton also wrote a number of lighter works for the amusement of the king, including *Against Garnesche*, a series of poems mocking Henry's gentleman usher, Sir Christopher Garnesche (or Gurneys). The poet also produced political morality plays, such as *Magnificence*, which is usually dated to 1516 but may also have its origins in the 1490s.

After 1519, Skelton, then living within the safe sanctuary of Westminster, undertook a series of poems attacking Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**. The first of these was a critique of Wolsey's foreign policy entitled *Speak Parrot*, which was a reworked version of a now-lost earlier poem entitled *The Popagay*. In *Colin Clout* and *Why Come Ye Not to Court* (both 1522), the poet employed Skeltonics to heap abuse

upon Wolsey. However, in 1523, Skelton's attacks on the cardinal ceased as mysteriously as they had begun. Written perhaps at the behest of powerful patrons such as the Howards, the anti-Wolsey poems probably stopped when Skelton's backers came to some accommodation with the cardinal. Skelton thereafter wrote a number of poems dedicated to Wolsey, including *A Replycacion against Certain Young Scholars* (1528), which attacked the convicted heretics Thomas **Bilney** and Thomas Arthur. Skelton died at Westminster on 21 June 1529.

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Smeaton, Mark (d. 1536)

Mark Smeaton, a court musician and groom of the privy chamber, was one of the men executed for committing adultery with Queen Anne **Boleyn**. The son of a carpenter, Smeaton exhibited sufficient musical talent to earn, in about 1530, a coveted position in the boys' choir of the **Chapel Royal**, the king's company of male singers and musicians. Sometime after 1532, Smeaton, who was perhaps in his early 20s, became a groom of the privy chamber, although he continued to entertain the **court** in some fashion, being later recalled as a player of the virginals, spinet, and organ, as well as a singer and accomplished dancer.

The extent of his contact with Queen Anne is uncertain; she later recalled only two instances when he was present in her apartments, once being when she rebuked him for approaching her too familiarly. There are other indications that Smeaton was known about the court for aping his social superiors. Although he lived among courtiers, he was not of their class and never accepted as such; any attempts to act above his station, particularly to participate in the game of courtly flirtation practiced by the queen and other courtiers, would have been scorned. When Thomas **Cromwell**, seeking evidence of **treason** against Anne, arrested Smeaton on 30 April 1536, he may have done so to exploit Smeaton's obvious infatuation with the queen and thereby entangle her and members of her faction in charges of treasonous sexual misconduct.

Another recent theory of Smeaton's arrest (see Warnicke, below) suggests that Cromwell was interested in proving that the queen's gross immorality caused the

deformed fetus she had miscarried in the previous January. This goal could be achieved by implicating the queen with men who were themselves suspected of unnatural sexual appetites. Thus, Cromwell, knowing of a homosexual relationship between Smeaton and the queen's brother, George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, threatened to openly reveal this rumored affair to force Smeaton to confess to adultery with Anne.

The first of Anne's five alleged lovers to be arrested, Smeaton was interrogated at Cromwell's house in Stepney, where he finally confessed to illicit relations with the queen, the only one of the five to do so. Whether or not he was tortured is unclear, but he was held in irons—the only one of the five so treated—in the **Tower of London**, where he was transferred on 1 May. Anne condemned his confession as false, and most historians dismiss it as untrue—an attempt to save life or reputation. On 12 May, Smeaton was tried at Westminster Hall with Henry **Norris**, Francis **Weston**, and William **Brereton**. All pleaded not guilty to treason; only Smeaton pleaded guilty to adultery. Condemned to death, Smeaton and the others, including Rochford, were executed at the Tower on 17 May.

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Smerwick, Siege of

The siege at Smerwick in southern **Ireland** in November 1580 ended the first attempt by the pope to intervene militarily in Ireland on behalf of Irish rebels against the Elizabethan government. The **Desmond Rebellion** began in Ireland in July 1579 when James Fitzmaurice **Fitzgerald** landed with a force of 600 Spanish and Italian troops provided by Pope **Gregory XIII**. The papal force built a fort on Smerwick Bay in southwestern Ireland and called upon all Irishmen to rise in defense of the Catholic religion. Although Fitzmaurice was killed in August, the presence of the papal force threw southern Ireland into rebellion under the younger brothers of Gerald **Fitzgerald**, 14th Earl of Desmond, who eventually assumed leadership of the uprising.

In 1580, **Elizabeth I** appointed Lord Grey de Wilton, a zealous Protestant, lord deputy of Ireland, with instructions to quell the Desmond Rebellion and end the threat from the papal force at Smerwick. This threat increased in September 1580 when 700 additional papal troops landed at Smerwick, an event that further encouraged the Desmond rebels. In November, Grey joined forces with Thomas

Butler, Earl of Ormond, a staunch royalist and an enemy of Desmond, to lay siege to the Smerwick fort. Unable to hold out, the papal garrison surrendered on 10 November 1580.

Fearing any strengthening of **Catholicism** in Ireland and wishing to deter future Irish rebels and papal invaders, Grey massacred the entire garrison and its Irish allies, except for 15 leaders who were held for ransom. Although approved by Elizabeth, this harsh action failed to prevent the Spanish from landing troops at Kinsale in 1601 to support Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Irish forces during the **Nine Years War**. The massacre at Smerwick illustrated how fearful the Elizabethans were of the possibility of having a Catholic and pro-Spanish Ireland just off their western shore.

See also Fitzmaurice's Rebellion; Kinsale, Battle of; Reformation, Irish

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Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577)

Sir Thomas Smith was a classical scholar, an experienced civil servant, and secretary of state. Born in Essex, Smith was educated at the local **grammar school** and at Cambridge, where he completed a master's degree in 1533. In 1542, after several years of study in Paris and at Padua in **Italy**, Smith returned to Cambridge, where he joined John **Cheke**, future tutor to **Edward VI**, in campaigning to reform the pronunciation of Greek. In 1544, Smith became Regius professor of **civil law** at Cambridge and vice-chancellor of the university. A strong Protestant and a loyal supporter of the regency government of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Smith was knighted, appointed to the Privy **Council**, and named secretary of state in 1548.

In October 1549, when Somerset was overthrown, Smith was deprived of his offices and his professorship and was imprisoned in the **Tower of London**. He was released in 1550 but took no further part in government during Edward VI's

reign or during the reign of **Mary I**. Upon **Elizabeth I**'s accession in 1558, Smith returned to public office, being appointed ambassador to **France** in 1562. Although Smith quarreled bitterly with Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**, his ambassadorial colleague in France, the two men were able to resolve the issues arising from the **Le Havre expedition** and conclude the Treaty of **Troyes** in April 1564.

In the early 1570s, Smith won the queen's permission to establish a plantation on the Ards Peninsula in the Ulster province of northern **Ireland**. However, the venture, which experienced difficulties from the start, came to ruin in October 1573 when Smith's only child, his illegitimate son Thomas, was murdered by his Irish servants. Although Smith was readmitted to the Privy Council and reappointed secretary of state in 1574, ill health and the shock of his son's death limited his service after the spring of 1576.

During his career, Smith wrote many scholarly works, including tracts advocating marriage for the queen and scholarly tracts on Roman coinage. His most important work was *De Republica Anglorum* (1584), a detailed description of the functioning of Elizabethan government that is of enormous importance to modern historians. Smith died at his home in Essex in August 1577.

See also Antiquarianism; Plantations, Irish; Ulster Enterprise (Essex); Ulster Enterprise (Smith); Universities

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Smythson, Robert (1535–1614)

Robert Smythson was the foremost architect of Elizabethan England. Born into a family of mason-builders, Smythson was the first of his family to engage also in building design. Although a relatively new profession in sixteenth-century England, the practice of **architecture** developed rapidly in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods to accommodate the increasing demands of a status-conscious **gentry** and nobility for large and impressive country houses.

In the 1570s, Smythson worked on two large projects in Wiltshire—the building of Sir John Thynne's Longleat House and the renovation of Wardour Castle. Smythson began work on Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire in 1580; it was the first Elizabethan country mansion to be designed and built by one person. When completed, Wollaton became a classic example of Elizabethan Renaissance architecture; unlike most great houses of the time, it was not built around a courtyard but gave the appearance of being a castle, with high, rounded turrets at the corners.

But Wollaton was not like the defensive piles of the Middle Ages; it was designed for gracious country living, the façade being highly decorated and pierced by many large windows to let in the light.

After Wollaton, Smythson designed Worksop Manor for George **Talbot**, Earl of Shrewsbury. His work for the earl so impressed Elizabeth **Hardwick** Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, that she employed Smythson on her own project after the earl's death in 1590—the reconstruction of Hardwick Hall, her home in Derbyshire. Before his death in 1614, Smythson completed or collaborated on the design and building of many other great country mansions of the period.

See also Prodigy Houses

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Social Structure

The Tudor social structure was distinguished by a high degree of stratification, with society divided into numerous classes whose criteria were never clearly defined. As illustrated by the recitation of classes and estates found in the “Homily of Obedience,” which was part of the officially sanctioned *Book of Homilies*, Tudor society rested on a belief in a divinely ordained hierarchy of interdependent but unequal degrees and ranks that were considered both natural and desirable. These societal distinctions and the value of maintaining them were also indicated by the social classes and class-based restrictions on clothing enumerated in early Tudor **sumptuary laws**.

Arising out of the medieval system of feudalism, whereby the king granted land and the peasants who worked the land to a lord in return for military service, the most fundamental Tudor social distinction was the holding of land. Although feudal institutions no longer accurately reflected reality, Tudor society was still heavily rural, with almost 90 percent of the population living on isolated farmsteads or in villages or towns under 2,000 people. Political and economic power was concentrated in the 3–4 percent of the **population** that constituted the landholding elite—the royal family, the titled **peerage**, and the **gentry**. At the death of **Elizabeth I** in 1603, the nobility numbered about 60 persons, while the number of Englishmen entitled through landed wealth, lifestyle, and degree of local influence to claim the status of gentleman was about 16,000. Both the peerage and gentry were subdivided by title and degree of wealth.

Tudor Social Structure

Peerage	Gentry	Rural Commons	Clergy	Townsmen	"Middling Sort"
Duke			Archbishop		
Marquis					
Earl			Bishop	Mayor of London	
Viscount			Abbot (prior to dissolution of monasteries)		
Baron					
	Knight		Archdeacon	Alderman	
	Esquire		Beneficed priest	Merchant	Professionals (e.g., lawyers, physicians, royal civil servants)
	Gentleman				
		Yeoman	Deacon	Craftsman, Tradesman	
		Husbandman	Vicar	Journeyman	
		Cottager		Apprentice	
		Landless laborer	Chaplain	Servant	

Over 80 percent of the Tudor population consisted of rural residents lacking the land and lifestyle to qualify as gentry; these rural commons were divided into yeomen, husbandmen, cottagers, and landless laborers. A yeoman farmed at least 50 acres of freehold land, which meant it was not rented or leased from a nobleman or gentleman and was capable of being inherited by the yeoman’s heirs. A yeoman also had an annual income of at least 40 shillings, the income level required for a man to vote in county elections for **Parliament**. Husbandmen rented between 5 and 50 acres of land from larger landholders. Cottagers worked a few acres of land attached to their cottages and had to supplement their income by working for others. Landless laborers had no land at all and depended entirely on wage work. These latter groups were often the people most adversely affected by **enclosures**. Husbandmen, cottagers, and landless laborers made up the great majority of the English rural population.

The remaining 10–15 percent of the Tudor population comprised a growing body of town dwellers—professionals (e.g., lawyers, physicians, university professors), merchants, craftsmen, and civil and military officers of the Crown. With

the wealthier yeoman, these groups were called the “middling sort,” and they constituted the most upwardly mobile portion of society. As their wealth grew, they began to acquire the land and adopt the lifestyle that would mark them as gentlemen, a status often given them unofficially by local society if not officially by the **College of Arms**. The clergy represented English society in miniature, with the archbishops and bishops recognized as a sort of ecclesiastical peerage and some of the vicars and chaplains of the poorer villages sharing the low social status of the cottagers and laborers in their parishes. Despite its rigid formal distinctions of class, Tudor society grew increasingly fluid as wealthy merchants and lawyers rose into the gentry and poorer gentlemen sank to yeoman status.

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Sodomy

In Tudor England, the term “sodomy” meant any form of unnatural sexual intercourse, whether heterosexual or homosexual, but was most often used to describe

sexual relations between men and thus in modern usage is roughly synonymous with the term “homosexuality.” Another common Tudor term for homosexuality was “buggery,” which also had wider connotations, including bestiality and “abominable heresy.” Besides “sodomites,” those who were thought to engage in homosexual acts might also be called “catamites,” “ingles,” or “Ganymedes.”

Until February 1534, when **Parliament** declared the “detestable and abominable vice” of buggery to be a felony punishable by hanging, sexual offenses had been tried in **church courts**. The statute defined buggery as any unnatural sex act that contravened the will of God, but the courts over time narrowed the definition to anal intercourse, especially between men, and bestiality. Because the Henrician law prohibited those convicted under it from pleading benefit of clergy, it may have been intended primarily for use against monks and other clerics in the upcoming government visitations of English monasteries. In July 1540, Walter Hungerford, Lord Hungerford of Heytesbury, became the first person convicted under the act after he was accused of sodomy by his wife. His execution, however, which occurred on the same day and scaffold as that of his patron, Thomas **Cromwell**, more likely stemmed from his simultaneous conviction for **treason** in supporting the **Pilgrimage of Grace** than from any sexual offenses. In 1541, the cleric Nicholas **Udall**, a playwright and headmaster at Eton, was the first person convicted solely for buggery. However, his sentence was commuted to imprisonment, and he was released within the year. Although Udall lost his position at Eton, the conviction did not end his career, which culminated with the headship of Westminster School in 1554.

The first Marian Parliament repealed the buggery statute in 1553, but the Elizabethan Parliament of 1563 restored it, though prosecutions were few and executions even fewer. This lack of enforcement was not the result of societal acceptance of homosexual activity, which was considered aberrant. There was no concept in Tudor England of “being homosexual,” and no one during the period declared himself to be so. Besides being dangerous, there was no reason for such a declaration; sexuality was not seen as part of one’s character or personal identity. All men were considered to be sexually attracted to women and only thought to engage in sexual relations with other men because of passing temptation or unusual circumstances that one was too weak or depraved to resist.

Also, society, in some ways, made homosexual activity seem natural. Schools and colleges, for instance, were all-male enclaves where students and teachers slept together and strong male bonds were encouraged. Sleeping arrangements in most households, where few people slept alone, also provided opportunities for homosexual activity, and monasteries became notorious for sodomy once the **dissolution of the monasteries** made the spreading of such tales a government interest.

Homosexual desire became a frequently revisited theme in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Starting with the antitheater polemics of Stephen **Gosson** in

the 1580s, **Puritans** attacked the public theater for sexual vice of all kinds, even raising biblical objections to men dressing as women to play female roles. Many plays, poems, and satirical tracts also addressed the issue of homosexual relations. Robert Barnfield's 1594 poem *The Affectionate Shepherd* is considered explicitly homosexual, while many of the **sonnets** published by William **Shakespeare** in 1609 explore same-sex attraction. Even **James I**'s allegorical poem *Phoenix*, written when he was king of **Scotland** in 1584, is thought to express his sexual feelings for his cousin, Esmé Stuart. Shakespeare's plays also offer a number of homoerotic relationships, such as Antonio and Bassanio in *Merchant of Venice*, Antonio and Sebastian in *Twelfth Night*, and Orlando and Rosalind in the guise of a man named Ganymede in *As You Like It*. The playwright Christopher **Marlowe**, who was himself accused of homosexual relations, wrote *Edward II*, a sympathetic portrayal of the medieval English king who was suspected of sexual relations with his male **favorites**. Although the king is presented as being sexually attracted to his friend Piers Gaveston, Edward's subsequent deposition is seen mainly as a consequence of Gaveston's monopolization of royal **patronage** and influence, not as a result of any physical relationship between Gaveston and the king.

John A. Wagner

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Solway Moss, Battle of

The Battle of Solway Moss was fought on 24 November 1542, near the head of Solway Firth in extreme northwestern England. Although a relatively minor engagement that resulted in more men captured than dead, the English victory over Scots raiders produced momentous consequences for **Scotland**: the subsequent death of a dispirited **James V**; the accession of his six-day-old daughter Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots; and the initiation by **Henry VIII** of a policy of **Rough Wooing**,

whereby the English king sought to compel the Scots to accept a marriage of their infant queen to his son, Prince Edward.

In August 1542, Henry, unhappy with his nephew's pro-French policies and chagrined by James's failure to meet him as promised at York in the previous year, dispatched an English army across the frontier. After the Scots defeated this force at Haddon Rig, Henry revived claims of English suzerainty over Scotland and launched a second invasion. James responded by taking the field in October and leading his army west to Lochmaben. In late November, a portion of the Scottish army, which was likely embarked on the first of a planned series of raids into England, crossed the river Esk and began burning a broad strip of English territory. Although the king's favorite Oliver Sinclair was with this force and was later claimed to be its commander, true command of the raid probably belonged to Robert Maxwell, Lord Maxwell.

On 24 November, the Scots encountered a small force of light cavalry from the army of Sir Thomas Wharton, which was deployed in a wide arc to the south along the river Lyne. The Scots pursued the cavalry southeastward until contact with Wharton's main force caused them to withdraw northward toward the Esk, burning as they went. After their rapid retreat, the Scots, although probably the larger force, found themselves trapped between the Esk and the English with a "grete mosse" (i.e., the wetlands of the Esk estuary) hemming them in on the left (Cameron, *James V*, 318). When the English cavalry attacked, a large number of Scots surrendered rather than be driven into the river. Although Scottish casualties (apart from prisoners) were light, Maxwell and many other nobles fought manfully before capitulating, despite later reports that the army, unhappy with its absent king and embarrassed at being led by the lowborn Sinclair, gave up without a fight.

The armies engaged at Solway Moss were small, and the battle amounted to little more than the thwarting of a large raid, but James V, perhaps ill with cholera or dysentery, fell into despair at news of the defeat and died on 14 December. Henry VIII, believing that a kingdom ruled by an infant queen could be coerced into accepting English overlordship, used the prisoners of Solway Moss, many of whom were sympathetic to **Protestantism**, to promote a marriage between Mary and his son. Known as "assured Scots," these captives were given English pensions and released to work for the marriage and the cause of Scottish Protestantism.

Although Henry achieved Scottish agreement to his marriage plan in the Treaty of **Greenwich** in July 1543, a backlash occasioned by his arrogant demand for immediate custody of Mary united all Scottish factions, and the Scottish **Parliament** repudiated the treaty in December. Henry thereafter fell back upon the ultimately unsuccessful policy of coercion, launching almost annual invasions to compel fulfillment of the Greenwich agreement.

See also Edward VI

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Somer, Will (d. 1560)

Although he served as royal fool at the Tudor **court** through three reigns, Will Somer (or Somers) is best known for the special relationship he developed with **Henry VIII** during the king's last years. Somer not only amused Henry, distracting him from his cares and ailments, he also became the king's close companion and confidant. Beyond anecdotes of particular sayings or jests, little is known of Somer. He came to court about 1535, shortly after the king banished his previous fool, Sexton, for speaking favorably in the royal presence of former queen **Catherine of Aragon** and her daughter Princess Mary. A likely tradition says that Somer was a servant to Sir Richard Farmor of Northamptonshire, one of the Merchants of the Staple at **Calais**, and that either he or his brother William Farmor, a royal clerk, introduced Somer into royal service. Delighting the king with his mock-serious repartee and skill at rhyming, Somer soon became an integral part of the royal household. In the 1540s, as Henry's illnesses grew more frequent and severe, Somer was often the only person able to cheer the king, and the only person able, through mockery and jest, to tell the king unpleasant truths.

According to surviving portraits, Somer was short, thin, and stoop-shouldered, even hunchbacked. He is often depicted in green doublet and cap and is sometimes accompanied by a monkey. Although familiar to courtiers, Somer is not mentioned by foreign ambassadors; it seems likely that he stayed behind the scenes, keeping his master's secrets close and never using his relationship with the king for personal benefit or to favor one party or faction. Somer's importance to the king is indicated by his appearance with Henry in an illustration executed for the king's psalter. Somer also appears in the large Tudor family portrait, done about 1545, that once hung in the presence chamber at **Whitehall Palace** and in a dual portrait of Henry and Princess Mary that has Somer standing between father and daughter.

After Henry's death in 1547, Somer continued to entertain at the court of **Edward VI**. He participated in the Christmas revels of 1550 and fought in a mock combat staged in the following year. After **Mary I**'s accession in 1553, Somer acted mainly as male partner for Jane, the queen's female fool. He was clearly well treated and supplied by both Edward and Mary and was present at the latter's coronation attired in a gown of blue satin with gold striping. Somer also attended the coronation of **Elizabeth I** in January 1559, but nothing else is known of him

until his death on 15 June 1560. Somer later appeared as a semifictional character in various plays and stories, including a well-known account of his supposed antics by Robert **Armin**, the player of fools in William **Shakespeare**'s acting company at the **Globe Theatre**.

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Somerset, Duke of

See Fitzroy, Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset; Seymour, Edward, Duke of Somerset

Sonnet, Shakespearean

The English sonnet, a sixteenth-century English variation on a popular Italian verse form, is one of the most common poetic forms in English and American **poetry**. Because the English form is associated so closely with its most famous practitioner, William **Shakespeare**, it has become widely known as the Shakespearean sonnet. The Italian poets Dante and Petrarch first developed the sonnet verse form in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Italian sonnet had 14 lines, an eight-line octave rhyming *abbaabba* and a six-line sestet usually rhyming *cdecde*, although variations were possible. The octave usually defined a problem or described an experience that was reacted to in the sestet.

Sir Thomas **Wyatt**, who may have written poetry for Anne **Boleyn**, and Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, a cousin of **Elizabeth I**, imported the sonnet into England in the 1530s and 1540s. They modified the sonnet by ending the sestet with a rhyming two-line couplet (e.g., *cddcee*), a common device in English poetry, and by using pentameter, the most common English rhythm scheme. Elizabethan poets, including Shakespeare, further altered the rhyme scheme to produce the standard Shakespearean form: *abab cdcd efef gg*. However, the sonnet form was flexible, and variations in rhyme and meter were frequently employed.

Themes varied greatly as well. Early English sonnets explored courtly love and other amorous themes, but Elizabethan poets reacted against this trend by writing anti-love sonnets that complained of courtly pretense and the fickleness of lovers. In his collection of 154 sonnets, Shakespeare wrote on both themes. Shakespeare's Sonnet 138, reproduced below, uses the standard English rhyme scheme to express a decidedly anti-love theme.

When my love swears that she is made of truth,
 I do believe her though I know she lies,
 That she might think me some untutored youth,
 Unlearnèd in the world's false subtleties.
 Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young,
 Although she knows my days are past the best,
 Simply I credit her false-speaking tongue:
 On both sides thus is simple truth suppressed,
 But wherefore says she not she is unjust?
 And wherefore say not I that I am old?
 O love's best habit is in seeming trust,
 And age in love loves not to have years told.
 Therefore I lie with her, and she with me,
 And in our faults by lies we flattered be.

See also Astrophel and Stella; Sidney, Sir Philip

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Southampton, Countess of

See Wriothesley, Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton

Southampton, Earl of

See Fitzwilliam, William, Earl of Southampton; Wriothesley, Henry, Earl of Southampton; Wriothesley, Thomas, Earl of Southampton

Southwell, Robert (1561–1595)

Robert Southwell was a leading member of the English **Jesuit mission** and a noted Catholic poet. Born near Norwich into a **gentry** family related to the Cecils, Southwell entered William **Allen**'s English Catholic College at Douai in the **Netherlands** in 1577 when he was 16. In 1578, he traveled to Rome, and two years later he was ordained a priest in the Jesuit order. He became prefect of studies at the English College in Rome but was determined to return to England as a missionary, an

increasingly dangerous ambition given the severe anti-Jesuit statutes being passed by Elizabethan **Parliaments**.

In July 1586, he landed secretly in England with fellow Jesuit Henry **Garnet**. Traveling under the name Cotton, Southwell began ministering to longtime Catholics and seeking new converts. After 1589, he found sanctuary in the **London** home of Anne Howard, Countess of Arundell, whom he served as chaplain. He wrote a series of encouraging letters and tracts that were surreptitiously circulated in manuscript form among the persecuted Catholic community. His *An Epistle of Comfort*, written about 1591, was printed in Europe and secretly distributed in England.

Through its network of spies, the English government knew of Southwell's activities almost from the start. The authorities finally arrested Southwell on 20 June 1592 as he was celebrating **Mass**. During the following three years of imprisonment, Southwell wrote a great body of poetry, much of it, like the well-known poem "The Burning Babe," on themes of hope, encouragement, and spiritual love. He also completed *St. Peter's Complaint*, an account of the last days of Christ narrated by Saint Peter. A collection of his poems entitled *Maeconiae* was published in 1595, and his *Fourfold Meditation of the Four Last Things* appeared posthumously in 1606. After undergoing several periods of torture conducted during his years of confinement by the notorious Richard **Topcliffe**, Southwell was brought to trial and condemned to death in February 1595. He was hanged at Tyburn on 21 February.



Frontispiece from *St. Peter's Complaint* by Robert Southwell, noted Catholic poet and key member of the English Jesuit mission. (The British Library/StockphotoPro)

See also Catholicism, English; Cecil, William, Lord Burghley; Penal Laws

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Spain

During the course of the sixteenth century, Spain developed from a newly united monarchy to the most powerful state in Europe and the center of a world empire. Although Spain eventually became the chief enemy of Elizabethan England, Anglo-Spanish relations during the Tudor period were generally friendly. Upon the accession of **Henry VII** in 1485, the united Spanish monarchy formed by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile was less than a decade old. However, the power and influence of the Spanish monarchs grew rapidly, particularly after their 1492 conquest of Granada, the last Muslim state in Iberia. Their funding of the voyages of Christopher Columbus also laid the foundations for a vast American empire that was to finance the European ambitions of their successors. Seeking recognition of the House of **Tudor** and the elimination of Spain as a possible haven for Yorkist pretenders, Henry VII concluded the Treaty of **Medina del Campo** with **Ferdinand and Isabella** in 1489. The agreement improved trade between the two kingdoms and arranged a marriage between Henry's eldest son, Prince Arthur **Tudor**, and the Spanish monarchs' youngest child, **Catherine of Aragon**. Celebrated in 1501, the marriage ended with Arthur's death in April 1502. Although Catherine was immediately betrothed to her late husband's brother, the marriage to Prince Henry was indefinitely delayed by the death of her mother in 1504 and the resultant political instability in Spain, which caused Henry VII to reconsider the benefits of a Spanish alliance.

Her only son having died in 1497, Isabella was succeeded in Castile by her mentally unstable daughter Juana, whose claims were pressed by her husband Philip **Habsburg**, ruler of the **Netherlands** and son of Holy Roman Emperor **Maximilian I**. However, Philip died in 1506 before he could secure the Castilian Crown, and Ferdinand thereafter ruled all Spain as he had done during Isabella's lifetime. On his accession in 1509, **Henry VIII** married Catherine and initiated a period of close Anglo-Spanish alliance. Ferdinand damaged this friendship in 1512 by convincing his son-in-law to send an English force to Gascony for a joint attack on **France** and then abandoning the English after using them to cover his invasion of Navarre. Further diplomatic betrayals by Ferdinand cooled Anglo-Spanish relations after 1514 and lessened Catherine's influence with her husband. In January 1516, Ferdinand was succeeded by his Habsburg grandson Charles, who, through a series of dynastic events, came to rule a vast conglomeration of territories. Charles succeeded his father as ruler of the Netherlands in 1506 and his paternal grandfather as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Besides the Netherlands and Spain, **Charles V** (Charles I in Spain) ruled Germany, Austria, and Spain's possessions in **Italy** and **America**. Because Charles's European domains nearly surrounded France and threatened French ambitions in Italy, Europe experienced nearly 40 years of Franco-Spanish conflict after 1520.

Anxious to win new victories against France, England's traditional foe, Henry VIII concluded a number of anti-French agreements with Charles in the early 1520s. However, the failure of England to benefit from Charles's victory over **Francis I** at Pavia in 1525 led Henry to abandon his Spanish alliance in 1526. In 1527, Henry, who was now seeking to divorce Charles's aunt, concluded an anti-Spanish alliance with France that was maintained until the early 1540s. A brief period of Franco-Spanish amity in the late 1530s raised the possibility of a joint attack on the schismatic English king, but hostilities between Charles and Francis soon resumed, and the threat to England receded. In 1543, with Catherine of Aragon and Anne **Boleyn** long dead, Henry renewed his alliance with Charles and his wars with France. After Henry's death in 1547, Charles was cool to the Protestant governments of **Edward VI** and posed as protector of Princess Mary, who was Edward's Catholic sister and heir and Charles's cousin. However, the impecunious Edwardian regimes remained neutral in the ongoing Franco-Spanish conflict and avoided any hostilities with Charles.

Upon her accession in 1553, **Mary I** brought England firmly into the Spanish orbit by marrying Charles's son and heir, Prince **Philip**, in 1554. While the possibility of a future Habsburg king of England was dashed by Mary's inability to bear children, fears that England would become a Spanish satellite sparked a dangerous uprising known as **Wyatt's Rebellion**. The Anglo-Spanish connection became more unpopular when Philip refused the English access to the markets of **Spanish America** and convinced the Marian government to join Spain in a war against France that resulted in the English loss of **Calais** in 1558.

After her accession in November 1558, **Elizabeth I** attempted to maintain good relations with Philip, but Elizabeth's rejection of Philip's marriage proposal and her decision to return the English Church to **Protestantism** strained relations, and subsequent events brought the two countries into increasing conflict. After 1568, English attempts to break Spain's trade monopoly in Spanish America led to an undeclared war on the high seas and to increasingly daring English **privateering** raids on Spanish shipping and colonies. The **Netherlands Revolt** against Philip's rule, being in part motivated by Protestantism, reluctantly drew Elizabeth into supporting her coreligionists against Spain. Philip, meanwhile, plotted, somewhat half-heartedly, with English Catholic exiles and the supporters of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, to overthrow Elizabeth.

By the mid-1580s, Philip decided that he could never reconquer the Netherlands until he had crushed Protestantism in England. The war that broke out between the two countries in 1585 led to the descent of the **armada** on England in 1588 and to various English attacks on Spain. The war outlasted both Philip and Elizabeth, being finally concluded by their successors in 1604. By then, Spain, although still the greatest power in Europe, had failed to hold the Netherlands, crush England, or restore European Catholicism.

See also Azores Expedition; Cadiz Raid (1587); Cadiz Raid (1596); Islands Voyage; Portugal Expedition

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Spanish America

In 1493, Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard, tried to settle the rival claims of **Spain** and Portugal to new discoveries in the Atlantic by drawing a north-south line on the map 100 leagues west of the **Azores** (located about 800 miles west of Portugal). All lands west of the line (the New World) belonged to Spain, and all lands east of the line (Africa and India) to Portugal. In 1494, the two countries revised the papal division in the Treaty of Tordesillas, which moved the line further west. The new division granted Spain dominion in most of the New World, but guaranteed Portugal its Atlantic sea-lanes and inadvertently gave it a claim to Brazil.

In Spanish America, which slowly expanded by Elizabethan times to include the Caribbean islands and the mainland territories surrounding the Caribbean—from Florida through Mexico and Central America to northern South America and Peru—Spain maintained a rigid trade monopoly, denying other European powers access to its colonial markets. Anxious to exploit the American resources that Spain controlled, Protestant England refused to accept the papal division of the world into Spanish and Portuguese spheres.

In 1562, English trader John **Hawkins** tested those monopolies by sailing to Portuguese West Africa to acquire slaves to sell in Spanish America. Although Hawkins's venture was a breach of Spanish trade regulations, the inability of Spain to fully supply the needs of her colonists gave Hawkins a ready welcome in the Caribbean, where he traded his human cargo for gold, silver, hides, and sugar. The success of Hawkins's venture whetted English appetites for Spanish American trade, and Hawkins launched new voyages in 1564 and 1567 with the financial backing of **Elizabeth I** and numerous important courtiers.

By Hawkins's third voyage, the Spanish government had tightened enforcement of its colonial trade monopoly, and the English could find no one in Spanish America willing to trade with them. Eager for profits, the English traders turned pirate, convincing the citizens of Rio de la Hacha to trade by burning part of the town. However, at **San Juan d'Ulloa** on the Mexican coast, the Spanish viceroy, after

agreeing to terms with Hawkins, treacherously attacked the English, destroying four ships and killing or capturing over 120 men.

After 1568, the action at San Juan d'Ulloa and the unwavering refusal of **Philip II** to open Spanish America to English trade created a virtual state of war between England and Spain in American waters, even though the two countries remained at peace in Europe. The subsequent **privateering** raids on Spanish America by Sir Francis **Drake**, who had been with Hawkins at San Juan, and other Englishmen aggravated the friction generated by religious differences and the **Netherlands Revolt** to bring England and Spain to open war in 1585.

See also America

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Spanish Armada

See Armada

Speed, John (c. 1552–1629)

John Speed was among the foremost cartographers and historians of Elizabethan England. Born in Cheshire, Speed, like his father, was a tailor, being admitted to membership in the Merchant Taylors' Company in **London** in 1580. Interested in geography and history, Speed began drawing maps for recreation. Through the poet and courtier Sir Fulke **Greville**, who shared his enthusiasm for history and genealogy, Speed joined the Society of Antiquaries, where he met the historian William **Camden** and antiquary Sir Robert **Cotton**.

Encouraged by his fellow members of the Society, Speed began to devote more time to making maps and writing history. In 1598, he presented some of his maps to **Elizabeth I**, and in 1600 he gave others to the Merchant Taylors' Company. His first published map appeared in Camden's sixth edition of *Britannia* in 1607. Between 1608 and 1610, Speed published a series of 54 maps of the counties of England and Wales. In 1611, these maps appeared with descriptive text in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* and *History of Great Britain*.

Speed followed these two popular volumes of geography and history with two works on religion, *Genealogies Recorded in Sacred Scripture* (1611) and *A Cloud of Witnesses . . . Confirming . . . God's Most Holy Word* (1616). Speed's histories were widely read by contemporaries, and his maps are still of tremendous value to modern historians. Many of Speed's original maps can be found in the British Museum in London. Speed died at the age of 77 in July 1629.

See also Antiquarianism

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Spenser, Edmund (c. 1552–1599)

Considered by contemporaries to be the foremost poet of his age, Edmund Spenser was born in **London**, attended the Merchant Taylors' School, and earned two degrees at Cambridge. In 1579, he published *The Shepheardes Calendar*, an enthusiastically received poem dedicated to Sir Philip **Sidney**. With its arrangement as a calendar of 12 eclogues (i.e., poems cast in the form of dialogues between shepherds) and its inclusion of extended fables in some of the eclogues, *The Shepheardes Calendar* was highly innovative.

The poem's success brought Spenser to the notice of the **court** and led, in 1580, to his appointment as secretary to the new lord deputy of **Ireland**. In Ireland, Spenser became an undertaker of Munster (a region of southern Ireland), meaning he acquired property tax- and rent-free as part of a colonization scheme that took land from native Irish and gave it to English settlers. Spenser held an official post as clerk of Munster but spent much time working on his great epic,



Author of the epic poem *The Faerie Queene*, Sir Edmund Spenser was considered by his contemporaries to be the foremost poet of his time. (Jupiterimages)

The Faerie Queen, and exchanging verses with his neighbor, Sir Walter **Raleigh**. *The Faerie Queen* was to comprise 12 books, each depicting an adventure of one of the knights of the great queen Gloriana (i.e., **Elizabeth I**). Spenser accompanied Raleigh to London in 1589 to present the first three books to the queen. Dedicated to Elizabeth and containing **sonnets** addressed to important courtiers, Books I–III earned Spenser a £50 annuity for life.

In the 1590s, Spenser published a series of other important works, including his three-volume collection of verse entitled *Complaints* (1591); his sonnet cycle *Amoretti* and the ode *Epithalamion* (both 1595), which together commemorate the wooing and wedding of his second wife; the allegorical poem *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (1595), which uses his hero from *The Shepheardes Calendar* to describe his visit to London; and *Astrophil* (1595), a lament on the death of Sir Philip Sidney.

Books IV–VI of *The Faerie Queen* appeared in 1596, and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which denigrated the Irish and supported English conquest of the island, was published posthumously in 1633. In October 1598, Spenser fled Ireland when rebels burned his house. He spent his last months in London in financial distress. He died in January 1599 and was buried in Westminster Abbey at the expense of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex.

See also Grammar School; Plantations, Irish; Poetry; Universities

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Spurs, Battle of the

Occurring on 16 August 1513, during **Henry VIII's** first French campaign, the Battle of the Spurs was a running engagement between French and English cavalry before the walls of the besieged French town of Théroutanne. The name derives from the nature of the encounter, which was not a planned, set-piece battle, but a spontaneous pursuit by the English of French cavalry surprised in an attempt to resupply the town's garrison.

Also known as the Battle of Bomy for the French village nearest the action, the Battle of the Spurs began when French cavalry made a dash for Théroutanne intending to throw sides of bacon to waiting members of the hungry garrison. All went awry when the middle ward of the English army suddenly appeared directly in the path of the Frenchmen. The English deployment appears to have been entirely

fortuitous, and not the result of any advance intelligence concerning French intentions. Besides the English cavalry to their front, the French also found themselves assailed on their flanks by a detachment of English archers and a battery of light artillery deployed by Henry's Imperial ally, Emperor **Maximilian I**. In danger of being outflanked and encircled, and coming under a galling fire from the archers, the French cavalymen put spur to horse and fled, discarding weapons and horse armor to facilitate their escape.

Joined by their Burgundian allies, the English cavalry pursued the fleeing enemy across the flat fields of Guingates east of Thérrouanne. Desperate French officers tried to turn their men and make a fighting retreat, but only a few Frenchmen under the Chevalier Bayard were able to make a stand before a narrow bridge. Their action did not stem the rout, but it did buy time for the main force to reach safety. Nonetheless, the pursuing allies captured six French standards and a distinguished group of prisoners, including such nobles as the duc de Longueville and the vice admiral of **France**. Although not much of a battle in military terms, the encounter near Bomy was a glorious triumph for English honor and a marvelous enhancement to the military reputation of the English king. Although later reports said that Henry shared in the glory of pursuing the fleeing foe, he was well to the rear when the skirmish began and is unlikely to have had much of a personal role in it. This fact did not prevent Henry from taking credit for a great victory, which he was shortly thereafter to describe in glowing terms to Archduchess Margaret of Savoy. The surrender of Thérrouanne on 22 August added further luster to the Battle of the Spurs, although the encounter soon paled in significance next to the victory over **James IV** of **Scotland** won a few weeks later at **Flodden Field** by Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

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Stafford, Edward, Duke of Buckingham (1478–1521)

A leading member of the old nobility who traced his family back to Edward III, Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, was executed because his lineage and pride of ancestry made him a dynastic threat to the House of **Tudor**. Born in **Wales** in 1478, Stafford was the son of Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, and his wife Katherine Woodville, a sister-in-law of **Edward IV**. Although **Richard III** executed Stafford's father for rebellion in 1483, **Henry VII** restored the family's lands and title in 1485. Trained as a soldier, Buckingham became a knight of Bath in 1485 and of the Garter in 1495, and served against the **Cornish**

Rebellion in 1497. In 1509, he acted as lord high steward at **Henry VIII's** coronation and received appointment to the royal **council**. In 1520, he accompanied the king to the meeting with **Francis I** at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and to the meetings with **Charles V** that preceded and followed that event.

The richest and highest-ranking member of the old nobility (his great-grandfather was created duke in 1444), Buckingham was frustrated by the king's refusal to recognize his hereditary right to the constableness, one of the high offices of state. He was also critical of the political dominance exercised by Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, the lowborn son of a tradesman. A potential successor to the throne should the king fail to produce male heirs, Buckingham also had vast estates on the Welsh border, where he exercised his family's traditional influence, and extensive kinship connections with other noblemen. His daughter, for example, married Thomas **Howard**, future third Duke of Norfolk.

Although his title and ancestry were sufficient to arouse Henry's suspicions, Buckingham increased his danger by displaying an inordinate pride in both. In 1519, the duke's servant, Sir William Bulmer, was prosecuted for wearing Buckingham's livery in the king's presence, and in 1520, the duke alarmed Henry by requesting permission to maintain order along the Welsh border by arming ducal retainers. Thus, in late 1520, when Wolsey received an anonymous letter accusing the duke of **treason**, Henry took the charge seriously.

Arrested in April 1521, Buckingham was accused of seeking the king's deposition and death. Tried at Westminster on 13 May, Buckingham pleaded not guilty, but a jury of noblemen convicted him after hearing testimony from various of the duke's servants, one of whom was likely the writer of the anonymous letter. Even though the treason statute then in effect required overt acts for conviction, Buckingham was found guilty only of treasonous speech. Despite a plea for mercy from Queen **Catherine of Aragon**, Buckingham was beheaded at the **Tower of London** on 17 May. By a 1523 act of **attainder**, **Parliament** declared his property forfeit to the Crown.

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Stafford's Raid

Occurring in late April 1557, Stafford's Raid was an ultimately unsuccessful uprising launched against **Mary I** by a small band of men led by Thomas Stafford. Although the enterprise was ostensibly motivated by opposition to the queen's

marriage to **Philip of Spain**, it was more likely aimed at advancing Stafford to his family's lost **peerage** and possibly to the Crown itself.

A grandson of Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham (executed 1521), and of Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury (executed 1541), Stafford (c. 1531–1557) was descended from royalty on both sides of his family. Having spent most of **Edward VI's** reign in **Italy** and Poland, Stafford expected restoration to his grandfather's title upon Mary's accession. When this expectation was dashed, Stafford, being a violent and unstable man, involved himself with Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, in the abortive Leicestershire phase of **Wyatt's Rebellion**. After a brief imprisonment, Stafford fled to **France** in March 1554 and attempted unsuccessfully to ingratiate himself with his uncle Cardinal Reginald **Pole**. Expelled from the cardinal's house, Stafford next joined Sir Henry Dudley in the shadowy and unsuccessful plot known as the **Dudley Conspiracy**. By late 1556, Stafford was calling himself heir to the English throne and seeking to interest **Henri II** of France in supporting a descent on England.

Having already in his keeping Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, a far more plausible claimant to the English Crown, Henri never seriously considered Stafford's schemes, but in January 1557, he brought the Englishman to **court**, where he assumed the royal arms of England as part of his seal. On 23 April, Stafford appeared off the Yorkshire coast with two ships, possibly supplied by Henri, and a few hundred supporters. After his men easily overpowered the dozen-man garrison holding the half-ruinous Scarborough Castle, Stafford issued a proclamation declaring that the chief strongholds of England were about to be surrendered to the Spaniards as a prelude to Philip's coronation as king. Stafford also declared himself Duke of Buckingham and protector of the realm. Having been apprised of Stafford's activities by Dr. Nicholas Wotten, its ambassador in France, the English government knew about the invasion within hours. By 28 April, a force of local levies under Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland, retook the castle and captured Stafford, whose enterprise had generated no support. Imprisoned with 30 of his adherents, Stafford was convicted of **treason** and executed on 28 May; 26 of his supporters also died.

One modern theory of the raid is that it was not backed by the French king but instead instigated by a faction of the English **Council** led by William **Paget**, Lord Paget. This group provided secret encouragement to the enterprise, duping Stafford into an action that discredited the French and facilitated England's entry into the ongoing Franco-Spanish war on Philip's side. Although the theory cannot be conclusively proven, England did subsequently enter the war as **Spain's** ally.

See also Anglo-French War (Mary I)

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Standish, Henry

See Standish-Kidderminster Debate

Standish-Kidderminster Debate

Meeting in the midst of the anticlerical uproar occasioned by **Hunne's Case**, the **Parliament** of 1515 revived the debate over the conflicting jurisdictions of lay and clerical courts by seeking to renew the 1512 Act Concerning **Benefit of Clergy**. Seeking to save the Hunne defendants from trial in royal courts and to assert the right of **church courts** to try all clerics, Bishop Richard **Fitzjames** of **London**, who was directly embroiled in the Hunne affair, ordered Richard Kidderminster, abbot of Winchcombe, to preach a public sermon at **Paul's Cross** attacking the 1512 act. When lay members of Parliament asked the king to settle the issue, **Henry VIII** arranged a debate between Kidderminster and Dr. Henry Standish, warden of the Grey Friars and a favored **court** preacher. Although by no means proof of the inevitability of the later break with Rome, the debate clearly indicated the depth of English **anticlericalism** and the king's willingness to see himself as answerable to God alone.

Benefit of clergy allowed anyone accused of felony in a royal court the right of trial in a church court if he could prove himself a cleric. Since punishments handed down by church courts were notably less severe than those imposed by royal courts—the former had limited power to imprison and could not impose fines or the death penalty—clerics accused of serious crimes were understandably more willing to face the bishop's officers than the king's judges. The main area of contention between the two jurisdictions was the extension of benefit of clergy to anyone who claimed minor orders, such positions as psalmist, lector, or acolyte, which were only technically clerical and which, as many lay critics believed, often gave habitual offenders license to commit fresh crimes. The act of 1512, which was due to expire with the new Parliament, had limited benefit of clergy to men in "holy orders," which probably meant only such major clerical offices as priest and deacon.

Although his chancellor, Dr. William Horsey, who was accused of murdering Richard Hunne, did not fall under the limitations enjoined by the statute, Bishop Fitzjames wanted to eliminate any possible interference in the case by royal courts. Seizing upon the assertions of full clerical privilege made by the papal Lateran Council in 1514, Abbot Kidderminster, speaking at the bishop's direction, chose the text "touch not mine anointed" to demand full exemption from the criminal jurisdiction of royal courts for anyone, of whatever rank, who claimed clerical privilege. When the lay members of Parliament responded to this provocation by

taking up renewal of the 1512 act, the ecclesiastical members of the House of Lords blocked the bill. A lay committee of both houses then asked the king to resolve the matter and to allow the royal courts to proceed against Horsey.

In response, Henry arranged for Kidderminster to restate his case in debate with Standish, who defended the act and the general principle of bringing clerks in minor orders before royal courts. Argued before the king and the royal judges, the debate ended inconclusively, although Standish did well enough to earn the wrath of Fitzjames and other prominent clerics such as Bishop Richard **Foxe** of Winchester. In October, **Convocation** summoned Standish to answer charges of **heresy**, prompting the friar to appeal to Henry for protection. The king ordered a second disputation before the judges, this time with lay members of Parliament in attendance. After listening to the disputants again rehearse their arguments, the judges, aware that Standish was under royal protection, pronounced Convocation in violation of the statute of **praemunire**, thereby bringing the great prelates in danger of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods.

Realizing that their attack on Standish had failed, the bishops, speaking through Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**, humbly begged Henry for pardon at a third meeting convened at Baynard's Castle. Although Wolsey requested that the matter be referred to Rome and again asserted the principle of clerical immunity from secular prosecution, Henry stood firmly behind Standish, supposedly declaring that kings of England had never known "any superior but God alone" (Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, 56). Having made his point, Henry arranged a compromise—all charges against both Standish and Horsey were dropped, while the parliamentary effort to limit benefit of clergy was also abandoned. Young, orthodox, and in need of Wolsey's talents, Henry in 1515 was unwilling to do more than make public assertion of his dominance over the English Church.

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Stanley, Ferdinando, Lord Strange (1559–1594)

Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, was the patron and namesake of a theatrical company that included some of the leading actors in Elizabethan **London**, including, for a time, William **Shakespeare**. The son of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, Lord Strange entered Oxford in 1572 at about age 12. By the late 1570s, Strange, who was himself a poet, had become a noted literary patron. His company

of players, Lord Strange's Men, began about 1576 as a troupe of acrobats led by the famous tumbler John Symons. The company performed throughout England and even appeared at **court** in the early 1580s.

In about 1589, the company began performing plays, and by 1592, the noted comic actor William **Kempe** and a little-known performer and playwright named William Shakespeare had joined the troupe. Led by the famous actor Edward **Alleyn**, Lord Strange's Men appeared at Philip **Henslowe's Rose Theatre** and at The Theatre, James **Burbage's** playhouse in London, as well as at court. Working sometimes in partnership with another company, the Admiral's Men, Strange's troupe put on some of the first productions of plays by Shakespeare, including performances of *Titus Andronicus* and *Henry VI, Part 2*.

The company shut down in 1592 when an outbreak of **plague** caused the London authorities to close all theaters. Strange succeeded his father, who had supported his own company of provincial players, as fifth Earl of Derby in 1593. When a Roman Catholic exile suggested to the new earl that he claim the throne by right of his mother, who was a great-niece of **Henry VIII**, Derby denounced the plot. His death shortly thereafter in 1594 was rumored to be the result of poison administered by vengeful Catholic agents, although that seems unlikely. After the earl's death, Lord Strange's Men were reconstituted under the patronage of Henry **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, the lord chamberlain of England, and became known until 1603 as the **Chamberlain's Men**.

See also Drama; Globe Theatre; Shakespeare, Works of

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Stanley, Thomas, Earl of Derby (c. 1435–1504)

In the late fifteenth century, Thomas Stanley, second lord Stanley, was the most powerful magnate in northwestern England and the stepfather of the future **Henry VII**. Stanley survived the **Wars of the Roses** and became influential in Henry's reign by adhering strongly to no party and by repeatedly switching sides at favorable moments.



Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, third husband of Margaret Beaufort and stepfather to Henry VII, lived a long life by knowing when to switch sides. (Archive Photos/Getty Images)

In 1459, Stanley raised a large force on the command of Margaret of Anjou, the Lancastrian queen, but simultaneously gave a conditional promise of support to her Yorkist opponents. Although Stanley was accused of **treason** by a Lancastrian-controlled **Parliament**, Margaret overlooked his Yorkist dealings to retain his support, and Stanley fought for the Lancastrians at Northampton in 1460. His Lancastrian allegiance evaporated in 1461 when **Edward IV** won the throne and conferred upon him various lands and offices. Although he took no part in subsequent plots against the Yorkist regime, Stanley supported the restored Lancastrian government in 1470. When Edward reclaimed the Crown in March 1471, Stanley remained carefully aloof and was rewarded by the victorious Yorkists with appointments

as lord steward and royal councillor.

In June 1483, only two months after the death of Edward IV, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, fearing that Stanley might oppose his bid for the throne, arrested Stanley at a **council** meeting in the **Tower of London**. However, by July, Stanley was free and sufficiently in favor to carry the mace at Gloucester's coronation as **Richard III**. Married to Margaret **Beaufort** since 1472, Stanley carefully distanced himself from her involvement in plots on behalf of her son, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. After the failure of Buckingham's Rebellion in October 1483, Richard placed Margaret in her husband's keeping and transferred all her lands to his custody.

Stanley retained Richard's favor until 1485, when Stanley's extended absence from **court** aroused the king's suspicion. Refusing Richard's summons to return, he sent his son, Lord Strange, who was imprisoned under threat of death when Richmond landed in August in **Wales** and marched unimpeded through Stanley territory. Although he met with Richmond, and his brother Sir William **Stanley** gave the earl active assistance, Stanley remained cautiously neutral at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** on 22 August, ignoring both the pleas of Richmond and the orders of Richard. When the contest was decided in Richmond's favor by the intervention of his brother, Stanley crowned the new king on the battlefield.

Because Henry VII, like his predecessors, required Stanley support, he rewarded his stepfather's neutrality with creation as Earl of Derby and with the offices of constable of England and chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster. He also confirmed Derby in all his previous offices and granted him the estates of attainted Yorkists. Derby served as one of the royal stewards at the coronations of Henry and his queen, **Elizabeth of York**, and stood as godfather to Prince Arthur **Tudor** in 1486. He supported Henry against the Lambert **Simmel** rebels in 1487, calling out the large Stanley affinity to fight for the king at the Battle of **Stoke**. In 1495, Stanley survived his brother's execution for involvement in the Perkin **Warbeck** conspiracy by again remaining carefully neutral. He thereafter remained loyal to the House of **Tudor** until his death in Lancashire in July 1504.

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Stanley, Sir William (d. 1495)

Sir William Stanley was a prominent member of the family that dominated north-western England and North **Wales** in the early Tudor period. Although he later lapsed into **treason**, Stanley, by his timely intervention during the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485, ensured the accession of **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. During the **Wars of the Roses**, Stanley rejected the careful neutrality of his elder brother, Thomas **Stanley**, Lord Stanley, and openly declared himself a partisan of the House of **York**. During the 1460s, **Edward IV** rewarded Stanley with lands and offices, especially in the Stanley-dominated counties of Chester and Lancashire. Upon Edward's return from exile in 1471, Stanley was among the first gentlemen to rally to the Yorkist cause, joining Edward with 300 men. In the autumn of 1483, only months after usurping his nephew's throne, **Richard III** sought to secure Stanley's support by granting him numerous lands and offices in **Wales**. Despite these rewards, Stanley disappointed the king in August 1485 by failing to contest the entry into England of Richard's Lancastrian rival, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the son of Margaret **Beaufort**, Stanley's sister-in-law.

On 17 August, Stanley met Richmond in Stafford but did not join forces with the earl, even though Stanley's support for Richmond had been revealed to the king by Stanley's nephew, George, Lord Strange, who was a royal hostage. Although Richard had proclaimed Sir William a traitor, the Stanley brothers, fearing for Strange's life, refused to join their sizable forces with either army at Bosworth Field, leaving both sides to guess their intentions. Perhaps fearing for his own life should Richard win, Sir William abandoned his neutrality when the king charged unexpectedly

into Richmond's lines, putting the earl in peril. By blunting the royal charge and killing Richard, Stanley's sudden attack ensured Richmond's victory.

Now enthroned as Henry VII, Richmond, as anxious as his predecessor to secure the Stanleys' loyalty, rewarded Sir William with appointment as lord chamberlain and with confirmation of all his previous Welsh land grants. Although Stanley and his brother, who had been created Earl of Derby, supported the king against Lambert **Simmel** in 1487, Sir William by late 1494 apparently involved himself in another Yorkist conspiracy—Perkin **Warbeck**'s impersonation of a son of Edward IV. Stanley's motives for returning to his Yorkist allegiance are unclear. He may simply have been angered by Henry VII's refusal to create him Earl of Chester. Tried and convicted of treason, Stanley was beheaded at the **Tower of London** in February 1495. Sir William's lands were placed at the disposal of his brother, who had remained loyal and whose support was still vital to the Tudor regime.

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Stanyhurst, Richard (1547–1618)

Richard Stanyhurst was one of the team of writers who helped prepare the first edition of **Holinshed's Chronicles**. Stanyhurst was born into a prominent **Anglo-Irish** family in **Dublin**, his grandfather having served as lord mayor of the city. Educated at a **grammar school** in Waterford, Stanyhurst came to England in 1563 to enter University College, Oxford, where he completed his degree in 1568. After studying law at the **Inns of Court**, Stanyhurst returned to **Ireland** and immersed himself in the study of Irish history and geography.

At Oxford, Stanyhurst had befriended Edmund **Campion**, who persuaded Stanyhurst to join him in contributing to *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* being prepared by an editorial team under the direction of Raphael **Holinshed**. With Campion's help, Stanyhurst wrote a treatise entitled the "Description of Ireland," which was similar to "**The Description of England**" being written for the project by William Harrison. Stanyhurst's "Description," dedicated to Sir Henry **Sidney**, lord deputy of Ireland and a friend of Stanyhurst's father, introduced the Irish section of the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577).

In about 1580, Stanyhurst moved to the **Netherlands**, where his English translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* was published in 1582. Although Stanyhurst was a noted Latin scholar, his translation was almost universally condemned by English critics as unreadable. Thereafter, Stanyhurst confined himself to writing in Latin,

producing a history of medieval Ireland in 1584 and a life of St. Patrick in 1587. Because Stanyhurst never returned to Ireland and wrote about the island from an English point of view, he has been attacked by later Irish critics for not knowing or understanding the island and its people.

Under the influence of Campion, Stanyhurst converted to **Catholicism** in the Netherlands and became involved in various Catholic plots against the Elizabethan government, thereby earning the frequent attention of English spies. He visited **Spain** in the 1590s and had an audience with **Philip II**, whom he found to be kind and affable. After the death of his wife in 1602, Stanyhurst entered the Catholic priesthood and became chaplain to Philip's daughter and to the English Benedictine convent in Brussels. Stanyhurst died in Brussels in 1618.

See also Universities

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Star Chamber, Court of

Beginning simply as the royal **council** meeting in the Star Chamber at **Westminster Palace** to hear petitions submitted to the king, the Court of Star Chamber evolved under the Tudors into a formal court of **equity** operating separately from the council. Perhaps as early as the fourteenth century, the council began gathering in the Star Chamber (so named because of the stars painted on its walls and ceiling) to hear subjects' grievances and settle their disputes. The 1487 act "giving the Court of Star Chamber authority to punish divers misdemeanors" was once thought to have created the court, but in fact the statute established another tribunal entirely, and mention of Star Chamber (*Camera Stellata*) in the title has been shown to be a later addition. The statutory body, which was concerned with law enforcement and its abuse, apparently existed for a time side by side with the council meeting in Star Chamber. Under **Henry VII**, the council in Star Chamber expanded the scope of its activity beyond the hearing of disputes between private parties; the king made increasing use of it to suppress disorder, control the nobility, and protect the rights of the Crown. Under **Henry VIII**, the activity of the council in Star Chamber lapsed until revived by the king's chief minister, Thomas **Wolsey**, who made it a vehicle for his authority and greatly expanded its activities, thereby significantly increasing the number of private suitors who sought its justice.

Only in August 1540 did the Court of Star Chamber become a separate entity existing independently of the council. Given its own clerk and the authority to maintain

its own records, the Court of Star Chamber also acquired a fixed composition consisting of the lord chancellor (as presiding officer), the two chief justices, and several members of the Privy Council. A court of equity operating under the royal **pre-rogative**, the court enforced **civil law**, and its procedures employed written pleadings. Petitioners who felt themselves unable to obtain fair judgment in the courts of **common law**, or whose matters did not come under the jurisdiction of the common law, could bring their cases before Star Chamber. In the early Tudor period, Star Chamber dealt mainly in civil cases involving disputed titles to land such as cases of fraud, forgery, trespass, and forcible entry and dispossession. Under **Elizabeth I**, Star Chamber's focus narrowed to misdemeanor criminal matters such as assaults, riots, unlawful assemblies, extortion, perjury, and corruption. Star Chamber had no jurisdiction over felonies and could not impose the death penalty or hear cases that might involve the death penalty. Star Chamber punishments included fines, imprisonment, flogging, the pillory, and mutilation of the ears and nose.

The early Tudor court was popular as a fair, efficient venue for settling suits between subjects. The Elizabethan shift in focus to criminal matters eroded some of this popularity, although the volume of business coming before the court continued to increase. The use of Star Chamber by the Stuart kings to uphold royal authority by suppressing criticism of Crown policies caused the seventeenth-century court to be hated as an instrument of royal oppression. As part of its effort to reform royal abuses, **Parliament** abolished the Court of Star Chamber in 1641.

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Starkey, Thomas (c. 1495–1538)

Thomas Starkey, a humanist scholar and political theorist, was the author of several important works of political thought and a government propagandist employed by Thomas **Cromwell** to write a defense of the **royal supremacy**. Born into a Cheshire gentry family, Starkey was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1521. He studied in **Italy** in the later 1520s, taking a doctorate in law at Padua. In July 1530, upon the resignation of Thomas **Lupset**, Archbishop William **Warham** presented Starkey to Lupset's former ecclesiastical living in Kent. In the late 1520s or early 1530s, Starkey took service in the household of Reginald **Pole** in Venice, where Starkey came to see the Venetian

city-state as the ideal model for the political commonwealth he wished to establish in England. Between about 1529 and 1532, Starkey wrote the influential *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, an essay that attempted to define the nature of a true commonwealth. The work was perhaps also intended to convince Pole to accept a leading role in the aristocratic counciliar regime that Starkey envisioned for his reformed English state.

In 1533, Starkey wrote to **Henry VIII** to suggest that his **divorce** suit be referred to a general Church council. Returning to England in 1534, Starkey became chaplain to Pole's mother, Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, and, probably through the influence of Cromwell, chaplain to the king. In 1535, Henry sent Starkey to remonstrate with the recalcitrant **Carthusians** and commissioned him to begin a correspondence with Pole concerning the divorce and the royal supremacy. Meanwhile, Cromwell set Starkey to work writing a defense of the supremacy, which appeared in 1536 as *An Exhortation to the People Instructing Them to Unity and Obedience*. Although the *Exhortation* had little contemporary impact, the work is today seen as a foundational document for the via media ("middle way") upon which the moderate Elizabethan Church was based. The 1536 publication of Pole's *Reginaldi Poli ad Henricum Octavum Britanniae Regem, Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione* (*A Defense of Ecclesiastical Unity*, usually shortened to *De Unitate*) placed both Starkey and Pole's family under a cloud. The book denounced the royal supremacy and attacked Henry for usurping such authority.

Although Starkey continued to receive marks of royal favor—for instance, preaching a Lenten sermon at **court** in 1538—he also remained in contact with Pole, whom he may have warned of government assassination attempts, and with members of the Pole family in England. Had he not died on about 25 August 1538, Starkey may well have been implicated that autumn in the **Exeter Conspiracy**, which led to the arrest and eventual execution of Pole's brother, mother, and other relatives.

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States-General

The States-General was the national assembly of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the independent republic that developed in the northern provinces of the

Netherlands during the course of the provinces' long revolt (1568–1609) against **Spain**. The States-General was instituted in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century by the ruling dukes of Burgundy and was continued in the sixteenth century by the succeeding **Habsburg** family, as a means to facilitate the assessment and collection of provincial taxes. Rather than negotiate for taxes with each of the 17 provincial States (legislatures), the Habsburgs found it more efficient to convene one States-General composed of delegates from the various provincial assemblies.

In 1576, in the midst of a Netherlands-wide rebellion against **Philip II** of Spain, this assembly—originally intended for the promotion of Habsburg rule—met without Habsburg sanction and took for itself sovereign powers that had previously been reserved for the ruler of the Netherlands. In 1579, with the creation of the Union of Utrecht, a pact between the northern provinces that remained in rebellion after the southern provinces returned to their Habsburg allegiance, the States-General became the central assembly of the new independent union. However, unlike the later U.S. Congress, which exercised certain sovereign powers over the individual states of the United States, sovereignty in the Dutch Republic remained vested solely in the provincial States of the seven provinces of the union. The States-General, which comprised the delegates of each of the provincial States, could make no important national decisions without the unanimous consent of the provincial assemblies.

The main functions of the States-General were the administration and taxation of the Generality Lands, those areas of the Dutch Republic that lay outside the seven provinces and that had been freed from Spanish control, and the general oversight of military and foreign affairs. Thus, once the provincial States had unanimously agreed to seek an alliance with England, delegates from the States-General arrived in **London** in 1585 to conduct the negotiations that led to the Treaty of **Nonsuch**, whereby **Elizabeth I** agreed to supply the Dutch with financial and military assistance. The States-General remained in existence until the collapse of the Dutch Republic in 1795. The name was revived in 1814 for the bicameral Parliament of the newly created Kingdom of The Netherlands.

See also Netherlands Revolt

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Stationers' Register

In 1403, a group of **London** booksellers, bookbinders, and manuscript illuminators formed a guild to protect their trade and the interests of guild members. These tradesmen were collectively known as stationers, a term used as early as the thirteenth century to refer to shopkeepers in university towns who sold books from a stall or other fixed place of business, as opposed to book hawkers, who traveled from place to place. By the sixteenth century, this organization's prominence had grown due to rising book production, and in 1557 it received a royal charter and became known as the Stationers' Company.

Partly intended as a way for the church and state to control the dissemination of printed texts, this charter authorized the Stationers' Company to seize "offending books" and bring their publishers to the attention of civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It is no coincidence that the charter was granted during the reign of **Mary I**, but even her predecessors **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI** were also vulnerable to heretical and politically subversive products of the press. However, the charter was not solely designed to protect the interests of the government and church, for it also granted the company's members the right to claim individual ownership of texts, and thus established the publishers' copyright system in Britain (copyright for authors was not established there until 1710). Ownership was only recognized, however, among members of the guild, and since not all printers in England were Stationers, piracy of texts continued to be hard to prevent even after 1557. Nevertheless, the company's charter was an important milestone in establishing the modern concept of copyright.

Printers who wished to publish a book were first required to obtain a license from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London. Authorization for the publication of plays and pamphlets, by contrast, could usually be obtained through the Wardens of the Stationers' Company, although by the turn of the sixteenth century, the master of the revels, who had previously been concerned only with authorizing the public performance of plays, also controlled the licensing of plays to be printed. After a license had been obtained, a Stationer could then enter the name of the publication in the guild's record book, known as the Stationers' Register. This, together with the payment of a small fee (four to sixpence), would secure copyright to the text.

Today, the Stationers' Register is an invaluable resource for scholars researching the history of English literature. It is especially valuable for the study of the Elizabethan period, and for factual data on many of the works of William **Shakespeare**, Ben **Jonson**, Christopher **Marlowe**, and others, it is among the only reliable sources of information. Entries were typically brief and simply listed the name of the publisher, the Wardens of the Company, and the title of the book. For example: "May 20 [1609] Thomas Thorpe—Entered for his copie under the handes of master Wilson

and master Lownes Warden, a Booke called Shakespeares sonnettes, vj.” Entries for plays recorded the name of the master of the revels or his deputy. The date of entry into the Stationers’ Register, however, did not necessarily coincide with its **printing** or publication. Some publishers are known to have entered a book’s title long before the book was actually printed. Others registered books after publication, and, in some cases, failed to register books at all. Furthermore, some works appear to have been registered for the purpose of deliberately “staying” (forestalling) publication. For example, Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* was registered in 1600 but not published until 1623, and it has been suggested that a company of actors convinced a stationer to register the play to prevent others from acquiring the right to print it. Thus, even though the Stationers’ charter was intended to protect the rights of publishers, authors could sometimes manipulate it to serve their own purposes.

The Stationers’ monopoly on book production ended in 1695, and copyright was vested with authors rather than publishers by the Copyright Act of 1709. In the eighteenth century, the company began to grant freer access to its register, which it had previously guarded closely. In 1923, the Stationers were no longer required to register books, although the option to do so remained. Now known as The Stationers’ and Newspaper Makers’ Company, the guild continues to be active. Its archives, which include the organization’s registration books dating back to 1554, are now housed at Stationers’ Hall in London.

Michael Taylor

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St. German, Christopher (c. 1460–1540)

Christopher St. German was a prominent legal theorist whose ideas helped create the philosophical basis for the English **Reformation**. By contending that sovereignty in both church and state belonged by right to the king acting through **Parliament**, the writings of St. German crafted the legal theories by which parliamentary statute was empowered to abolish papal authority and declare **royal supremacy**.

Born into a Warwickshire **gentry** family, St. German entered the Middle Temple and began a distinguished legal career, appearing in the Courts of **Star Chamber**

and **Requests** before retiring from active practice in about 1512. St. German thereafter devoted himself to writing, producing in 1528 and 1530 two dialogues on English law known together as *Doctor and Student*, which became the most influential legal treatises of the Tudor period. Written in Latin and English, rather than law French, *Doctor and Student* became the standard text for all sixteenth-century students of English **common law**. In 1531, St. German published an appendix to *Doctor and Student* entitled *New Additions*, a tract that discussed the right of Parliament to implement ecclesiastical reform. According to St. German, the king-in-Parliament (i.e., the monarch acting with and through Parliament) was the sovereign power in the realm, having “not only charge on the bodies, but also on the souls of [English] subjects” (Guy, “Thomas More and Christopher St. German,” 101). Under this theory, statute law, as devised and approved by king and Parliament, was the highest expression of the English political will and was thus fully competent to institute reforms of the English Church.

Because they provided a means for obtaining the royal **divorce** without reference to Rome, St. German’s theories immediately interested both **Henry VIII** and Thomas **Cromwell**; they commissioned St. German to draft a legislative program for subordinating the clergy to the Crown and the laity as represented in Parliament. This program, devised in about 1531, called for preparation of an English translation of the New Testament, a thorough overhaul of the procedures for investigating **heresy**, the reform of clerical abuses and fees, lay enforcement of a uniform and orthodox liturgy, and government efforts, through public works and price and wage controls, to relieve poverty. Although many of St. German’s proposals foreshadowed the later policies of the Henrician and Edwardian governments and the social reform ideas of the **Commonwealth Men**, the draft program of 1531 was never enacted. However, the basic premises of the program, as outlined in a series of tracts written by St. German in the 1530s, drew fierce opposition from foes of royal supremacy, notably Sir Thomas **More**.

In about 1532, St. German published *A Treatise Concerning the Division between the Spirituality and Temporality*. The book accused the clergy of treating the laity unfairly, especially in the investigation, trial, and punishment of heresy. More responded with his *Apology*, which vigorously defended the traditional privileges of the clergy. In September 1533, St. German published *Salem and Bizance*, a tract cast as a dialogue between two Englishmen, which refuted More’s *Apology* and again depicted clerical procedures against heresy as unjust. By mid-1534, by which time More had been imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, two further publications had closed the debate: More’s *Debellation of Salem and Bizance* and St. German’s *Additions of Salem and Bizance*. Because More probably realized that his supposedly anonymous opponent was backed by the government (St. German’s books were published by the royal printer), his published refutations of St. German’s ideas likely hastened his arrest and trial. St. German, meanwhile, lost

influence after passage of the Act of **Supremacy**, which acknowledged the king, not the king-in-Parliament, as supreme head of the Church. St. German died, at age 80, in late 1540.

See also Inns of Court

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St. James's Palace

St. James's Palace was a principal **London** residence of the Tudor monarchs. **Henry VIII** built St. James's concurrently with **Whitehall Palace** in the 1530s.



The red brick St. James's Palace was constructed by Henry VIII, and although Elizabeth made few changes, the palace was heavily remodeled later. (Stephen Finn)

Henry wanted a smaller residence near London where he could occasionally escape from cares of state and formal **court** life. To this end, he constructed St. James's about a half mile west of Whitehall across St. James's Park. Just as for Whitehall, Henry had to demolish numerous existing structures to build St. James's, including an old hospital for lepers.

Although much smaller than Whitehall, St. James's was also built around a series of courts—the Colour Court, the Ambassador's Court, the Friary Court, and the unnamed western court. Built of red brick, with bricks of a darker shade used to create running patterns, St. James's most remarkable feature was the four-story gatehouse on its north side. The gatehouse had two crenellated octagonal turrets at its corners and a central span with a large

clock. The gatehouse was decorated with a crown, a Tudor rose, and the initials “H. A.” for Henry VIII and Anne **Boleyn**, Henry’s wife at the time St. James’s was constructed. The chapel at St. James’s measured 70 feet long and 23 feet wide and was spanned by a magnificent ceiling decorated with geometric shapes, chivalric devices and mottoes, the initials “HR” (Henricus Rex, Latin for “King Henry”), and the date 1540.

Henry’s children made few changes to St. James’s, but, under the Stuarts, and especially in the eighteenth century, St. James’s underwent extensive renovation, leaving the gatehouse, chapel, and one or two other rooms, such as the Guard Chamber, as the only parts of the Tudor palace that remain today. Although one of the Tudors’ smaller palaces, St. James’s was the principal royal residence of the kings of Great Britain in the early eighteenth century, and foreign ambassadors to Great Britain are still formally accredited to the “Court of St. James.” The palace was heavily damaged by fire in 1809. Rebuilt by George IV in the 1820s, St. James’s was soon supplanted as the monarch’s main London residence by Buckingham Palace, located just to the southeast on St. James’s Park.

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Stoke, Battle of

Considered the last clash of the **Wars of the Roses**, the Battle of Stoke, fought on 16 June 1487, concluded the first Yorkist attempt to overthrow **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. In 1487, a priest named Richard (or William) Simonds arrived in **Ireland** with a boy Simonds claimed was Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, the nephew of **Edward IV**. Although the youth was in reality Lambert **Simnel**, the son of an Oxford tradesman, he was apparently attractive and intelligent and well coached by Simonds to impersonate a Yorkist prince. Gerald **Fitzgerald**, eighth Earl of Kildare, the Irish lord deputy, accepted Simnel as Warwick, probably not out of genuine belief but in the hope that a Yorkist regime restored with Irish assistance would grant Ireland greater autonomy. Having won a base in Ireland, the Simnel imposture gained further support in Burgundy, where Duchess **Margaret of York**, the real Warwick’s aunt, formally recognized Simnel as her nephew. John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln, another nephew of Edward IV, also joined the movement by slipping away to Dublin for the 24 May coronation of Simnel as “Edward VI.” Although the ultimate intent of the Yorkist leaders was probably to enthrone Lincoln, they were willing to use Simnel as a figurehead to generate support for a Yorkist restoration.

In **London**, Henry VII removed the real Warwick from the **Tower of London** and paraded him through the streets. On 4 June 1487, Simnel landed on the Lancashire coast with a force of Irish and German mercenaries. As the rebels crossed Yorkshire, they gathered significant **gentry** support and enlarged their numbers to almost 9,000 men, although the city of York denied them entry and such prominent northern lords as Thomas **Stanley**, Earl of Derby, mobilized for the king. On the morning of 16 June, the Yorkist army formed a line of battle on a hill southwest of the Nottinghamshire village of East Stoke. The king and his commanders, unaware of the rebels' proximity, advanced in columns, unprepared for battle. The Earl of Oxford, commander of the royal vanguard, first encountered the Yorkists. To stay in the open awaiting the king and the rest of the army was to invite destruction; to retreat was to risk disintegration through panic and low morale. Oxford therefore decided to attack, sending messengers to tell Henry to advance with all speed.

At about 9:00 a.m., Oxford's archers opened the battle, doing severe execution among the lightly armored Irish, who then charged downhill taking the rest of the Yorkist army with them. Although Oxford's men were experienced fighters, they were hard pressed by the larger Yorkist force, and only the timely arrival of the king and his uncle Jasper **Tudor**, Duke of Bedford, saved Oxford from defeat. Unable to stand against fresh troops, the Yorkist line broke, and many rebels were killed as they fled down a steep ravine. Lincoln died on the field, but Simnel was captured, pardoned, and set to work in the royal kitchens. Henry VII had survived the first serious attempt to overthrow the Tudor throne.

See also Netherlands; Warbeck, Perkin; York, House of

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Stokesley, John (c. 1475–1539)

As an agent for the royal **divorce**, John Stokesley secured numerous texts and opinions favorable to **Henry VIII's** cause. As bishop of **London**, Stokesley steadfastly opposed doctrinal reformation and vigorously suppressed **heresy**. Born in Northamptonshire, Stokesley was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was elected fellow in about 1495. Ordained in 1505, Stokesley came to **court** in 1509, when, through the influence of Bishop Richard **Foxe**, he was sworn of the **council** and became royal chaplain and almoner. In 1520, Stokesley attended the king as chaplain at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and at the subsequent meeting with **Charles V**. In 1529, Stokesley, accompanied by George **Boleyn**, Lord Rochford, led an embassy to **France**, where he successfully obtained a favorable opinion

on the king's **divorce** from the University of Paris. In 1530, Stokesley was in **Italy** soliciting similar declarations from the universities of Bologna, Padua, and Venice. As a result of this service, Henry appointed Stokesley bishop of London in July 1530.

Although Stokesley continued to work for the divorce, he was less enthusiastic about the **royal supremacy** and gave only qualified approval to the 1532 **Submission of the Clergy**. Nonetheless, he attempted to convince the London Carthusians to accept the supremacy, and, with Cuthbert **Tunstall**, refuted Cardinal Reginald **Pole**'s written attacks on the royal headship. Stokesley also christened Princess Elizabeth in September 1533 and later in the decade cooperated with the **dissolution of the monasteries** in his diocese. However, as bishop, Stokesley made strenuous efforts to root out heresy. He condemned John **Frith** in 1533, argued against John **Lambert** in 1538, and suppressed the **Christian Brethren**; according to the Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe**, Stokesley handed more than 30 condemned heretics to the secular authorities for execution. The bishop also vigorously opposed the distribution of English **Bibles**, believing that ready availability of vernacular editions only promoted heresy. He refused Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**'s request to prepare an English translation of the Acts of the Apostles and sent agents to the **Netherlands** to track down William **Tyndale**, the translator of the first English New Testament.

While his support for the divorce earned him credit with the king, Stokesley's refusal to countenance reformist doctrines drew only harassment from Thomas **Cromwell**. The minister clashed continually with the bishop over selection of preachers and texts for the national pulpit at **Paul's Cross** in London. In May 1538, Stokesley, at Cromwell's instigation, was charged with **praemunire** for acknowledging a papal bull and performing various "papistical rites and superstitions" (Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 282). The bishop won a royal pardon by admitting his guilt and throwing himself on the king's mercy. Stokesley was again in trouble by November 1538, when he was implicated in the **Exeter Conspiracy** by Sir Geoffrey **Pole**. A frequent guest at the bishop's table, Pole confessed that Stokesley had complained to him of how Cromwell had usurped his authority to have heretics preach at Paul's Cross. Despite these revelations, Stokesley, probably at the king's directive, was not arrested. The bishop died shortly thereafter on 8 September 1539.

See also Carthusian Martyrs; Elizabeth I

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Stow, John (c. 1525–1605)

John Stow was one of the most important and most accurate Elizabethan chroniclers of English history. Born in **London**, Stow was a tailor by trade, being admitted to membership in the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1547. Stow's business flourished, and by 1560 he was able to begin devoting much of his time and money to his study of English history and antiquities. His first project, published in 1561, was the editing of a new edition of *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. His first original work, *Summary of English Chronicles* (1565), although criticized by rival chronicler Richard **Grafton**, was popular enough to run into several fully revised and updated editions.

Although Stow was examined several times by the Privy **Council** in the late 1560s for possessing Catholic books and pamphlets, he was never punished and continued to work with Archbishop Matthew **Parker** on the editing of various medieval English chronicles, including editions of Matthew of Westminster's *Flores Historiarum* (1567) and Matthew Paris's *Chronicle* (1571). Stow's most important work, *The Chronicles of England*, was first published in 1580 and was reissued in 1592 (and in later editions) as *The Annals of England Faithfully Collected out of the Most Authentical Authors, Records and Other Monuments of Antiquity, from the First Inhabitation until This Present Year*. Popularly known as the *Annals*, Stow's work borrowed extensively, without acknowledgment, from the *Chronicles* of Raphael **Holinshed**. With John **Hooker** and other editors, Stow was part of the team that published a revised edition of **Holinshed's Chronicles** in 1587.

Stow devoted the 1590s to researching and compiling his *Survey of London* (1598), a valuable study of the origins, development, and customs of the city. Stow compiled information by collecting and studying documents and by exploring and observing every part of London. In his last years, Stow's studies and publishing projects ate up his fortune and left him dependent on the charity of the Merchant Taylors' Company. He died in London in April 1605.

See also Antiquarianism

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Strange, Lord

See Stanley, Ferdinando, Lord Strange

Stuart, Arabella (1575–1615)

Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and Elizabeth Cavendish, stood too near to the throne to escape a life of sorrow and frustration. Her paternal uncle, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, was the second husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and her cousin was thus Mary and Darnley's son, James VI of **Scotland**. In the last years of **Elizabeth I**, Arabella was next in line for the English Crown after James VI and was therefore a focus of intrigue for those who opposed the accession of the king of Scots to the English throne.

Because her parents died young, Arabella was raised from the age of seven by her maternal grandmother, Elizabeth **Hardwick**, who had by the 1580s become the wife of George **Talbot**, Earl of Shrewsbury. As a young woman, Arabella became a friend and companion of her imprisoned aunt, the Queen of Scots, who was for many years entrusted to Shrewsbury's keeping. Elizabeth, ever suspicious of any possible successors to her throne, frustrated all plans for the girl's marriage. Arabella's position was also hurt by the intrigues of her grandmother the Countess of Shrewsbury, who persistently but unsuccessfully sought to have her granddaughter named as Elizabeth's successor. After 1590, the countess kept her granddaughter a virtual prisoner at Hardwick Hall, the countess's family home in Derbyshire.

After his accession in 1603, **James I**, who by then had two sons, welcomed Arabella to court, but, like Elizabeth, forbade her to marry. In 1610, she defied the king by secretly marrying William Seymour, who had his own distant claim to the throne thanks to the secret marriage of his grandparents, Edward Seymour and Katherine **Grey**. For this new



Arabella Stuart was cousin to James VI of Scotland and at one point next in line behind him for the English Crown, yet her bloodline brought her mostly sorrow and frustration. (Library of Congress)

unauthorized marriage, the king imprisoned Arabella at Lambeth Palace and sent Seymour to the **Tower of London**. Husband and wife both escaped their prisons in 1611, but Arabella was recaptured and sent to the Tower, where anxiety and despair eventually robbed her of both life and sanity. Arabella died in September 1615 and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the new tomb of the Queen of Scots.

See also Stuart, House of

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Stuart, Henry, Lord Darnley (1546–1567)

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the son of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and Margaret **Douglas**, daughter of Margaret **Tudor**. As a grandnephew of **Henry VIII**, Darnley was a distant cousin of **Elizabeth I** and had a claim to the throne of England second only to that of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. Darnley was born in Yorkshire and raised in England. With Elizabeth's permission, Darnley visited his cousin Mary in **Scotland** in 1565. Mary was attracted to the young man, and she was encouraged in her affections for him by her trusted Italian advisor, David **Rizzio**. Although the match was highly unpopular with the Scots nobles, the two were married in July 1565.

Darnley's crude and arrogant behavior soon alienated almost everyone at the Scottish **court**, including the queen. By early 1566, the pregnant queen refused Darnley all access to herself and to power. Jealous of the influence Rizzio had with the queen, Darnley joined a conspiracy of Scots nobles against the royal **favorite**. In March 1566, he admitted a party of armed men into Holyrood Palace and led them to Rizzio, who was murdered within the queen's hearing. Despite Darnley's participation in the murder, the queen reconciled with him to win his support against the other murderers. She did not, however, forgive or forget, and she continued to deny him all real power.

Darnley tried to flee the country but was prevented from doing so by the onset of syphilis. Mary, now influenced by James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, persuaded Darnley to convalesce at a house at Kirk o'Field outside **Edinburgh**. Darnley was murdered there in February 1567, likely through the agency of Bothwell and possibly with the connivance of the queen. The son of Mary and Darnley, born in June 1566, eventually became James VI of Scotland and **James I** of England.

See also Darnley Murder; Stuart, House of

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Stuart, House of

The claim of the Scottish royal family of Stuart to the English throne derived from the 1503 marriage of **James IV** of **Scotland** to Margaret **Tudor**, eldest daughter of Henry VII. The son born of this marriage in 1512 became **James V** of Scotland at his father's death in 1513 and heir to his then childless uncle, Henry VIII of England. In 1515, Margaret Tudor, then in her second marriage, to Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus, gave birth to Margaret **Douglas**, whose claim at birth to the English throne was inferior only to that of her elder half brother. Although both of Margaret Tudor's children were eventually superseded in the succession by Henry VIII's own children, who ruled eventually as **Edward VI**, **Mary I**, and **Elizabeth I**, the Scottish claims were revived in the 1530s when Henry VIII severed the English Church from Rome.

Because James V and Margaret Douglas were orthodox Catholics, both were unacceptable to Henry VIII, but acceptable to English conservatives seeking a Catholic heir. James V died in December 1542, four years before Henry. He left his Scottish throne and his claim to the English throne to an infant daughter, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, born six days before his death. In 1544, Margaret Douglas married Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, a member of a junior branch of the Scottish royal line. After the deaths without heirs of Henry VIII's children Edward VI and Mary I, Margaret Douglas's two sons, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, and Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, stood third and fourth in line for the English throne after their second cousin Elizabeth and their first cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. The marriage in 1565 of the two cousins, Mary and Darnley, combined the two Scottish claims in the person of their son, James VI of Scotland.

Raised a Protestant after his mother was driven from Scotland to exile and imprisonment in England, James became a far more acceptable heir to England than his Catholic mother ever was. He finally made good the Stuart claim to the English throne when the childless Elizabeth died in March 1603. A remnant of his family's claim continued to haunt him in the person of his cousin Arabella **Stuart**, the daughter of his uncle the Earl of Lennox. Persecuted and denied marriage, Arabella and her claim to the Crown died in the **Tower of London** in 1615.

See also James I; Reformation, English

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Stuart, James, Earl of Moray (1531–1570)

An illegitimate son of **James V**, James Stuart, Earl of Moray, was a leading figure in the government of his half sister, Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and the first regent for her son, James VI. James V acknowledged James Stuart as his son and provided for his education at St. Andrews University, where the reformer John **Knox** converted him to **Protestantism**. After James V's death in 1542, Stuart supported the Catholic regent, Marie de **Guise**, mother of the queen, but by 1560 he joined the Lords of the Congregation, a group of Protestant nobles in rebellion against her. By 1561, the death of Marie de Guise and the conclusion of the Treaty of **Edinburgh** ended the civil war between Protestants and Catholics and made possible the return of Mary, then a widow, to **Scotland**.

Mary came to an understanding with her Protestant half brother, whom she created Earl of Moray and leader of her council. The new regime made no attempt to impose uniformity of religion on Scotland; the queen accepted the primacy of the Protestant Church of Scotland, and Moray tolerated the Catholicism of the queen and a minority of her subjects. This arrangement collapsed in 1565 when the queen married Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, whose influence threatened Moray's position. In August, before fleeing to England, Moray led an ineffective rebellion known as the **Chaseabout Raid**. Mary pardoned him for his rebellion in March 1566, shortly after the assassination of her secretary, David **Rizzio**, an act with which Moray agreed. The earl was probably also a passive participant in the murder of Lord Darnley in February 1567. Upon learning of Mary's intention to wed James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell, Moray fled to **France**, but he returned after the queen's forced abdication in July 1567 to become regent for the infant James VI.

When Mary escaped from confinement in May 1568, Moray defeated her forces at the Battle of **Langside** and then cooperated with William **Cecil** and other Protestants in the English government to convince **Elizabeth I** to keep Mary a prisoner in England, where she had fled after Langside. As part of this effort, Moray produced the **Casket Letters**, which seemed to prove Mary's involvement in the murder of

Darnley. Moray was assassinated in January 1570 by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whose family supported Mary Stuart.

See also Darnley Murder; James I; Stuart, House of

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Stuart, Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587)

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was the only surviving child of **James V** of **Scotland** and his French wife, Marie de **Guise**. Although queen within a week of her birth, Mary's personal rule lasted only from 1561 to 1567. Because Mary was a great-granddaughter of **Henry VII**, she was also an important figure in the English succession.

Mary's accession in December 1542 began a long royal minority marked by competition between England and **France** for dominance in Scottish affairs and between Catholics and Protestants for control of the Scottish Church. The succession of an infant girl prompted **Henry VIII** to initiate the policy of **Rough Wooing**, an aggressive attempt to compel the Scots to accept Prince Edward as husband for their queen. Although the marriage was arranged by the 1543 Treaty of **Greenwich**, Henry's arrogant behavior convinced the Scottish regency government, led by James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran, to repudiate the treaty and ally with the pro-French party, led by Mary's mother and Cardinal David **Beaton**. In 1547, the head of **Edward VI**'s regency government, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, continued Henry's policy, winning the Battle of **Pinkie** but failing to reinstate the Greenwich agreement or curb French influence in Scotland. In 1548, the Scottish government concluded the Treaty of Haddington, which betrothed Mary to the eldest son of **Henri II** and sent her to France to be raised a Catholic by her Guise relatives.

In 1554, Mary's mother replaced Arran as regent. In April 1558, Mary wed the dauphin and thus became queen of France on her husband's accession in July 1559. In Scotland, Marie de Guise died in June 1560, and her Catholic, pro-French policy was repudiated by the Protestant Lords, who concluded the Treaty of **Edinburgh** with England and presided over the transformation of the Scottish Church into a Calvinist body. When the death of **Francis II** widowed Mary in December 1560, the queen, rather than return to Scotland, spent some months seeking to make a new marriage that would allow her to stay in France or somewhere on the Continent. When this attempt failed, Mary sailed to Scotland in August 1561 to begin her personal rule.



Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, gained the throne when she was only a few days old. (Library of Congress)

Although a staunch Catholic, Mary accepted the Scottish **Reformation** and ruled with the advice of her Protestant half brother, James **Stuart**, Earl of Moray, an illegitimate son of James V. As a granddaughter of Margaret **Tudor**, Mary had a strong claim to the English Crown, and she unsuccessfully pressed her cousin **Elizabeth I** to recognize her as heir to the throne, an effort that may in part explain the unusual refusal of a Catholic queen to restore a Catholic Church within her realm. In 1565, Mary wed Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley, another cousin with a claim to the English throne. Darnley proved weak, devious, and arrogant, and soon alienated Mary, who denied him any part in the government. Although Darnley connived at the murder of Mary's Ital-

ian **favorite**, David **Rizzio**, Mary enlisted her husband's support against the Protestant nobles who committed the murder and was able to regain control of the government.

In June 1566, Mary gave birth to a son, but Darnley continued his provocative and reckless behavior, making himself a serious political liability. In early 1567, when Darnley fell ill with syphilis, Mary convinced him to recuperate at Kirk o'Field, a house outside **Edinburgh**, where Darnley was murdered in February 1567. In May, Mary gave substance to charges that she was party to the murder by marrying the suspected murderer, James **Hepburn**, Earl of Bothwell. A confederation of nobles led by Moray defeated the forces of Mary and Bothwell in June 1567 and forced the queen to abdicate in favor of her son. In May 1568, Mary escaped from captivity, but her forces were again defeated; she then fled to England, where she was confined by Elizabeth for 19 years. In February 1587, Mary's frequent plotting with English and foreign Catholics finally led to her execution. Raised a Protestant, Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, whose only response to his mother's execution was a formal protest, eventually succeeded Elizabeth as **James I** of England.

See also Babington Plot; Calvinism, English; Carberry, Battle of; Darnley Murder; Guise Family; Landside, Battle of; Ridolfi Plot; Stuart, House of

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Stubbe, John (c. 1541–1590)

John Stubbe (or Stubbs), a translator, barrister, and **Puritan** controversialist, is best known for causing a serious political scandal with his book *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*. Born into a Norfolk **gentry** family, Stubbe obtained a bachelor's degree from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1561. He entered Lincoln's Inn in 1562 and was called to the bar in 1572. In 1564, he translated Theodore Beza's *A Discourse Containing the Life and Death of Master John Calvin* from the French. Having witnessed the suspensions of various **London** clergymen during the **Vestiarian Controversy** of the 1560s, Stubbe and a group of Protestant colleagues at Lincoln's Inn became increasingly active opponents of the policies of Archbishop Matthew **Parker**. With several of these colleagues, Stubbe participated in the writing and publication of *The Life of the LXXth Archbishop of Canterbury Presently Sitting* (1574), a bitter denunciation of Parker. By the 1570s, Stubbe was increasingly prominent in moderate Puritan circles, with his sister Alice marrying Thomas **Cartwright**, the noted Puritan advocate of presbyterianism, in 1578.

In August 1579, Stubbe published *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, a book that attacked the proposed marriage of **Elizabeth I** to Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon. Stubbe declared the marriage of a Protestant to a Roman Catholic to be contrary to divine law and incited much fear among his readers that the queen, as the wife of a French Catholic prince, would restore Catholicism and make England a pawn of France. Stubbe also refuted all the promarriage arguments made by Thomas **Radcliffe**, Earl of Sussex, in an August 1579 letter and memorandum to the queen, who suspected that copies of those documents were secretly made available to Stubbe by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, or Sir Francis **Walsingham**, both opponents of the match. The book generated a firestorm of opposition to the marriage and infuriated the queen, who resented what she considered an intrusion into her personal life. Declaring the book "lewd and seditious," Elizabeth issued a **proclamation** prohibiting any subject to possess the book upon pain of death.

Stubbe; Hugh Singleton, the printer; and William Page, a distributor of the volume, were arrested and tried for felony only after the queen was with difficulty convinced that she had not the power under the royal **prerogative** to hang them without trial. When the jury refused to convict, the three were tried in Queen's Bench under a Marian statute prohibiting conspiracy to incite sedition. Convicted

of this offense, the three were sentenced to imprisonment and the loss of their right hands. Sentence was carried out in the Westminster marketplace, where, according to an eyewitness account by William **Camden**, Stubbe declared his loyalty to the queen and prayed for courage to face his punishment. After enduring three blows before his hand was off, Stubbe cried, “God save the queen” and fainted. The crowd supposedly watched in silence as he was carried away to imprisonment in the **Tower of London**, where he remained until 1581.

Now sometimes signing himself “John Stubbe, scaeva,” meaning “the left-handed,” Stubbe published a devotional work entitled *Christian Meditations upon Eight Psalms* in 1582. He became steward of Great Yarmouth in 1585 and was sent by the same **borough** to the **Parliament** of 1589, where he drafted a petition opposing the Court of **High Commission**’s use of the oath ex officio against Puritan ministers. In 1587, William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, commissioned Stubbe to write a reply to Cardinal William **Allen**’s attack on Burghley’s *Execution of Justice*, a defense of the government’s trial and execution of the English Jesuit Edmund **Campion**. In 1585, Stubbe entered the employment of Peregrine **Bertie**, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Leicester’s successor as commander of English forces in the **Netherlands**, whom he served as secretary and financial advisor. He also acted as Willoughby’s conduit to the government for information on Dutch affairs. In 1589, Stubbe accompanied the English army to **France**, where he died in February 1590.

John A. Wagner

See also Jesuit Mission; Presbyterian Movement

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Stukeley, Sir Thomas (c. 1525–1578)

Sir Thomas Stukeley (or Stucley) was a flamboyant and treacherous adventurer and pirate. Although born into a West Country family, Stukeley’s strong resemblance to **Henry VIII** led to rumors that he was the king’s illegitimate son. Little is known of Stukeley’s early life. A servant of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Stukeley fled to **France** when Somerset fell from power in 1549. In 1552,

Stukeley returned to England and informed the government that **Henri II** planned to attack **Calais** and had sent him to England to learn about the town's defenses. The astounded Privy **Council** was unsure whether Stukeley was telling the truth or simply attempting to win a handsome reward. Aware of Stukeley's connections to Somerset, John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, the chief minister of **Edward VI**, refused to believe Stukeley's tales and imprisoned him in the **Tower of London**. Released shortly thereafter, Stukeley fled again to the Continent and entered the service of the Duke of Savoy.

In the 1560s, Stukeley came to the court of **Elizabeth I** with a scheme for founding an English colony in Florida. Although he was able to persuade the queen to provide a ship, the colonization plan was nothing more than a ruse to put together a fleet with which to conduct acts of piracy. The queen arrested Stukeley in 1565 when outraged foreign governments demanded that action be taken against him for his attacks on their shipping. Stukeley was pardoned in 1566 and allowed to go to **Ireland**, where he expressed a willingness to aid Shane **O'Neill** in Ulster and attempted to ingratiate himself with Sir Peter **Carew**. However, by June 1569 he was imprisoned in **Dublin** Castle for engaging in suspicious correspondence with **Philip II** of **Spain**.

Released for lack of evidence, Stukeley fled to Spain and began plotting **treason** in earnest. He won the favor of Philip by fighting bravely at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 and soon began advocating a Catholic invasion of Ireland. He persuaded Pope **Gregory XIII** to support the effort but then betrayed the pope by diverting the papal troops intended for Ireland to the king of Portugal's invasion of Morocco. This betrayal was his last, for Stukeley was killed in Morocco at the Battle of Alcazar in August 1578.

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Submission of the Clergy

The term "Submission of the Clergy" refers both to a 1532 act of **Convocation** whereby that body surrendered its legislative independence to the Crown and to a 1534 act of **Parliament** whereby Convocation's earlier surrender was confirmed and implemented. In about 1530, **Henry VIII**, facing delays and obstructions at Rome, sought to achieve his **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon** solely through the agency of the English Church. To assert greater royal authority over spiritual matters, the king used lay opposition to clerical privilege to pressure the clergy

into accepting the king, rather than the pope, as head of the Church. In 1532, the House of Commons presented Henry with a petition, based perhaps on a list of grievances composed by Thomas **Cromwell** in 1529, that complained of various clerical abuses, including worldly prelates, unjust fees, and unfair **heresy** prosecutions. Henry sent this petition, known as the *Supplication against the Ordinaries*, to Convocation, which responded in late April with the *Answer of the Ordinaries*, a point-by-point refutation of the *Supplication* drafted by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**. Calling the clergy's response "very slender" (Lehmberg, *Reformation Parliament*, 148), Henry sent the *Answer* to the Commons, inviting the House to take appropriate action.

While matters stood thus in the Commons, Henry, on 10 May, demanded that Convocation submit all its past and future enactments to royal review, essentially surrendering control of the Church and of spiritual affairs to the Crown. On 11 May, Henry, to increase pressure on the bishops, met with Thomas **Audley**, Speaker of the Commons, and a small parliamentary deputation. Brandishing a copy of the oath that clerics made to the pope and declaring that the clergy "be but half our subjects; yea, and scarce our subjects," the king required Parliament "to invent some order that we be not thus deluded of our spiritual subjects" (Lehmberg, *Reformation Parliament*, 150–151). Lacking popular support, Convocation succumbed, and on 15 May surrendered its independence to the Crown by passing an enactment entitled the Submission of the Clergy. Henceforth, Convocation could not meet until summoned by the king, while all canons (acts) of Convocation required royal approval to take effect, or, if previously enacted, to remain in effect.

However, because the clergy's submission was only partial—the lower house of Convocation had refused to approve the Submission, and eight bishops had absented themselves from the vote in the upper house—the king eventually demanded statutory confirmation of Convocation's act. As a result, the **Reformation Parliament** passed the Act for the Submission of the Clergy to the King's Majesty in March 1534. The statute also empowered the king to fine and imprison any cleric who resisted his spiritual authority and replaced the archbishops' courts with the king or his appointed representatives as the **church court** of last resort.

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Subscription Crisis

The subscription crisis was provoked by Archbishop John **Whitgift**'s attempt to remove Puritan nonconformists from **benefices** within the **Anglican Church**. In October 1583, Whitgift required all Anglican clergy to accept three articles. The first article stated that **Elizabeth I** had supreme authority on earth in all matters spiritual—a statement designed to uncover Catholics, who ascribed such authority to the pope, and presbyterians, who vested such power in church councils. The second article declared that the **Book of Common Prayer** contained nothing contrary to scripture, a statement many **Puritans** were unwilling to accept because they believed the prayer book allowed many Catholic usages. The third declaration required acceptance of the **Thirty-nine Articles**, the basic statement of Anglican faith passed by **Convocation** and issued by the queen in 1563. Puritans also quibbled with many of the doctrines set forth in this statement.

Whitgift's articles (especially the second one) caused an uproar; some 350 clergymen refused to subscribe and stood to lose their livelihoods. Lay supporters of these clergymen, ranging from county **justices of the peace** to such Puritan sympathizers on the Privy **Council** as William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley; Sir Francis **Walsingham**; and Sir Francis **Knollys**, protested the archbishop's actions. When the council summoned Whitgift to explain himself, he declared that the English Church was his charge and that he required freedom of action to properly administer it. In 1584, he lessened the demand for article two by asking only for a promise to use the prayer book. This compromise prevented most Puritans from losing their benefices.

However, Whitgift continued to employ the Court of **High Commission** to punish the most radical Puritan nonconformists, a practice that led to the convening of the Lambeth Conference in 1584. Meeting under the presidency of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the conference brought Whitgift and his supporters together with leading Puritans but accomplished little else. The Puritans then turned to **Parliament** to curb Whitgift. This tactic failed when Elizabeth backed the archbishop and the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559. Even though the subscription crisis brought the Anglican Church leadership into conflict with the Protestant **gentry**, the people upon whom the Crown relied to govern the counties, Elizabeth's support settled the matter in Whitgift's favor.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council; Presbyterian Movement; Vestiarian Controversy

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Subsidy

Under the Tudors, the subsidy was a parliamentary tax on lands, goods, and wages that was to be carefully and realistically assessed on each individual each time the tax was voted. The subsidy began as a supplement to the fixed amounts raised by the older types of parliamentary taxation, the tenth and fifteenth, the assessments of which, being based on medieval tradition, had ceased to be realistic reflections of national wealth in the sixteenth century. The rate of subsidy assessment varied, but, with realistic current valuations, a tax rate of 10 percent might raise as much as £100,000 per year for the government, making subsidies attractive to the Crown.

Early in her reign, **Elizabeth I**, who was by nature parsimonious, limited how much taxation she asked of **Parliament**, but the long and expensive war with **Spain** after 1585 forced the Crown to ask for more and bigger subsidies from later Parliaments. Because the task of assessing and collecting parliamentary taxes fell on the unpaid local **justices of the peace**, Elizabethan assessments for subsidies had already begun the process of hardening into fixed amounts, as had happened with the tenth and fifteenth in earlier centuries. Elizabethan assessments were thus already less in line with real land and property values than subsidy assessments made earlier in the century, and later Parliaments often had to be asked for several subsidies at a time to help fund the Spanish war.

See also Revenue and Taxation

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Succession, Acts of

To avoid controversy over who should succeed **Henry VIII**, Henrician Parliaments passed three separate acts of succession, defining, for the first time in English history, the exact line of succession to the Crown. An uncontested succession was vital to the political and economic stability of a personal monarchy. The **Wars of the Roses** had demonstrated how damaging contending claims to the Crown could be. In the 1520s, fear of renewed dynastic war haunted Henry, who found himself

with no legitimate male heir. Henry's wife, **Catherine of Aragon**, was past her childbearing years, and the couple's only child was a daughter. However, Henry, like most sixteenth-century men, considered governing a male occupation and was troubled by the prospect of a woman ruler. By further confusing the issue, Henry's subsequent efforts to marry a new wife and beget a male heir necessitated a series of parliamentary enactments defining the official succession to the throne.

Passed in March 1534, the First Act of Succession declared the king's marriage to Catherine invalid and his marriage to Anne **Boleyn** "true, sincere, and perfect." Although unmentioned, Mary was, by implication, removed from the succession, and the Crown was settled on Henry's children by Anne. The act required all subjects to swear an oath to its "whole effects and contents" and charged anyone who refused with misprision of treason. Deeds or writings that threatened the king or his heirs or slandered the Boleyn marriage were considered **treason**. Because the preamble to the act required the renunciation of all foreign (i.e., papal) authority, Bishop John **Fisher** and Sir Thomas **More** refused the oath and were imprisoned and eventually executed.

In June 1536, after the execution of Anne Boleyn, the Second Act of Succession repealed the first statute, declared the first two marriages invalid, pronounced both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate, and settled the succession on Henry's heirs by Jane **Seymour**, who finally produced an undisputed male heir in 1537. However, the king's matrimonial adventures and the religious upheaval that accompanied them left the succession after Prince Edward in confusion. If the prince died without heirs, who would follow him—his two bastardized sisters, his Catholic Stuart cousins in **Scotland**, or his Protestant Grey cousins? In 1544, the Third Act of Succession declared the proper order to be Edward and his heirs, Mary and her heirs, and then Elizabeth and her heirs. Empowered by this act to name further heirs in his will, Henry altogether excluded the Scottish Stuart line, which descended from his elder sister Margaret **Tudor**, and placed the Grey line, which descended from his younger sister Mary **Tudor**, next after Elizabeth. Ironically, because the holders of the Stuart and Grey claims in the next generation were Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and Jane **Grey**, all serious claimants to the Crown after Edward's death in 1553 were women.

Under **Elizabeth I**, the succession was complicated by the question of religion and by the queen's aversion to having a recognized successor who could serve as a focus for discontent, as she herself had unwillingly become during the reign of her sister, **Mary I**. Thus, the queen dealt harshly with Katherine **Grey**, Mary **Grey**, and Arabella **Stuart**, women who had claims to the throne. Elizabeth invalidated Katherine Grey's secret marriage to taint her sons with illegitimacy and so bar them from the succession, and she denied Arabella Stuart any marriage at all. Both women died in confinement, victims of their too-close proximity to the Crown.

See also Edward VI; Grey Claim (to the Throne); Stuart, House of

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Suffolk, Duchess of

See Bertie, Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk; Grey, Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk; Tudor, Mary

Suffolk, Duke of

See Brandon, Charles, Duke of Suffolk; Grey, Henry, Duke of Suffolk

Suffolk, Earl of

See Pole, Edmund de la, Earl of Suffolk

Sumptuary Laws

Sumptuary laws prescribe what people might wear or eat or even what sports they might play. Tudor sumptuary legislation mainly concerned the restricting of certain types, qualities, and colors of apparel to certain social classes. Between 1510 and 1554, **Parliament** enacted five sumptuary statutes, which were frequently reiterated, modified, or extended by royal **proclamation**. These laws arose mainly from a desire to maintain accepted class distinctions in an increasingly fluid social environment. Economic factors also played a role; for instance, the government hoped that restricting the wearing of certain imported fabrics and furs would encourage the domestic cloth trade. The **Reformation** also promoted sumptuary legislation as religious reformers grew concerned over the harmful effects of extravagance in dress and diet on public morals.

The most extensive early Tudor sumptuary law was the 1510 act of attire. The statute restricted the wearing of cloth of gold to earls and above, the wearing of

woolen cloth made outside the realm to peers and their families, and the wearing of fur trim made from fur obtained outside England to men whose annual income exceeded £100. The statute also demanded that countesses wear a train, but denied such distinction to women of lower rank. Men were compelled to wear their hair short, although beards could be of any length. Servants could wear no fur at all unless they served peers or gentlemen, and husbandmen and common laborers could wear no hose worth more than a certain price. Color restrictions included purple, which was confined to the royal family, and scarlet, which was reserved for the monarch and the highest nobility. Punishment for violations of the statute ranged from confiscation of the offending article to fines running from a few shillings to £10.

In 1514, Parliament reenacted the 1510 statute with a few new restrictions. In 1515, the statute of the previous year was repealed, and a new law, again based largely on the 1510 enactment, was passed. In 1533, the **Reformation Parliament** passed an act of apparel drafted by Thomas **Cromwell**. This measure testified to the Tudor respect for order and degree by including a long list of social classes and the apparel they might wear. The statute also admitted in its preamble that earlier apparel legislation had been ignored, an indication of the equally strong Tudor love of ostentatious display. The act also seems to have been meant primarily for men, since women were automatically expected to dress according to the status of their male head of household. The 1533 act restricted cloth of gold to the royal family and highest **peerage**, while prohibiting husbandmen from wearing cloth costing more than four shillings per yard. Violations of the statute were punished with confiscation of the prohibited garment and a fine of 3 shillings, 4 pence for each day the article was worn, with half the fine going to the Crown and the other half to the informer. Performing players were specifically exempted from the provisions of the act.

The sumptuary law passed in 1554 under **Mary I** was an act for the restraint of excess in apparel; this measure aimed mainly at controlling the attire of the lower classes. For example, subjects who were not knights or sons of knights could wear no silk upon their shoes or hose. Punishment for violations could include three months imprisonment and a fine of £10 for each day the offending article was worn.

Adopted in 1559, the major Elizabethan sumptuary statute reiterated the importance of previous legislation and detailed all existing restrictions on apparel. Regular reenactment of sumptuary legislation was necessary because the laws were rarely enforced and frequently ignored. In 1597, Elizabeth had to issue a proclamation calling again for adherence to sumptuary legislation and expanding and elaborating the existing restrictions. But sumptuary legislation was difficult to enforce and continually flouted. The last act of attire was repealed in 1604 and never replaced.

See also Gentry; Social Structure

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Supplication against the Ordinaries

Drafted by Thomas **Cromwell**, the *Supplication against the Ordinaries* is a list of complaints against the higher clergy presented by the House of Commons to **Henry VIII** on 18 March 1532. Transmitted to **Convocation** by the king, the *Supplication* and the threat of further anticlerical legislation that it represented convinced Church leaders to submit to royal authority, a capitulation known as the **Submission of the Clergy**.

The first draft of the *Supplication* may have been completed as early as 1529, the year a Commons petition against clerical abuses led the **Reformation Parliament** to pass acts limiting fees for probate of wills, setting amounts for burial dues, and curbing nonresidence and pluralism. Grievances against the clergy were also discussed by the Commons in 1531, and the *Supplication* may have originated in this session, although it was not until the spring of 1532 that Cromwell steered the document to final approval. As presented to Henry by Speaker Thomas **Audley**, the *Supplication* complained of unjust fees; capricious prosecution for **heresy**; overworldly prelates; the legislative independence of Convocation; and the large number of holy days, which harmed a growing economy by taking workers too frequently from their work. Aimed primarily at the higher clergy (the term "Ordinaries" refers to the judges in church courts, i.e., the bishops and their deputies), the *Supplication* also complained of abuses perpetrated on the lower clergy, such as episcopal demands for large fees to perform the routine installation of a parish priest. While protesting the Commons' adherence to Catholic orthodoxy and its abhorrence of heresy, the *Supplication* requested permission to pass corrective legislation.

On 12 April, the king referred the *Supplication* to Archbishop William **Warham**, with a request that Convocation make formal reply to the document. The *Answer of the Ordinaries*, a defiant refutation of the *Supplication* drafted by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner**, came to the king about 26 April. On 30 April, Henry sent the *Answer* to the Commons, telling its members "we think their answer will smally please you, or it seemeth to us very slender" (Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 298). **Parliament** concurred, but before any further action could be taken, the complaint against Convocation's legislative independence was extracted from the *Supplication* and turned into a list of articles that was sent to Convocation on 10 May. Accompanied by a

royal demand that Convocation approve them, the articles declared that no future clerical legislation could take effect without royal assent and that all past enactments be scrutinized by a royal committee. Having thus been transformed into a royal ultimatum, the *Supplication* became an instrument for achieving formal clerical submission to royal control, which occurred on 15 May.

See also Anticlericalism

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A Supplication for the Beggars

See Fish, Simon

Supremacy, Acts of

Act of Supremacy is the name commonly given to two statutes, one passed under **Henry VIII** in 1534 and a second enacted under his daughter **Elizabeth I** in 1559, which recognized the monarch as head of the English Church, with powers to define doctrine, order worship, and undertake ecclesiastical reform and governance.

Passed by the **Reformation Parliament** in November 1534, the brief first Act of Supremacy gave statutory confirmation to what had already been accomplished by previous legislation, such as the Act in **Restraint of Appeals** (the abolition of papal authority in England and its replacement by the **royal supremacy**). Because in Henrician theory the king's headship over the Church came from God, **Parliament** could not grant him that authority; the statute merely declared that the king was to be accepted as supreme head of the Church on earth and was thus entitled to enjoy all the dignities and exercise all the jurisdictions pertaining thereto. As supreme head, the king could appoint bishops, discipline and tax clergy, declare doctrine, determine ritual and practice, conduct Church administration, and reform abuses. The statute did not recognize the king as having power to preach, ordain, or administer the sacraments; the royal supremacy as defined under Henry VIII never accorded the monarch the sacramental functions of a priest. Although the statute

never mentioned the pope, it did denounce any “usage, custom, foreign law, or foreign authority” that contradicted or infringed the royal supremacy (Lehmberg, *Reformation Parliament*, 202).

The 1534 Act of Supremacy remained in effect until 1554 when it was repealed, along with most other Henrician and Edwardian religious legislation, by the Parliament of Henry’s Catholic daughter, **Mary I**. The English Church remained thereafter under papal authority until the first Parliament of Elizabeth I passed the second Act of Supremacy, which took effect on 8 May 1559. The Elizabethan statute largely reenacted the provisions of its Henrician predecessor, except that the queen, in deference to those who believed only Christ could be head of the church and those who were uncomfortable with a woman as head of the Church, altered her title to that of supreme governor. The act also more closely associated Parliament with the queen in the leadership of the Church, giving the legislature greater authority over Church doctrine and administration. Although much of the 1559 act has been repealed, the teaching of doctrine and the ordering of worship are still today exercised by the Crown through Parliament.

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Supremacy, Royal

See Royal Supremacy

Surrey, Earl of

See Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey; Howard, Thomas, [Second] Duke of Norfolk

Survey of Cornwall

Published in 1602, Richard **Carew**’s *Survey of Cornwall* is one of the most readable surviving examples of the Tudor county history, a historical genre developed by Elizabethan antiquaries. A distant cousin of Sir Peter **Carew** and of George **Carew**, Earl of Totnes, and a member of a long-standing Cornish **gentry** family, Richard Carew was a member of the Antiquarian Society and a colleague of such well-known

Elizabethan antiquaries as William **Camden** and Sir Robert **Cotton**. Richard Carew began writing the *Survey* more than a decade before its publication; he abandoned the project for a time before revising and completing the work in 1602.

The *Survey* is divided into two books, the first being a general history and topographical survey of the county of Cornwall and the second being a series of detailed descriptions of the nine individual hundreds (an ancient administrative division of an English shire) that comprise the county. Book 1 begins with descriptions of the location, climate, and inhabitants of Cornwall. Carew spent much time on Cornish minerals, especially the history and customs of the tin mining industry. He also discussed the county's chief agricultural commodities, its birds and wildlife, and its fish and waterways. Turning to the inhabitants of Cornwall, Carew explained types of land tenure; houses, roads, and bridges; and the history of the Cornish language (a form of ancient Celtic). Carew then estimated the size and distribution of the Cornish population and listed the county's important figures, including many of Carew's own ancestors and relatives. The book concludes with sections on social class, civil and religious government, and Cornish recreations.

Book 2 lists important persons, places, and events in each of the hundreds, as well as providing topographical and historical surveys of each hundred. Unlike other Elizabethan antiquaries, Carew was less interested in the natural beauty of his county than in the improvements made to it by humans. The *Survey* therefore gives more attention to towns, villages, fields, mines, and gardens than to coastlines and wild moors. This attention to human detail, as well as Carew's focus on his own and neighboring families, makes the *Survey of Cornwall* a valuable resource for social historians of the Elizabethan period.

See also Antiquarianism

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Surveyor of the King's Prerogative

Established in August 1508 by **Henry VII**, the office of Surveyor of the King's Prerogative was created to enforce the Crown's **prerogative** rights and to collect or impose any fees or fines arising from those rights or their violation. Because of the circumstances of his accession and the many subsequent attempts to overthrow the House of **Tudor**, Henry VII had always been sensitive to any diminution of his rights. In the last years of his reign, the king also made **fiscal feudalism**, the vigorous collection of ancient feudal dues owed to the monarch, a key component of his

financial policy. To assist in this extension and exploitation of Crown rights, Henry instituted the office of Surveyor, intending it to be a permanent part of royal administration. The first, and only, as it turned out, person to hold the office was Edward Belknap, a trusted and experienced royal servant. Belknap was assisted by several deputy surveyors and by local surveyors appointed in each county; he could also call upon county sheriffs and **justices of the peace** to assist with investigations. All revenues collected were sent directly to the king's privy chamber, not to the **Exchequer**. For his fee, Belknap, who was placed under bond for the proper performance of his duties, took one-ninth of the revenue generated, while the county surveyors took one-tenth of the remainder.

The patent creating the office provided the Surveyor with broad prerogative authority to undertake a wide range of duties relating to enforcement of royal rights. The Surveyor could inquire into the commission of certain crimes relating to the royal prerogative and seize the property of those found to have violated the prerogative. The Surveyor, upon investigation, could seize the property of widows in wardship or assess and collect fines if those women married without royal license. For any property so seized, the Surveyor was empowered to lease or otherwise dispose of it to the king's benefit. For outlaws or those summoned by the sheriff for murder or felony, the Surveyor could collect the profits of their lands for the Crown, seize and sell their personal property, and assess and levy fines.

Upon Henry VII's death in April 1509, the office, which had quickly become unpopular for its zeal and efficiency in finding and enforcing Crown rights, ceased operation pending reauthorization by the new monarch. **Henry VIII** immediately dismissed the county surveyors but did not abolish the office. In 1510, the king pardoned Belknap and his deputies for any actions taken as part of their duties. On 16 May 1513, Henry released Belknap from the surveyorship and allowed its functions to be absorbed by other royal departments.

See also Wards and Liveries, Court of

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Sussex, Earl of

See Radcliffe, Thomas, Earl of Sussex

Talbot, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury

See Hardwick, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury

Talbot, George, Earl of Shrewsbury (c. 1528–1590)

George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, was the longtime custodian of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. A soldier in his early life, Talbot took part in the 1547 Scottish campaign led by Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset. Talbot succeeded his father in the wealthy earldom of Shrewsbury in September 1560. In February 1568, two years after the death of his first wife, Shrewsbury became the fourth husband of Elizabeth **Hardwick**, thus initiating what was to be a stormy marriage.

In 1569, **Elizabeth I** placed her unwelcome prisoner Mary Stuart in the earl's keeping. Shrewsbury kept Mary honorably confined in his houses at Tutbury, Chatsworth, and Sheffield Castle, treating her as a queen and allowing her to maintain the semblance of **court** etiquette. For this costly and difficult service, the earl suffered Mary's complaints about the harshness of her treatment and the Privy Council's suspicions about the leniency of her treatment. When the relationship between the earl and his wife deteriorated, the countess denounced her husband to the council for plotting with Mary, but she had to withdraw the charges when she could produce no proof. Shrewsbury sought permission for a divorce, but the queen forced husband and wife to reconcile.

Despite the earl's marital problems and the suspicions of her ministers, Elizabeth trusted Shrewsbury completely, appointing him high steward of England and naming him a judge at the 1572 trial of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, whom Shrewsbury succeeded as earl marshal of England. Mary was removed from Shrewsbury's keeping in September 1584 and placed in the more strictly exercised custody of Sir Amias **Paulet**. Shrewsbury attended Mary's trial in October 1586 and her execution in February 1587. He died on 18 November 1590.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Tallis, Thomas (c. 1505–1585)

Thomas Tallis was a leading musician and composer in Tudor England. As a gentleman and organist of the **Chapel Royal** he served under **Henry VIII**, **Edward VI**, **Mary I**, and **Elizabeth I**. Much of Tallis's early life remains obscure. The names of his parents, the place of his birth, and the details of his education are all unknown; even his birth date is only an estimate based on the appearance of one of his works in a manuscript from the late 1520s and his description of himself in a 1577 petition to Queen Elizabeth as “verie aged.” He was probably a choir-boy, like most professional church musicians of his time, and he may have spent his formative years in Kent or in the southwest of England, where he had several connections. Tallis's first known professional position was as organist at the Benedictine priory of Dover, where he likely remained from 1530 until its dissolution in 1535. By 1537, he was working as a musician at the church of St Mary-at-Hill in **London**, and from late 1538 he was in the employ of the Augustinian abbey of Waltham Cross in Essex, where he remained until its dissolution in 1540. Later that same year he joined the singers at Canterbury Cathedral.

By 1544, Tallis was working at the **Chapel Royal**, where he would remain as singer, organist, and composer until his death, performing both at daily liturgical services and at special state occasions, such as royal coronations, weddings, and funerals. The Chapel Royal's choir was well trained and capable of handling sophisticated material, with a musical repertoire sufficiently flexible to adapt to the changing religious climate of the English state. When Tallis first arrived, the Chapel under Henry VIII was still following the medieval Catholic Sarum rite; it moved in a more Protestant direction after the accession of Edward VI in 1547 and especially after publication of the **Book of Common Prayer** in 1549. Roman Catholic forms were restored in the reign of Mary I beginning in 1553; a characteristically Anglican tradition was established after the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559.

Such changes would have presented a considerable challenge to any composer whose job it was to provide music for royal religious observance. Though Tallis seems always to have conformed outwardly to the official state religion, musicologists and historians have long pondered the question of his true personal religious affiliation. A definitive answer remains elusive, although Tallis's connections to identified **recusants** suggest that he remained at least sympathetic to Roman



Thomas Tallis shared duties as organist of the Chapel Royal and helped create a rich musical heritage for the Anglican Church. (Ann Ronan Pictures/StockphotoPro)

Catholicism. William **Byrd**, another composer at the Chapel Royal and a well-known recusant, chose Tallis to be godfather to his son and witnessed Tallis's will. Tallis's widow and heir, Joan, left a bequest to Anthony Roper, probably the grandson of Sir Thomas **More** and member of a notorious recusant family. Tallis's compositions from the Elizabethan period may yield further clues to the composer's personal piety. The text of the motet *In ieiunio et fletu*, published in 1575, translates in part as "in fasting and tears the priests pray: Lord, spare your people, and do not let your inheritance fall into ruin" and can be read as a plea from Tallis for the preservation of Catholic England, or at least for moderation in the **Reformation** of the English Church.

Tallis's compositions were influenced not only by shifting religious convictions among English monarchs but also by changing musical styles on the Continent. Tallis's work includes examples of many musical genres and range from the ornate and lush to the direct and declamatory. His Latin works adapted medieval English musical culture to the altered demands of the Protestant Reformation, while his English works helped establish the norms of a new repertoire of music for the Church of England.

Tallis died in November 1585 and was buried in the parish church of St. Alfrege, Greenwich. After his friend's death, Byrd wrote the lament "Ye Sacred Muses," which concludes with the line "Tallis is dead, and music dies." Fortunately for later generations, Tallis's music has survived, and modern audiences can hear his distinct compositional voice in a large number of performances and recordings. Among Tallis's most celebrated works are the antiphon "Gaude gloriosa Dei mater," the anthem "If You Love Me," the "Third Tune" and "Eighth Tune" for Matthew **Parker**'s Psalter, and the 40-voice "Spem in alium."

Mairi Cowan

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Tarlton, Richard (d. 1588)

Richard Tarlton was the most popular jester and comic actor in Elizabethan England. Little is known about Tarlton's early life; accounts written after his death variously place his birth in Shropshire, Essex, or **London**. In 1583, when he was already a well-known performer, Tarlton became a founding member of the Queen's Men acting company. He frequently performed at **court** for **Elizabeth I**, who found him amusing until she judged some of his jokes at the expense of royal **favorites** Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and Sir Walter **Raleigh** to have gone too far.

Tarlton also performed frequently at The Theatre, James **Burbage**'s popular London playhouse. He was also a writer of comedies, although many of his works, such as *Tarlton's Toys* (1576), *Tarlton's Tragical Treaties* (1578), and *Tarlton's Devise upon This Unlooked for Great Snow* (1579), are now lost and known only from their listing in the **Stationers' Register**. His *Seven Deadly Sins*, written for the Queen's Men in 1585, was among his most popular and widely performed works.

So popular was he that long after his death in 1588, his well-known image—a small, flat-nosed man dressed in a russet coat with large breeches and carrying a long stick—appeared on pubs, inns, and other establishments throughout London and southeastern England. Many pamphlets, poems, and ballads supposedly by or clearly about Tarlton also appeared after his death. Certain references to Yorick in William **Shakespeare**'s *Hamlet* are thought to be about Tarlton. *Tarlton's Jests*, which was published in 1611, contains a version of his career and records various episodes from his life, including a story (later told also of Raleigh) about how his friend shouted "fire!" and doused Tarlton with a bucket of water the first time he saw him smoking.

See also Armin, Robert

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Taxation

See Revenue and Taxation

Ten Articles

Created to close the religious divisions opened by the break with Rome and to support negotiations for an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, the Ten Articles of 1536 comprised the first formulary of faith devised for the English Church under the **royal supremacy**.

Entitled “Articles Devised by the King’s Highness Majesty to Establish Christian Quietness and Unity among Us and to Avoid Contentious Opinions,” the Ten Articles emerged from the discussions of a committee of bishops headed by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and charged by **Henry VIII** with producing a clear statement of what the Henrician Church believed. The Ten Articles were also influenced by talks in Germany between an English embassy, including Edward **Foxe** and Robert **Barnes**, and representatives of the German Lutherans, including Martin Luther himself. The German princes were reluctant to conclude a political alliance with England until there was doctrinal agreement between the English and German Churches. Because the king, who was largely conservative in his opinions, had rejected the Augsburg Confession, the German statement of faith, the discussions in Germany in early 1536 resulted in a series of compromise propositions, known as the Wittenberg Articles, which Foxe brought to England in July and which helped shape the Ten Articles.

The first five articles, labeled the “principal articles concerning our faith,” accepted the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, although good works were carefully defined as a necessary expression of faith. These articles also declared the **Bible**, the three ecumenical creeds (Apostles’, Nicene, and Athanasian), and the first four ecumenical councils as authoritative standards of faith. The articles also confirmed the three sacraments of **baptism**, penance, and the **Eucharist**, with penance defined in a conservative way to uphold auricular confession to a priest, and the Eucharist defined in a neutral manner that satisfied both Lutherans and conservatives. The four remaining medieval sacraments (confirmation,

marriage, holy orders, and last rites), as well as the contentious Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation**, went unmentioned.

The last five articles, covering “laudable ceremonies used in the Church,” represented a balance of viewpoints. Images were retained, but image worship was condemned; prayer to saints was allowed but was declared no more efficacious than prayer to Christ; and Masses and prayers for the dead were accepted, but the pope’s ability to lessen time in **purgatory** was rejected.

After much vigorous debate, requiring some royal intervention, **Convocation** adopted and Henry authorized the articles in July 1536. Thomas **Cromwell** supported the articles with the issuance of royal **injunctions**, which sought to ensure that the Ten Articles were properly understood and applied. All clergymen were to declare the Ten Articles to their congregations, and preaching, except by bishops or in their presence, was suspended until the end of September. When resumed, preaching was simply to proclaim the Articles, not interpret them. In 1537, the Ten Articles were superseded by a new formulary, the ***Bishops’ Book***, which was itself superseded by the ***King’s Book*** in 1543.

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Tenth and Fifteenth

See Revenue and Taxation

Thirlby, Thomas (c. 1506–1570)

Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich and Ely, served three Tudor monarchs as a diplomat and negotiator. Born in Cambridge, Thirlby was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he completed doctorates in both **civil** and **canon law** by 1530. Benefiting from the **patronage** of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and the royal physician, Dr. William **Butts**, Thirlby was king’s chaplain by 1533 and dean of the **Chapel Royal** by 1534. He was appointed to the **Council of the North** in 1536, sent on embassy to **France** in 1538, and presided over **Convocation** in 1540. Appointed to the new bishopric of Westminster in December 1540, Thirlby was admitted to the **council** and named ambassador to **Spain** in 1542. In April 1543, he helped draft the ***King’s Book***, and in June he helped negotiate the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Greenwich**.

Named ambassador to the Imperial **court** in 1545, Thirlby remained in Germany until 1548 and was thus excluded from **Edward VI**'s regency council. Upon his return, Thirlby opposed the Act of **Uniformity** in **Parliament** but later enforced the statute in his diocese. In March 1550, he resigned his bishopric, which was thereupon dissolved. Because Thirlby's conservatism disappointed the king, the bishop's transfer to the see of Norwich in April 1550 was perhaps done in the hope that his passive resistance to the government's religious policies would be nullified in this increasingly Protestant diocese. The government also needed Thirlby's expertise as a negotiator. In 1551, he negotiated the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of **Norham** and was part of the embassy sent to France with William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, to conclude the Treaty of **Angers**, which arranged a marriage between Edward and a daughter of **Henri II**. In 1553, the Edwardian government again sent Thirlby to the Imperial court in Germany, where he remained until recalled by **Mary I** in 1554. Thirlby's religious conservatism impressed the Catholic queen, who transferred the bishop to the see of Ely in July 1554. Although he presided at the trials of several **Marian martyrs**, such as John **Rogers** and Bishop John **Hooper**, Thirlby had little interest in the persecution of heretics and only participated in Cranmer's deprivation from office at the queen's command.

In 1558, the Marian government named Thirlby to the English embassy sent to participate in peace talks between France and England's ally, **Philip** of Spain. Because the resulting Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** failed to return **Calais** to England, **Elizabeth I**, who had ascended the throne in November 1558, was displeased with her commissioners. Thirlby fell into further disfavor in 1559 by opposing the new Act of Uniformity and Act of **Supremacy** and by refusing the oath required by the latter statute. Deprived of office in July 1559, Thirlby remained at liberty until 1561, when he was committed to the **Tower of London** for preaching against the Elizabethan religious settlement. Transferred to the custody of Archbishop Matthew **Parker** in 1564, Thirlby died at Lambeth on 26 August 1570.

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Thirty-nine Articles

The Thirty-nine Articles constituted the formal statement of doctrine for the **Anglican Church**. Although promulgated as part of the **Anglican Settlement** of religion in 1559, the articles, in their Latin form, were not formally approved by **Convocation** until 1563. They were further revised and reissued in **English** in 1571. The Elizabethan articles of religion were a revision of the **Forty-two**

Articles, a Protestant statement of faith issued by the government of **Edward VI** in 1553. Those articles became irrelevant only a few months after their issuance when **Mary I** came to the throne and returned the English Church to papal rule and Roman Catholic doctrine.

The Elizabethan revision of Edward's statement of faith tended to be conservative—a compromise between competing forms of **Protestantism** that was designed to include as many people as possible within the new English Church. To this end, the Elizabethan articles denied the Catholic doctrine of **transubstantiation** and based Anglican doctrine squarely on the authority of the **Bible** but also used more moderate language than the earlier set of articles. In addition, the articles allowed for the possibility of receiving Christ's body in a spiritual sense during Communion, something that smacked too much of Catholicism for later **Puritans**. The articles also softened the full-blown Calvinist doctrine of **predestination** and recognized that some ceremonies and practices were things indifferent to salvation and thus could vary in their form and usage without harming faith. The articles also recognized the monarch as head of the Church but denied to her or him the power to administer sacraments or preach the word of God.

In 1559, many returning **Marian exiles**, anxious to establish in England the more extreme forms of **Calvinism** they had experienced in Europe, found the Thirty-nine Articles to be too conservative and expected that they would be altered or replaced within a short time. However, Elizabeth was satisfied with the tone and content of the articles and, much to the displeasure of Puritans, refused to make anything more than minor alterations to them during her reign. The Thirty-nine Articles are still the basis of Anglican doctrine today.

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Thomas, William (d. 1554)

Little is known of the early life of William Thomas, who was born in **Wales**, probably in the parish of Llanigon in Brecknockshire. Thomas was well educated and likely attended a university, but his common name makes it difficult to identify him certainly with any William Thomas mentioned in school records. In the 1540s, Thomas was a servant of Sir Anthony **Browne**, the king's master of horse. In the spring of 1545, Thomas fled England for **Italy** with money stolen from Browne. Once in Venice, Thomas repented of his misdeeds and turned himself in to the English ambassador, who had Thomas imprisoned and arranged for the money to be returned to Browne.

After his release, Thomas traveled around Italy, returning to Venice in 1547 upon learning of the accession of **Edward VI**. In an effort to win favor with the new regime, Thomas wrote a tract entitled “Peregryne,” which was a dialogue between the narrator and several Italian gentlemen in which Thomas defended **Henry VIII**’s religious policies. Although published in 1552 in an Italian translation made by Thomas, the original English version of “Peregryne” did not appear in print until the eighteenth century. In February 1548, Thomas completed an Italian grammar and dictionary commissioned by John Tamworth, who sent the manuscript to Thomas’s brother-in-law Sir Walter **Mildmay** for publication in 1550 as *Principal Rules of Italian Grammar, with a Dictionary for the Better Understanding of Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Dante*, the first work of its kind published in English.

Thomas returned to England in 1548 and in the following year published his *History of Italy*, which was dedicated to John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, who had recently supplanted Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, as head of the Edwardian government. Thomas sat in the **Parliament** of 1552 for Old Sarum and in the session of 1553 for Downton, both Wiltshire **boroughs** controlled by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. In April 1550, Thomas won appointment as clerk of the Privy **Council**, and by the end of 1550 was helping to tutor the young king, for whom he wrote a series of questions and essays on politics and government. The best known of these essays, and the one that most interested Edward, concerned the best method of reforming the country’s debased **coinage**. In 1551, Thomas produced an English translation of *De Sphaera*, a thirteenth-century text, for the young Duke of Suffolk. In the preface to this work, Thomas advocated greater study of English as opposed to a single-minded concentration only on Latin. Also in 1551, Thomas presented the king with his manuscript translation of “The Narration of Joseph Barbaro, Citizen of Venice, in Two Voyages, Made the One into Tana and the Other into Persia.”

Thomas resigned his clerkship in March 1553 and apparently ended all work for the Privy Council in August following the accession of **Mary I**. A Protestant who was opposed to the queen’s proposed marriage to Prince **Philip** of **Spain**, Thomas, by the end of 1553, was involved in the discussions of disaffected Protestant gentlemen that led to **Wyatt’s Rebellion**. During the course of these talks, Thomas, according to the later self-interested depositions of his fellow conspirators Thomas **Wyatt** the Younger and Sir James Croft, suggested assassinating Mary. By January 1554, Thomas was in Devon with another of the Wyatt conspirators, Sir Peter **Carew**, who fled England in late January after being ordered to appear before the Privy Council. Under suspicion because of his association with Carew, Thomas was arrested and imprisoned in the **Tower of London**, where he tried unsuccessfully to kill himself on 25 February. Although the depth of Thomas’s involvement in the plot is unclear, he was implicated by several other conspirators, and their

common assertion of his suggestion to murder the queen sealed his fate. He was convicted of **treason** and hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 18 May 1554.

John A. Wagner

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Throckmorton, Elizabeth

See Raleigh, Elizabeth Throckmorton

Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515–1571)

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was one of **Elizabeth I**'s ablest diplomats. When his distant relative Katherine **Parr** became queen in 1543, Throckmorton was appointed a member of her household, where he came into contact with Princess Elizabeth, who lived with Parr in 1547–1548. At **court** after 1547, Throckmorton became a Protestant and a **favorite** of **Edward VI**, who knighted him. In 1554, Throckmorton went to the **Tower of London** for involvement with Sir Peter **Carew** and others in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. At his trial, Throckmorton so ably defended himself that he won an acquittal from the jury, whose members were themselves imprisoned for their verdict. Released in 1555, Throckmorton fled to Europe and stayed there until Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 1558.

In 1559, Elizabeth sent Throckmorton to **France** with instructions to work for the return of **Calais** and to learn of French intentions in **Scotland**. He established good relations with Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, and kept Elizabeth's government informed of the plans of her powerful Guise uncles. In the early 1560s, Throckmorton worked closely with the **Huguenots** and urged the queen to back them as a way to regain Calais. He argued strongly for the 1562 Treaty of **Hampton Court**, whereby the queen sent English troops to support the Huguenots. Throckmorton was in Le Havre in February 1563, just before the plague-stricken English garrison surrendered to the French. Sent to Rouen to conclude a peace treaty, Throckmorton was arrested by Catherine de **Medici**, who considered him responsible for the English intervention; he was not released until April 1564.

In 1565, Elizabeth sent Throckmorton to Scotland in an unsuccessful attempt to interest Mary in a marriage to Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. In 1567,



Elizabethan diplomat Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was imprisoned in 1554 for his role in Wyatt's Rebellion, but his excellent self-defense won him an acquittal and jail for the jury for acquitting him. (The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)

Throckmorton returned to Scotland to learn of the Scottish lords' intentions toward their recently deposed queen. Always an adherent of Leicester and an opponent of William **Cecil**, Throckmorton, hoping to overthrow Cecil and settle the succession, became involved with Leicester in the secret plans of Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk, to wed Mary Stuart. When the plot collapsed, Throckmorton was imprisoned in the Tower. He was soon released, but his diplomatic career was finished. Throckmorton died shortly thereafter in February 1571; his daughter, Elizabeth Throckmorton **Raleigh**, later married Sir Walter **Raleigh**.

See also Favorites; Guise Family; Le Havre Expedition

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Throckmorton Plot

The Throckmorton plot, an English Catholic conspiracy to murder **Elizabeth I** and place Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, on the English throne, seriously disrupted diplomatic relations between England and **Spain** and led to the creation of the **Bond of Association** to protect Elizabeth. The plot was led by two young Catholic gentlemen, Francis Throckmorton and his brother Thomas, nephews of the Elizabethan diplomat Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**.

After studying at Oxford, the brothers toured Europe, where they became involved with English Catholic exiles who were plotting with Spanish and papal agents to restore **Catholicism** in England. In Paris, Francis Throckmorton met Mary's agent, Thomas Morgan, who put the young Englishman in contact with the Spanish ambassador in **London**, Bernadino de Mendoza. In 1583, Throckmorton returned to London, where he began direct correspondence with Mary and coordinated communications between her, Morgan, and Mendoza. Sir Francis **Walsingham**, Elizabeth's secretary of state, soon intercepted these communications. In November 1583, after being watched by Walsingham's spies for six months, Francis Throckmorton was arrested. Before he was taken, Throckmorton managed to destroy or send to Mendoza various damaging documents. Even so, a search of the house revealed a list of Catholic nobles and gentlemen willing to support a Spanish invasion.

Thomas Throckmorton fled the country after his brother's arrest, but other conspirators were taken and lodged in the **Tower of London** with Francis, who confessed everything after being sent twice to the rack. Throckmorton was executed in

July 1584. Mendoza, whose participation in the plot was too great to be overlooked, was ordered to leave the country in January 1584. He was the last Spanish ambassador to be resident in England during Elizabeth's reign. To explain Mendoza's expulsion, the English government published a pamphlet describing the Throckmorton conspiracy and the ambassador's role in it. The plot so alarmed the Privy **Council** that it issued the Bond of Association, whereby loyal Protestants pledged themselves to defend the queen and to destroy those who sought to harm her.

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Tilbury Speech

On 8 August 1588, with the outcome of the previous week's naval encounters between the English fleet and the Spanish **Armada** still uncertain, **Elizabeth I** visited her troops at Tilbury. Arriving by state barge, the queen was met by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, the army's commander. The queen and Leicester inspected the troops before Tilbury Fort and then participated in a prayer service. The queen wore a white velvet gown and rode a white horse; a silver cuirass (an armored breastplate) crossed her chest; and a page carried her silver helmet before her. Elizabeth passed slowly among her troops calling out, "The Lord bless you all."

After spending the night in a nearby house, Elizabeth returned next day, 9 August, to address the army. Rumors were circulating in the camp that the armada was returning and that Spanish troops in the **Netherlands** were already embarking for England. Mounted again on her white gelding, Elizabeth delivered the following address to her army:

My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery. But I assure you, I do not desire to live in distrust of my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of battle, to live or die amongst you all, and to lay down for God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and I think foul scorn that Parma [Spanish commander

in the Netherlands] or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which, rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you deserve rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid to you. In the meantime, my Lieutenant-General [Leicester] shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or more worthy subject; not doubting but that by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and by your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of God, my kingdom, and my people. (Wagner, *Voices of Shakespeare's England*, 190)

The Tilbury speech, joyously received, was recorded by Lionel Sharp, one of the queen's chaplains, and was later read to anyone who had been unable to hear the queen deliver it. The speech was a defining moment of the reign, the queen using the supposed disadvantage of her sex to explain for her people what she understood to be the nature of her special relationship with them.

See also Gravelines, Battle of

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Tilney, Edmund (d. 1610)

As master of the revels for the last half of **Elizabeth I's** reign, Edmund Tilney was responsible for expanding the authority of the office over **London** theaters and acting companies. Born into a Suffolk **gentry** family, Tilney was distantly related to the Howard family and served as member of **Parliament** for the Surrey town of Gatton, a seat controlled by the Howards. In 1568, Tilney wrote a tract on marriage entitled *The Flower of Friendship*; although Elizabeth had only recently fended off the unwelcome urgings of Parliament for her to marry, Tilney dedicated the work to her. If this indiscretion had any ill effects on Tilney's career, they had passed by 1579 when the queen appointed him master of the revels, a position he held until his death.

The master of the revels headed the Office of Revels and organized all **court** entertainment. The mastership gave Tilney an allowance of £20 per year for lodgings and £15 per year for wardrobe and the expenses of running the office. In

1583, Tilney carried out royal orders by organizing a troupe of actors under royal **patronage** to be known as the Queen's Men. Throughout the 1580s, Tilney gradually extended the scope of his office to include the oversight of all acting companies, whose appearances at court he arranged, and all London theaters. By the 1590s, acting under the authority of the lord chamberlain, the chief officer of the royal household, Tilney was exercising increasing control over what was or was not performed. In 1589, for instance, he advised the mayor of London to close the theaters because of the suspected involvement of certain playwrights in the **Marprelate Tract** controversy. As master, he also licensed all performances and censored plays the government found objectionable, such as *Sir Thomas More*, which is believed to have been at least partially written by William **Shakespeare**.

After the accession of **James I** in 1603, Tilney increasingly turned the work of his office over to his deputy, Sir George Buck, although Tilney continued to keep the office accounts and to collect the lucrative fees due to the master. Buck succeeded Tilney as master of the revels when the latter died at his house in Surrey in 1610.

See also Drama; Lyly, John

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Tithes

In medieval England, parish priests and holders of Church **benefices** were entitled, for their support, to one-tenth of the produce and a portion of the labor of the peasants who worked the land pertaining to the parish or other benefice. These payments in kind were known as tithes. The “great tithes” consisted of one-tenth of the wheat, oats, or other major grain crop of the parish, while the “small tithes” involved payments of lambs, fish, poultry, eggs, and similar products.

After the **Reformation**, when the **advowson**, or right to appoint a priest to the benefice, fell to laymen, particularly to gentlemen who acquired many former monastic properties, the laymen often kept the great tithes for themselves, leaving their clerical appointees to subsist on the small tithes.

By the Elizabethan period, many tithe payments in kind had been transformed into fixed annual monetary payments, and in some cases, the payment of tithes in any form had ceased altogether. Unable to make a proper living, many parish ministers initiated suits in the **church courts** against the holder of the advowson or against the members of the parish for reinstatement of the ancient tithe payments.

Disputes over tithes greatly contributed to the chronic poor relations that existed between the English clergy and laity, and exacerbated lay **anticlericalism**.

See also Gentry

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Tonnage and Poundage

See Customs Revenue

Topcliffe, Richard (1532–1604)

Richard Topcliffe was notorious in Elizabethan England as the master persecutor and torturer of Catholics, especially of captured Catholic priests. Born into a **gentry** family in Lincolnshire, Topcliffe was elected to **Parliament** for the town of Beverley in 1572, and was returned for the constituency of Old Sarum for every Parliament from 1586 until his death. Topcliffe entered the service of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley, in 1573, becoming expert at extracting information under torture from Catholic priests and suspected Catholic plotters. Because the nature and extent of his activities at the **Tower of London** soon began to arouse unfavorable comment even among Protestants, Topcliffe was given authority to interrogate prisoners in his own house, where, he boasted, he had a machine of his own invention that “compared with which the ordinary rack was mere child’s play.”

Topcliffe was so enthusiastic about his work that Burghley once had him briefly imprisoned for exceeding his instructions in the interrogation of certain prisoners. Topcliffe conducted the torture of some of the **Babington Plot** conspirators in 1586 and racked the Jesuit Robert **Southwell** 13 times during the three years of Southwell’s imprisonment between 1592 and 1595. In the latter year, Topcliffe again found himself in prison for the savage excess with which he racked another Catholic, Thomas Fitzherbert.

Topcliffe was also a zealous hunter of Catholics, and in 1597 he led a briefly successful campaign to close down theaters in **London** after Thomas **Nashe**’s play *Isle of Dogs* was found to be critical of the government. As a result of Topcliffe’s efforts, Nashe had to flee the city, and playwright **Ben Jonson** was arrested. Aware of Topcliffe’s activities, **Elizabeth I** found them extremely distasteful but accepted the need for them when torture seemed the only way to acquire information about

dangerous plots and treasons. In about 1602, the queen granted Topcliffe the Fitzherbert estates in Derbyshire, where he died in retirement in 1604.

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Totnes, Earl of

See Carew, George, Earl of Totnes

Tower of London

During the Tudor period, the Tower of London, the great royal fortress along the Thames, ceased to be a palace with which the monarch was personally associated and took on more fully the role of state prison. About 1077, William the Conqueror began building a large stone castle at the southeast corner of the old Roman wall surrounding **London**. Completed about 1097, the central keep of William's construction still remains; it is known as the White Tower because it was originally whitewashed. Various medieval kings surrounded the White Tower with new constructions, including the massive defensive enclosures built in the thirteenth century by Henry III and Edward I. By Tudor times, the Tower complex served as the royal mint, armory, and zoo. Under **Henry VII**, the Tower ceased to be a principal royal residence, and under **Henry VIII** it became the chief state prison and the site of many state executions. By the reign of **Elizabeth I**, the medieval palace complex at the Tower had begun to fall into decay.

During the **Wars of the Roses** in the fifteenth century, the Tower remained a royal residence and fortress, even though it also became a place where various important people met their deaths or disappeared, including the deposed **Henry VI**, who was murdered there in 1471, and the two sons of **Edward IV**, who disappeared after being confined there by their uncle **Richard III** in 1483. Under Henry VII, the end of civil war and internal disorder made the Tower unnecessary as a fortress. Under Henry VIII, the construction or acquisition of such palaces as **Whitehall** and **Hampton Court** made the gloomy, outdated Tower unwanted as a royal residence. During Henry VIII's reign, the Tower witnessed the confinement and execution of many important prisoners. Among those who suffered in private within the fortress on Tower Green were two queens, Anne **Boleyn** and Katherine **Howard**, while among those who died in public outside the walls on Tower Hill



The Tower of London was sixteenth-century England's most important state prison, and it also served as the royal mint, armory, and zoo. (morgueFile)

were Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley; Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham; Bishop John **Fisher**; Sir Thomas **More**; Thomas **Cromwell**; and Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey. During the reign of **Edward VI**, the king's uncles Thomas **Seymour**, Lord Seymour, and Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, died at the Tower. During the reign of **Mary I**, Jane **Grey** and her husband Guildford Dudley were executed at the Tower, and Princess Elizabeth was briefly imprisoned there in 1554 under suspicion of supporting **Wyatt's Rebellion**. During Elizabeth's reign, the Tower lodged numerous state prisoners, including Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk; Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex; and many of the Catholic priests and missionaries who were executed for **treason** during the reign.

Conditions of imprisonment in the Tower often depended on a prisoner's social class and the nature of his or her crime. High-ranking prisoners such as Thomas **Howard**, third Duke of Norfolk, who languished in the Tower during Edward's reign, were courteously treated and allowed visitors, books, and occasional exercise in the Tower yard or on its walls. Lower-class prisoners, especially those held in the 1530s for denial of the **royal supremacy**, such as the **Carthusian martyrs**, were denied such privileges and sometimes subjected to harsh treatment. The lieutenant of the Tower had an annual budget for feeding and maintaining poorer and long-held prisoners, while wealthier prisoners whose confinement was of shorter duration were often expected to contribute to the cost of their upkeep and were required to pay for special foods or services permitted them by the monarch. Its

great moat drained, the Tower complex is today one of the most visited tourist attractions in London.

See also Edward V; Empson-Dudley Affair; Princes in the Tower

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Transubstantiation

Transubstantiation, the Catholic doctrine of the **Eucharist**, holds that during the sacrifice of the **Mass** (i.e., the Catholic worship service) the bread and wine of Communion are changed by God on their elevation by the priest into the actual body and blood of Christ. Except in appearance, the bread and wine have ceased to exist. Protestants denied the need to repeat the sacrifice of Calvary in the Mass and rejected the role of the priest as God's instrument in achieving the miracle. Most Protestants came eventually to see the taking of bread and wine as merely commemorative of the Last Supper and denied the presence of the actual body and blood of Christ in the service.

Henry VIII defended transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass in the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, his 1521 treatise attacking Martin Luther. Even after the break with Rome, Henry continued to uphold transubstantiation; the first article of the 1539 Act of **Six Articles** affirmed the doctrine, even though it did not use the actual word. In the 1540s, the exact nature of the Eucharist became the central doctrine at issue between conservatives and reformers. By 1548, three schools of thought had emerged within the English Church. Conservatives led by Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** of Winchester largely maintained transubstantiation, accepting the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist. A moderate party led by Nicholas **Ridley**, the Edwardian bishop of Rochester, held that the elements of the Eucharist changed only spiritually, that Christ was inwardly and figuratively present by the power of God. The most radical party adopted the views of Swiss reformers Huldrych Zwingli and Johann Bullinger, who held that identification of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ was merely symbolic.

During the reign of **Edward VI**, Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer's** 1549 **Book of Common Prayer** compromised the issue; the service could be accepted by both believers and opponents of transubstantiation. For this reason, the prayer book was criticized by both sides. In 1552, Protestant complaints that the Communion service in the second Book of Common Prayer could be read as affirming

transubstantiation led to the insertion of the so-called **Black Rubric**, a brief commentary that denied the actual presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist. After 1553, the Catholic regime of **Mary I** swept away Protestant worship and restored papal authority and transubstantiation. Under **Elizabeth I** after 1558, the English Church again rejected the validity of transubstantiation.

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Treason

High treason, considered one of the most heinous crimes in Tudor England, comprised offenses committed against the monarch's person and regality. Because the **Reformation** and the break with Rome altered the nature of royal authority and the ways in which such authority could be denied or attacked, Tudor monarchs and **Parliaments** frequently expanded and modified English treason law.

At the accession of **Henry VII** in 1485, high treason was defined by the statute of 1352, which declared it treason to compass the king's death, to levy war against the king, or to support the king's enemies. To convict a person under the act required proof of overt treasonous action, a narrow definition of the law that was frequently stretched or ignored during times of crisis. When **Henry VIII** became supreme head of the English Church in the 1530s, he found the treason law too restrictive. The demand for proof of overt treason prevented the Crown from proceeding against people like Elizabeth **Barton**, whose offenses against the king consisted of words—for example, prophesying Henry's death should he divorce **Catherine of Aragon**—rather than deeds. Although safe from prosecution at **common law** under the 1352 act, Barton and her associates were attainted of treason by Parliament and executed.

To broaden the law, the **Reformation Parliament** passed a new Treasons Act in 1534. This statute expanded the definition of treason to include words as well as actions; any person who did “maliciously wish, will or desire by words or writing, or by craft imagine” that bodily harm should be done to the king, queen, or heir to the throne was guilty of treason (Elton, *Tudor Constitution*, 62). Under this provision, Sir Thomas **More** was convicted of treason in 1535 for speaking “maliciously” against royal authority. In 1536, Parliament further extended the definition of treason to include forging of the royal Signet, Privy Seal, or sign manual.

In 1547, Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset and lord protector for his nephew **Edward VI**, approved repeal of all Henrician modifications to the treason law. However, the duke soon sanctioned his own expansion of the treason statute, finding it necessary to have Parliament declare it treason to deny the **royal supremacy** by deed or writing at the first offense and by word at the third offense. In 1553, **Mary I**'s initial Parliament restored the act of 1352, thereby again restricting treason to overt actions only. However, in 1554, opposition to her marriage with Prince **Philip of Spain** led the queen to extend the protection of treason law to her husband. In 1555, hostility to her restoration of papal authority in England convinced Mary to have Parliament declare it treason to speak against the reconciliation with Rome, thus once again making it possible for words alone to be treason.

Unlike her sister, who burned her religious opponents as heretics against the Catholic Church, **Elizabeth I** executed her religious opponents as traitors against the English state. The religious nature of Elizabethan treason laws appeared in the queen's first Parliament, which declared it treason to defend by word or deed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a foreign ruler or cleric (i.e., to support papal authority in England). The Parliament of 1563 declared refusing the oath to uphold the queen's supremacy over the English Church to be treason.

Elizabeth's excommunication by the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* led, in 1571, to acts making it treason to receive a papal bull in England, to deny that Elizabeth was queen or had the right to name a successor, to declare her a heretic, or to claim a place in the succession. In 1581, it became treason to reconcile others to Catholicism or to be reconciled oneself, or to draw any subject away from his or her allegiance to the queen or the **Anglican Church**. By 1585, simply being in England was treason for any Englishman ordained into the Catholic priesthood, and giving aid and comfort to a Catholic priest also became a capital offense.

See also Attainder

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Treasure Crisis of 1568

The Treasure Crisis of 1568 caused the first serious breach in diplomatic relations between **Spain** and Elizabethan England. In November 1568, five small Spanish vessels sailed into the harbors of Plymouth and Southampton seeking shelter from storms and **Huguenot** pirates. The ships turned out to be carrying the huge sum of £85,000 in gold and silver coin bound for the **Netherlands** as payment for the

troops of Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alva. The treasure was brought ashore, whether by order of the English government or by request of the Spanish is unclear, and documents were discovered proving that the money, borrowed from Genoese bankers, would not belong to **Philip II** of Spain until it reached Alva. At this same point in time, on 3 December, Sir William **Cecil** received word of the Spanish attack on John **Hawkins** and Francis **Drake** in the Spanish American port of **San Juan d'Ulloa** in September.

Learning of the Hawkins disaster and assured that the money was not yet the property of Spain, Elizabeth asked what terms the bankers would give her. Considering Elizabeth a much safer risk than Philip, the bankers agreed to loan her the money. The Spanish ambassador in England, Gerau de Spes, angrily protested this decision and advised Alva to seize all English ships and goods in the Netherlands, which Alva did on 29 December. The English retaliated by seizing Spanish ships and goods in English ports and placing de Spes under house arrest. Alva also instituted an embargo on English trade with the Netherlands that lasted almost five years.

Although the embargo harmed the economy of the Netherlands more than the economy of England, which found new trade outlets in Germany, the disruption of relations with Spain presented Elizabethan England with its first real threat of invasion. The English government, anxious about Spanish successes in the Netherlands and the possibility of internal plots on behalf of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, feared that Philip might use the incident to retaliate militarily against England. Although neither country was ready for open war in the 1560s, the process whereby Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorated to that point began with the Treasure Crisis.

See also Bristol, Treaty of; Nymegen, Treaty of

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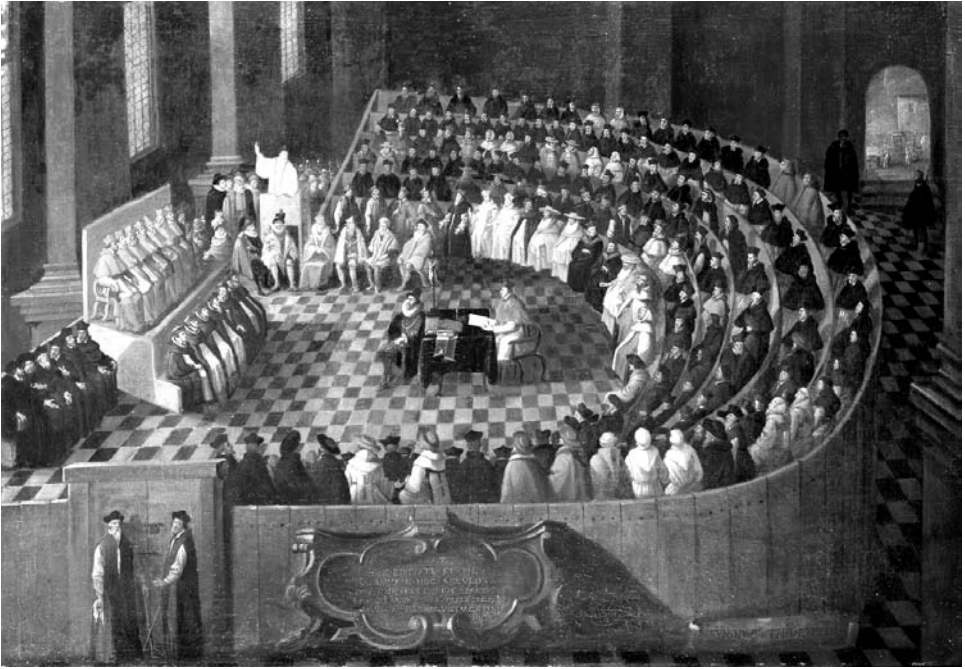
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Treasurer

See Officers of State

Trent, Council of (1545–1563)

As early as 1536, Pope Paul III began to consider calling a General Council to address the challenges presented to the Roman church by reformers within and Protestants without. However, the council that met at Trent did not actually get underway until December 1545, and it did not conclude until 1563. It met in 25



The sessions of the Council of Trent spanned eighteen years and were attended by 270 bishops, including Cardinal Reginald Pole. (The International Fine Art Auctioneers, UK/Photo © Bonhams, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

sessions during three meeting periods: 1545–1547 (sessions I–VIII), 1551–1552 (sessions IX–XIV), and 1562–1563 (sessions XV–XXV). The majority of the sessions were held at Trent (*Tridentum* in Latin), which is today a city in northern **Italy**, but in the sixteenth century it was under the jurisdiction of Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V**. The decisions and actions of the council are frequently referred to as Tridentine after its location.

At the time there were some who still hoped that the council would be able to reconcile the church with reform views; in retrospect we know that the ultimate effect of the council was to establish conservative definitions of Catholic doctrine in answer to the theological challenges posed by Protestant thinkers. And, while there were times when lay rulers or national delegations of bishops pushed their own agendas, in the end the popes, through their legates (appointed personal representatives), were able to prevail in managing the council's work. This ultimately strengthened the position of the **papacy**, while defining doctrine and emphasizing better training and discipline for priests.

The Council of Trent followed on two earlier attempts to address issues of reform. The first had been a reform committee appointed by Paul III in mid-1536, which had included a number of new, forward-looking cardinals including English cardinal Reginald **Pole**. Although the committee's report contained many

substantive conclusions and suggestions, little action followed; nor did the later Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541 produce any reconciliation between the Roman church and Protestant ideas.

Over its entire span, 270 bishops attended the council sessions, and 255 churchmen signed the final acts; the vast majority of both were Italians. Others included Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Germans, and, of course, Reginald Pole, who was active in the first session as a papal legate. Besides bishops, attendees included director generals of several monastic orders, experts on theology and **canon law**, lay representatives of civil princes, and, during the second period, a few Protestant representatives. However, only bishops and some heads of orders could vote in full sessions.

The first period was the longest and addressed many doctrinal issues. The council reaffirmed scripture and tradition as having equal validity and that the church had the sole right to interpret the Bible, with no provisions for lay people to learn scripture. It affirmed seven **sacraments** as necessary to general salvation and defined them in more detail, especially **baptism** and confirmation. Perhaps most important was the council's emphasis on free will and against the doctrine of justification by faith alone, a hallmark of Protestant doctrine. Another far-reaching decision was the council's reemphasis on the traditional scholastic method for priestly training against the ideas of biblical **humanism**.

In the council's second period it dealt with the doctrine of the **Eucharist**. It unequivocally reaffirmed **transubstantiation**, repudiating all other interpretations; and it also reaffirmed that the laity were to receive only the bread and not the wine.

The long pause between the second and third periods of the council was due partly to warfare between Charles V and the Lutheran princes and partly to the death of Paul III in 1555. Paul III's replacement (Paul IV) was hard-line and anticonciliar (opposed to the use of councils to solve church problems) and never called the council into session. His successor, Pius IV, finally reconvened the council in 1562.

In the third period, the council reaffirmed traditional positions on the sacrificial nature of the **Mass** and the need for it to be said in Latin. One issue of great importance, especially to the Spanish bishops, was the relationship of bishops (the episcopate) to the pope, who they argued was no more or less important than any other bishop. The bishops received some concessions that helped define their roles in their dioceses, but not equality with the pope. At one point, the French bishops, led by the cardinal of Lorraine, pressed for numerous reforms, including clerical marriage, but they were strongly opposed by both the Spanish delegates and the pope.

The council also invalidated secret marriages, enforced clerical residence, and charged every diocese to establish a seminary to train priests. In the last days of the council, **purgatory** was reaffirmed, along with the value of intercessory prayers and Masses, the role of saints, and reforms for religious orders. The council reaffirmed the work of all previous sessions, left a few remaining tasks to the pope's discretion, and asked for his affirmation of all they had done. Thus they "implicitly

recognized the primacy of the pope,” although not his infallibility (Dickens, *Counter Reformation*, 129).

Susan Walters Schmid

See also Catholic Reformation; Pluralism and Absenteeism

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Troyes, Treaty of

The Treaty of Troyes between England and **France** ended the hostilities arising from **Elizabeth I**'s decision in 1562 to intervene in the French civil war on the side of the **Huguenots**. Under the terms of the Treaty of **Hampton Court**, an agreement concluded with the Huguenot leadership by Sir William **Cecil**, Elizabeth sent an English garrison to hold the French town of Le Havre in pledge for the return of **Calais** to England when the Huguenots won the war. However, the Le Havre garrison under Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, suffered severely from the **plague** and then found itself surrounded when the Huguenots concluded a separate peace and joined the French royal army in besieging Le Havre. When the garrison was forced to surrender on 29 July 1563, Elizabeth opened negotiations with the French government that led, in April 1564, to the signing of the Treaty of Troyes.

Despite deep personal animosity between them, Elizabeth's two ambassadors in France, Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton** and Sir Thomas **Smith**, were able to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. Besides ending the conflict, the Treaty of Troyes obligated France to reimburse Elizabeth for the cost of the expedition. The French also reaffirmed the acknowledgment of England's right to Calais that had been included in the 1559 Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis**, although both parties understood implicitly that the French payment of Elizabeth's expenses eliminated any real possibility of Calais being returned to England.

The Treaty of Troyes significantly improved relations between England and France and led, in 1572, to the Treaty of **Blois**, an agreement that recognized the growing threat to both countries from **Spain**. After the disastrous outcome of the **Le Havre expedition** and the successful conclusion of the Treaty of Troyes, Elizabeth avoided further foreign entanglements and refused, despite pressure from her Protestant councillors, to give further aid to the Huguenots in their continuing struggle against the French Crown and the **Catholic League**.

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Tudor, Arthur, Prince of Wales (1486–1502)

Arthur Tudor was the eldest son and heir of **Henry VII** and his wife **Elizabeth of York**. Arthur's marriage in 1501 and his death five months later made possible the eventual remarriage of his widow to his younger brother Henry, thereby creating a situation that had momentous consequences 20 years later when his brother sought to have his marriage annulled.

Prince Arthur was born on 19 September 1486, a year after his father had won the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**. Having inherited both Lancastrian and Yorkist blood from his parents, Arthur was the living symbol of the union of both houses and of the end of the **Wars of the Roses**. Henry VII, in an effort to strengthen the **Tudor** claim to the throne and to emphasize his family's Welsh descent, sent his wife to Winchester, which was identified with Camelot, to give birth. He then reinforced this association with the British past by naming his son after the legendary King Arthur and by having royal genealogists trace the prince's lineage back to ancient British rulers.

Arthur was created Prince of **Wales** and Earl of Chester, traditional titles for the heir to the throne, on 29 November 1489. He was made the nominal head of a royal council that, under the lieutenancy of the prince's great uncle Jasper **Tudor**, Duke of Bedford, exercised a supervisory jurisdiction over the principality of Wales and neighboring shires. The prince was also named warden-general of the Welsh marches (i.e., borders), his lieutenant being Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey (future second Duke of Norfolk). Great care was lavished on the prince's education, which was first directed by John Rede, Arthur's chaplain, and then by the blind poet laureate Bernard **André**, who reported to the king in 1501 that Arthur had read all the finest Greek and Latin writers. Little else is known of Arthur's life before 1501, when he took up residence on the Welsh marches at Ludlow. Unlike his brother Henry, whose robust athleticism was remarked upon, Arthur appears to have been a frail and quiet child.

By the Treaty of **Medina del Campo** concluded in 1489, the prince was betrothed to **Catherine of Aragon**, a daughter of **Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain**. However, a decade of further negotiations and the eventual executions of the Yorkist pretenders Perkin **Warbeck** and Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, were required before Catherine finally landed in England on 2 October 1501.

The two were married on 14 November at St. Paul's Cathedral in **London**. After the wedding, debate arose over the question of allowing the couple to cohabit. The Spanish monarchs apparently expected such an arrangement, but members of the **council** thought the prince too young to assume the duties of a husband. Nonetheless, Henry permitted the prince and princess to live together at Ludlow, where Arthur died, possibly of consumption, on 2 April 1502.

The question of whether Arthur had consummated his brief marriage took on great importance in the late 1520s, when **Henry VIII**, having since wed Catherine himself, claimed that his brother's union had been validated by sexual intercourse, while Catherine denied ever having had relations with Arthur.

See also Council in the Marches of Wales

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Tudor, Edmund, Earl of Richmond (c. 1430–1456)

Through his marriage to Margaret **Beaufort**, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, secured a place in the English succession for his posthumous son, Henry, who, as **Henry VII**, established the Welsh House of **Tudor** on the English throne in 1485. Edmund Tudor was the eldest son of a secret marriage between **Catherine of Valois**, the widowed mother of **Henry VI**, and one of her household servants, a Welshman named Owen **Tudor**. After his mother's death in 1437, Edmund and his younger brother, Jasper **Tudor**, were placed in the custody of the abbess of Barking until 1440, when Henry VI made provision for their **education** as English gentlemen. Although the Tudors lacked English royal blood and had no claim to the throne, the king acknowledged them as half brothers and knighted Edmund in December 1449. In 1452, Henry VI, who had no full siblings or (at the time) children, sought to expand the royal family by raising the Tudors to the **peerage**—Edmund as Earl of Richmond and Jasper as Earl of Pembroke.

In 1455, Henry VI arranged Richmond's marriage to 12-year-old Margaret Beaufort, a wealthy heiress and royal cousin, the **Beaufort family** being a junior branch of the House of **Lancaster**. The marriage therefore promised Richmond's children a distant place in the succession. Because of his Welsh name and blood, Richmond was named the king's lieutenant in **Wales** in 1455. With the **Wars of the Roses** looming, Welsh rivalries were already aligning with the Houses of Lancaster or **York**, and Richmond's attempts to reduce disorder and strengthen

Lancastrian rule in the principality required him to suppress Yorkist rebels. By August 1456, he had greatly restored royal authority. To recover the Yorkist position in Wales, the Duke of York's chief Welsh supporters seized and imprisoned Richmond. Although shortly released from confinement, the earl died at Carmarthen on 1 November 1456 at the age of 26. His death was probably due to illness, but foul play is possible, given his age and the increasing political turmoil in which he was embroiled. Almost three months after Richmond's death, on 28 January 1457, the earl's widow gave birth to a son who in 1485 brought the obscure Welsh family of Tudor to the English throne.

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Tudor, House of

The Welsh family of Tudor was the ruling dynasty of England from August 1485 to March 1603. The family originated in northwest **Wales**, where it had held property since at least the thirteenth century. The Tudors traced their ancestry to Ednyfed Fychan (d. 1246), steward to the Welsh prince Llywelyn the Great. In the 1420s, Owain ap Maredudd ("son of Maredudd"), a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan, came to England, where he anglicized his name to Owen **Tudor** (from "Tudur," his grandfather's name), perhaps to avoid the civil disabilities placed on Welshmen by English law. Tudor obtained a position in the household of **Catherine of Valois**, the widowed queen of Henry V (r. 1413–1422) and mother of **Henry VI**, king of the House of **Lancaster**. Catherine fell in love with her servant, and the two were married secretly because the young king's regency **council** would never have sanctioned the queen mother's marriage to an obscure Welshman. The union produced several children, who remained in their mother's custody until her death in 1437.

Although half siblings of Henry VI and possessed of French royal blood, the Tudor children had no place in the English succession. In 1452, Henry VI, who had no full siblings and was then childless, brought his two eldest half brothers to **court**, gave them lands, and raised them to the English **peerage**—Edmund **Tudor** becoming Earl of Richmond and Jasper **Tudor** becoming Earl of Pembroke. In 1455, Richmond married Margaret **Beaufort**, a wealthy heiress and cousin to Henry VI. In January 1457, three months after her husband's death, Margaret gave birth to a son, Henry Tudor, who inherited his mother's distant claim to the English throne.

By 1471, the political upheaval of the **Wars of the Roses** had extinguished the direct male lines of Lancaster and Beaufort and made Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the surviving Lancastrian heir to the Crown. From 1471 to 1483, Richmond, accompanied by his uncle Pembroke, lived in exile in **Brittany**; with the House of **York** firmly established on the throne, his prospects of becoming king were slight. However, **Richard III**'s 1483 usurpation of the throne of his nephew **Edward V**, followed by his probable murder of the boy and his brother, forged an alliance of Lancastrians and disaffected Yorkists that eventually succeeded in enthroning Richmond. On 22 August 1485, Richmond won the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, becoming **Henry VII**, first monarch of the House of Tudor. By marrying **Elizabeth of York**, heiress of the House of York, Henry ensured that his children would be descendants of both Lancaster and York. The Tudor dynasty ruled England for 118 years. Henry VII was succeeded by his son, **Henry VIII** (r. 1509–1547), and by three grandchildren—**Edward VI** (r. 1547–1553), **Mary I** (r. 1553–1558), and **Elizabeth I** (r. 1558–1603).

See also Beaufort Family

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Tudor, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford (c. 1431–1495)

As uncle of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the future **Henry VII**, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, protected his nephew from Yorkist intrigues, shared his long Breton exile, and served as his most trusted advisor. Jasper Tudor was the second son of the clandestine marriage between **Catherine of Valois**, widow of Henry V, and Owen **Tudor**, a Welsh gentleman of Catherine's household. In 1452, **Henry VI** formally recognized the Tudors as his uterine brothers, ennobling Jasper as Earl of Pembroke and his elder brother Edmund **Tudor** as Earl of Richmond. After Richmond's death in November 1456, Pembroke succeeded his brother as Henry VI's chief lieutenant in **Wales**. Pembroke also sheltered his 13-year-old sister-in-law, Margaret **Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond, who gave birth to a son, Henry, in January 1457. Because the **Beaufort family** was a junior line of the House of **Lancaster**, Henry Tudor had a distant place in the royal succession.

After the eruption of the **Wars of the Roses** in 1459, Pembroke led the Lancastrian cause in Wales. Defeated twice by the Yorkists, Pembroke retreated to

Brittany at the end of 1461. After spending most of the 1460s shuttling between England and the Continent on diplomatic missions for Queen Margaret of Anjou, the exiled wife of Henry VI, Pembroke returned to Wales in 1468, when he burned Denbigh and harassed Welsh Yorkists until forced again to flee. Upon the restoration of Henry VI in 1470, Pembroke returned to England and took charge of securing Wales for Lancaster. In May 1471, the death in battle of Prince Edward of Lancaster and the subsequent murder in the **Tower of London** of his father Henry VI left Henry Tudor as the remaining Lancastrian claimant to the throne. To protect his nephew, Pembroke fled with the boy for **France** in September 1471. Blown off course to Brittany, uncle and nephew spent the next 12 years in the increasingly rigorous custody of the Duke of Brittany, who used them to extract diplomatic advantage from both England and France.

The usurpation of **Richard III** in 1483 greatly enhanced Henry Tudor's political position, and in the autumn, the Tudors became part of an unsuccessful uprising against the Yorkist king. Forced to abort a planned landing in England, the Tudors returned to Brittany, where Pembroke became leader of the exiles who gathered around his nephew. In August 1485, the Tudors landed in Wales, hoping to exploit Pembroke's influence in the region. Pembroke was present at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** on 22 August 1485, when his nephew won the Crown as Henry VII.

One of the new king's most trusted supporters and, along with the king's mother, one of the bulwarks of the House of **Tudor**, Pembroke was created Duke of Bedford and appointed to the council in 1485. He was also named lieutenant of **Calais**, lord lieutenant of **Ireland**, and marshal of England. Bedford took an active role in suppressing the Lambert **Simnel** uprising, fighting for the king at the Battle of **Stoke** in 1487. A bachelor all his life, Bedford married the widow of the Duke of Buckingham in 1485 but failed to father any children before his death in December 1495.

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Tudor, Margaret (1489–1541)

Margaret Tudor, the elder sister of **Henry VIII**, married **James IV** of **Scotland** in 1503, thereby becoming the means by which the Scottish House of **Stuart** eventually ascended the English throne. Margaret was born at Westminster on 29 November 1489. In 1502, the Treaty of **Ayton** arranged her marriage to James, a union celebrated in **Edinburgh** on 8 August 1503, when Margaret was 13. During the

following decade, Margaret gave birth to six children, only one of whom, the future **James V**, lived to adulthood. In 1509, upon the death of **Henry VII**, Margaret became heir apparent to Henry VIII. Although the queen had been close to her father, she had never been so with her brother and thus had little ability to prevent the outbreak of an Anglo-Scots war in 1513. Only days after her husband's death at the Battle of **Flodden Field** in September 1513, Margaret, in accordance with James's will, was named regent (officially "testamentary tutrix") for her 17-month-old son.

Because she was English, Margaret was widely distrusted among the Scots nobility. In 1514, her secret marriage to Archibald **Douglas**, Earl of Angus, further discredited her regime, and she was easily supplanted as regent in 1515 by John Stuart, Duke of Albany, James V's heir apparent. After her deposition, Margaret fled to England, where on 7

October 1515 she gave birth to Margaret **Douglas**, future Countess of Lennox, who stood third in the English succession behind her mother and her half brother.

After Albany allowed her to return to Scotland in 1517, Margaret separated from Angus and threw herself into the political turmoil that marked the troubled minority of James V. In 1524, she reconciled with Angus and briefly regained custody of her son. However, relations between Margaret and her husband again deteriorated, and by 1526 Angus controlled both king and government. Angus's regency ended in June 1528, when 16-year-old James, who had been virtually held prisoner by the earl, fled to his mother at Stirling Castle and proclaimed himself of age to rule.

In February 1527, **Clement VII** granted Margaret a divorce, something the pope proved unwilling to do for her brother. In 1528, Margaret married Henry Stuart, future Earl of Methven. Having lived with Stuart before her divorce was finalized, Margaret shocked her brother, who exclaimed that it was impossible for anyone "to live a more shameful life than she did" (Perry, *Sisters of Henry VIII*, 173). A decade later, Margaret again sparked gossip when she tried unsuccessfully to divorce her third husband. Although she was still suspected of pro-English sympathies, her



Margaret Tudor, older sister of Henry VIII, led a colorful life, and her marriage to James IV of Scotland became the means for the Scottish Stuarts to gain the English throne. (Edmund Lodge. *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain . . .*, vol. 1. London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1825)

relationship with her son was generally good—James even named her regent when he went to **France** in 1538 to fetch his bride. Margaret died at Methven Castle on 18 October 1541. In 1603, Margaret’s great-grandson, James VI of Scotland, succeeded Margaret’s niece, **Elizabeth I**, on the English throne, thus initiating the rule of the House of Stuart.

See also James I

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Tudor, Mary (1496–1533)

Mary Tudor, the younger sister of **Henry VIII**, was briefly queen of **France**. Born about 18 March 1496, Mary was the third daughter of **Henry VII** and **Elizabeth of York**. She was betrothed to Charles, Archduke of Burgundy, in 1508, but the match faded in 1514 with the demise of the Anglo-Imperial alliance. Henry VIII then sealed a French alliance by marrying his 18-year-old sister to the ailing 52-year-old king of France, **Louis XII**. Mary reluctantly agreed to the union on condition that she be allowed to marry whomever she chose after Louis died. Married in October 1514, Mary had not long to wait, for Louis died on 1 January 1515. Feeling isolated and vulnerable—Louis had dismissed most of her English servants—Mary feared that she might be forced into another disagreeable marriage either by her brother or by **Francis I**. Mary therefore persuaded Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, whom Henry had sent to France to congratulate Francis on his accession, to marry her secretly in Paris in February 1515. Mary and Suffolk were deeply in love, and Henry was not opposed to their union, but he was angered by the haste and secrecy of the marriage, which was undertaken in violation of Suffolk’s promise not to wed Mary without royal consent. The couple was briefly in disfavor, until Henry allowed himself to be mollified by the return of half of Mary’s dowry and a gift of £24,000 paid in regular annual installments.

Although residing in Norfolk, Mary, who was attractive and much given to **music** and dancing, was frequently at **court**. Her relationship with her brother was warm and close, unlike the cold disapproval that characterized Henry’s feelings toward his elder sister, Margaret **Tudor**. Mary accompanied her brother to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in June 1520 and was rapturously received by the French. In the late 1520s, she was widely believed to disapprove of the king’s relationship with Anne **Boleyn** and thus appeared less frequently at court, being unwilling, as

former queen of France, to give precedence to her brother's paramour. She pleaded ill health to excuse herself from attending the ceremony creating Anne Marquis of Pembroke, and she flatly refused to accompany Henry and Anne to their meeting with Francis I in October 1532. Never robust in health, Mary grew increasingly frail in the early 1530s and was genuinely too ill to attend Anne's coronation on 1 June 1533. Less than a month later, on 25 June, Mary died in Norfolk. Although rumor claimed her death was caused by grief and shock at the news of Henry's secret marriage, the exact nature of Mary's illness is unknown.

Mary bore Suffolk two sons and two daughters. The sons were both dead by 1534, but the daughters, Frances and Eleanor, both outlived their mother. In 1533, Frances Brandon **Grey** married Henry **Grey**, future Duke of Suffolk, and by him became the mother of Jane **Grey**, whose descent from Mary was used to briefly make Jane queen in 1553.

See also Charles V; Northumberland's Coup

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Tudor, Owen (d. 1461)

Through his marriage to the widow of Henry V, Owen **Tudor**, the grandfather of **Henry VII**, allowed the obscure Welsh family of **Tudor** to enter the English nobility and rise eventually to the English Crown. Owain ap Maredudd (Owain "son of Maredudd"), son of an ancient landholding family of northwestern **Wales**, came to England around 1420. Anglicizing his name to Owen Tudor (from "Tudur," his grandfather's name), he obtained a position in the household of **Catherine of Valois**, the wife of Henry V, second king of the House of **Lancaster**. Tudor began a sexual relationship with the widowed queen sometime in the late 1420s. Because a statute of 1428 had made it unlawful for anyone to marry the dowager queen without the king's consent, something that **Henry VI**'s regency **council** was unlikely to grant a Welshman, the couple married secretly in about 1430. The truth emerged when Catherine became pregnant with the first of her four children by Tudor.

In 1432, **Parliament** granted Tudor the rights of an Englishman, but on the queen's death in 1437, the Tudor children were placed in the care of the abbess of Barking, and Owen Tudor was summoned to the king's presence. Fearful of prosecution under the statute of 1428, Tudor demanded a safe-conduct and, upon arrival in **London**, took sanctuary at Westminster. Persuaded by friends to appear before

the council, Tudor acquitted himself of any charges related to the marriage and was released. However, while returning to Wales, Tudor was rearrested and committed to Newgate Prison. Although his possessions were initially confiscated, Tudor was released from confinement in July 1439, and the king pardoned him for all offenses in November. Henry VI then took his stepfather into the royal household.

Henry also treated his Tudor half brothers with kindness, paying for their **education** and raising the two eldest to the English **peerage** in 1452—Edmund **Tudor** as Earl of Richmond and Jasper **Tudor** as Earl of Pembroke. After 1439, Owen Tudor lived as an English gentleman, eventually receiving a pension and several minor offices from Henry VI. When the **Wars of the Roses** erupted, Tudor fought for the House of Lancaster but was captured and executed by the Yorkists after the Battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461.

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Tunstall, Cuthbert (1474–1559)

Although he acquiesced in the **royal supremacy**, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, was a conservative humanist who sought to limit the impact of the **Reformation** on the English Church. The son of Thomas Tunstall of Lancashire, Cuthbert was technically illegitimate, his parents marrying only some years after his birth. In 1491, Tunstall entered Balliol College, Oxford, where he trained in mathematics and met such future leaders of English **humanism** as William **Grocyn**, Thomas **Linacre**, Thomas **More**, and John **Colet**. In 1499, after studying for a time at Trinity College, Cambridge, Tunstall traveled to Padua in **Italy**, where he studied **civil** and **canon law** and acquired a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Returning to England in 1505, he received several ecclesiastical livings before his ordination in 1509. In 1511, he became chancellor to Archbishop William **Warham**, a legal position that allowed Tunstall to preside over the 1512 suit that initiated the famous incident known as **Hunne's Case**. In 1516, Tunstall was named master of the rolls, and in 1519 he was sent on embassy to **Charles V** in Germany, a service that left Tunstall with a negative impression of **Lutheranism**.

Tunstall was appointed bishop of **London** in 1522 and keeper of the Privy Seal in 1523. In the former year, he also published *De Arte Supputendi*, a work on arithmetic dedicated to More, and in the latter he rejected William **Tyndale's** application for episcopal sponsorship of an English translation of the **Bible**. When Tyndale's English New Testament began circulating in London after 1526, the bishop prohibited its distribution and bought up copies for destruction. He also

convinced More to begin replying to Tyndale's reformist polemics. In 1530, Tunstall succeeded Thomas **Wolsey** as bishop of Durham and in 1537 became first president of the permanent **Council of the North**, a political position he proved unsuited for and held only briefly.

Upon the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Tunstall lived uneasily under the Protestant regime of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, with whom the bishop was personally on friendly terms. Tunstall voted against the First Act of **Uniformity**, which mandated use of the **Book of Common Prayer** and in 1551 was placed under house arrest by the government of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland. Deprived of office and imprisoned in 1552, Tunstall was released and restored to his see upon the accession of **Mary I** in 1553. Closely associated with Mary's restoration of papal authority and Catholic worship, Tunstall found no favor at **court** after the accession of **Elizabeth I** in 1558. In September 1559, Tunstall refused the oath of supremacy and was deprived again of his office. Placed in the custody of Archbishop Matthew **Parker**, Tunstall died on 18 November 1559.

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Turberville, George (c. 1543–c. 1597)

The Elizabethan poet and translator George Turberville (or Turberville) was born into an ancient Dorset **gentry** family, which in the nineteenth century would become the subject of Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Turberville attended Winchester College and New College, Oxford, and also resided for a time at the **Inns of Court**, where he befriended such fellow writers as Thomas Twyne, Barnabe Googe, and George **Gascoigne**. Little else is known of Turberville's early life, though in his poem "To His Friend: P.: of Courting, Travailing, Dicing, and Tennis," he portrays himself as studious and not given to the usual leisure pursuits of young men. This portrayal is confirmed by a 1571 letter of the Privy **Council** to the **justices of the peace** for Dorset, who are criticized for appointing Turberville an army captain, since he is "given to his book and study and never exercised in matters of war" (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1571–1575).

Turberville began his literary career in the late 1560s. His first project was a translation of Ovid's *Heroides* entitled *Heroical Epistles*, which appeared in 1567. In the same year, he also published a collection of his own **poetry** entitled *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* and a translation of the *Eglogs* by the early

sixteenth-century Spanish writer Mantuan. The Ovid translation was notable for the inclusion of six poems in blank verse, one of the earliest uses of that meter in English. Both the Ovid and Mantuan translations were well received, with the latter going through four editions by 1597. Although it actually contains no true **sonnets**, Turberville's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* is a series of love poems written for Anne Russell, the daughter of Francis **Russell**, Earl of Bedford. Anne Russell is addressed as Pandora (or Pyndara), while the poet calls himself Tymetes. Although Turberville refers to his poems as fantasies, it is unclear whether an actual relationship lay behind the verse. Since no hint of scandal surrounded Anne Russell, who married Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick, in 1565, the relationship may have been more literary convention than actual romance.

In 1568, Turberville published *A Plain Path to Perfect Virtue*, a translation of the moralistic writings of the fifteenth-century Italian author Dominic Mancini. Turberville may also have been the "G. T." who is listed as one of the editors for the 1573 edition of Gascoigne's *A Hundred Sundry Flowers*, which purported to be an anthology of court poets but may have been the work of Gascoigne himself. Because the Mancini translation was less successful than his earlier works, Turberville took a position as secretary to Thomas Randolph on his embassy to Russia in 1568–1569. This episode resulted in the publication of Turberville's *Poems Describing the Places and Manners of the Country and People of Russia* and the appearance in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* of the poem "The Author Being in Moscovia Writes to Certain His Friends in England," which also describes the Russian state and people. Since the Russian adventure apparently did not improve his finances, Turberville returned to writing, publishing his *Tragical Tales* in about 1574 and *The Book of Falconry, or Hawking* in 1575. The former is a collection of stories translated from the works of Boccaccio, Plutarch, and others, and the latter, which describes best practices in the art of falconry, was dedicated to Warwick. Turberville was also long thought to be the author of the anonymous *Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, published in 1578, but that work is now attributed to Gascoigne.

Around 1574, Turberville married, and it is likely his wife's dowry allowed him to acquire his country home near Winterborne in Dorset. Property ownership then seems to have involved him in a series of local disputes between landowners. He sued his brother over family lands in 1572 and got into trouble for killing a neighbor, apparently in self-defense, in 1573. In 1577, the Privy **Council** intervened in Turberville's dispute with another neighbor, and in a notorious case in 1580, Turberville's brother, Nicholas Turberville, was murdered by his brother-in-law, who was subsequently hanged. Apparently marriage brought him financial security and the troubles of land ownership took up his time, for Turberville's literary career came to a virtual standstill in the mid-1570s. The waning of public interest in

major works of translation may also have been a factor. Although the date of Turberville's death is uncertain, the best evidence indicates the spring of 1597.

John A. Wagner

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Turkey Company

See Levant Company

Twelfth Night/Twelfth Day

See Christmas

Tyndale, William (c. 1494–1536)

William Tyndale was the first translator of the **Bible** into English and a prominent English advocate for religious reform. Born into a yeoman family of Gloucestershire, Tyndale was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he took his MA in 1515. No later than 1519, he undertook the study of Greek at Cambridge, which he left in 1521. By this time, Tyndale was an outspoken critic of Church doctrine and practice and was already formulating plans to advance reform by translating the Bible into English. This goal was inspired by such recent New Testament translations as Desiderius **Erasmus**'s Greek/Latin version and Martin Luther's German edition. Returning to Gloucestershire in 1522, Tyndale may also have come under the lingering local influence of **Lollardy**, with its strong emphasis on a vernacular Bible.

In 1523, Tyndale moved to **London**, where he tried unsuccessfully to interest Bishop Cuthbert **Tunstall** in his translation project. English merchant Humphrey Monmouth proved more receptive, and in 1524, Tyndale, with Monmouth's backing, left England for Cologne, where he began work on his translation. In 1525, local authorities shut down the operation and confiscated most of Tyndale's materials. Escaping to Worms, Tyndale and his associates published the first complete English New Testament in early 1526, with revised editions appearing in 1534 and 1535.

Although popular with readers, Tyndale's New Testament made him a target of ecclesiastical authorities both in England and Germany. Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey**'s attempts to secure his arrest forced Tyndale to move to Marburg, where he enjoyed the protection of the Protestant ruler of Hesse. In May 1528, Tyndale published *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, which embraced the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. His next work, *Obedience of a Christian Man* (October 1528), drew the favorable attention of **Henry VIII** because it strictly enjoined subjects to obey their rulers. However, Tyndale alienated the king in 1530 with his *Practice of Prelates*, which opposed Henry's **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**. In 1531, Tyndale began a debate with Sir Thomas **More**, answering More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529) with *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, which elicited two unanswered responses from More. Rather than continue the debate, Tyndale published an English translation of the Pentateuch in 1530 and of Jonah in 1531.

In 1535, Tyndale was living under the protection of the English merchant community in Antwerp and working on an English translation of the Old Testament. Lured out of the merchants' house by English student Henry Phillips, who was seeking the favor of **Charles V**, Tyndale was arrested and condemned for **heresy**. Despite the efforts of friends to save him, Tyndale was strangled at the stake and then burned on 2 October 1536. By combining Tyndale's unfinished Old Testament and published New Testament with Miles **Coverdale**'s translation of the Old Testament, John **Rogers** published Matthew's Bible (1537), the first English translation of the whole Bible. Through Matthew's Bible, which was later used to compile the Great Bible (1539), the Bishops' Bible (1568), and, ultimately, the Authorized (King James) Version (1611), Tyndale's work became the basis of all later Protestant editions of the English Bible.

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Tyrell, Sir James (1445–1502)

Sir James Tyrell (or Tyrrell), a trusted servant of both **Richard III** and **Henry VII**, was in 1502 alleged by Henry to have been Richard's agent in arranging the murders of the sons of **Edward IV** in 1483. This allegation provided Henry with the means to prevent future impostures, such as those of Lambert **Simmel** and Perkin **Warbeck**, of the dead Yorkist princes.

The eldest son of a Suffolk **gentry** family, Tyrell fought for Edward IV during the **Wars of the Roses** and was knighted on the battlefield in May 1471. By 1472, he was a trusted retainer of the king's brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who made Tyrell his chief agent in **Wales**. Tyrell greatly benefited from Gloucester's usurpation of the throne as Richard III in July 1483. Tyrell's appointments as knight of the body, master of horse, and chamberlain of the **Exchequer** all indicated the position of trust he held with Richard. In 1485, Richard sent him to **Calais** to hold the key fortress of Guisnes. Because of this posting, Tyrell was not present at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in August 1485.

Tyrell was one of the few supporters of Richard to also become a trusted servant of Henry VII. Although he lost some offices and lands, Tyrell remained a knight of the body and retained his position in Wales. He also took a prominent part in the ceremonies surrounding the signing of the Treaty of **Etaples** in 1492, the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494, and the reception of **Catherine of Aragon** for her marriage to Prince Arthur **Tudor** in 1501. In late 1501, Tyrell was implicated in a plot led by Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk, the Yorkist claimant to the throne. The conspiracy involved the surrender of Guisnes, then in Tyrell's charge, and led to Tyrell's arrest and eventual execution for **treason** in May 1502.

According to the later accounts of Sir Thomas **More** and Polydore **Vergil**, neither of whom were eyewitnesses, Tyrell, while lying under sentence of death in the **Tower of London**, confessed to having murdered the sons of Edward IV there at the direction of Richard III in the summer of 1483. This alleged confession, the text of which has not survived, forms the basis of the murder story as we know it today. Although likely enough, the story as supposedly related by Tyrell cannot be conclusively proven and must remain only one possible explanation of the fate of **Edward V** and his brother.

It is also possible that the confession was never made and that Henry VII, recognizing an opportunity to finally exorcise the troublesome ghosts of the Yorkist princes, simply let it be known that Tyrell had confessed before his execution. Tyrell's past service to Richard III and his condemnation for treason to Henry VII lent credibility to the story and made him an ideal scapegoat.

See also Henry VIII; *The History of King Richard III*; Princes in the Tower; York, House of

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Tyrone, Earl of

See O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone

Tyrone's Rebellion

See Nine Years War

Udall, Nicholas (1505–1556)

Known today primarily as a playwright, Nicholas Udall was known in the sixteenth century as a reformer, educator, and humanist scholar. Born in Hampshire, Udall was educated at Winchester College and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was elected a fellow in 1524. Although an early adherent of **Lutheranism**, Udall won favor at **court** thanks to his popular textbook *Flowers for Latin Speaking Selected and Gathered Out of Terence* and the **masques** and entertainments he wrote with his friend John **Leland** for the coronation of Anne **Boleyn** in 1533. In 1534, upon completion of his MA, Udall became headmaster of Eton, where he gained a reputation as a strict disciplinarian given to flogging uncooperative scholars. He acquired several ecclesiastical positions in the 1530s, including the vicarage at Braintree in 1537. Udall's tenure at Eton ended in 1541, when he was accused of theft and **sodomy**. Although apparently innocent of the former, which was committed by a servant, Udall pleaded guilty to the latter and was briefly confined in Marshalsea Prison.

The scandal had little effect on his career. After 1544, Udall resigned his **benefice** at Braintree and, working under the **patronage** of Queen Katherine **Parr**, devoted himself to scholarly endeavors. He produced English translations of several works of Desiderius **Erasmus**, including two books of *Apothegmes*, the *Paraphrases on Luke*, and the *Paraphrases of the New Testament*. Some time after 1545, he wrote his most famous work, the play *Ralph Roister Doister*, which is regarded as the first English comedy. The play's main character, the blustering soldier Ralph Roister Doister, is often seen as a forerunner of William **Shakespeare**'s Falstaff, while other passages of the play served as models for various Elizabethan works, including the prologue to the last act of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Written probably as a **Christmas** entertainment for student players, *Ralph Roister Doister* is the only surviving play that can be attributed with certainty to Udall, although cases have been made for his authorship of such Tudor plays as *Thersites*, *Jack Juggle*, and *Respublica*.

In 1549, Udall, at the request of **Edward VI**, wrote a reply to the demands submitted by the West Country rebels. He forcefully rebutted the rebels' Catholic

positions and vigorously defended the **royal supremacy**. However, in 1553, Udall, despite his reputation as a reformer, conformed sufficiently to win favor with the Catholic regime of **Mary I**. In 1554, the queen appointed Udall headmaster of Westminster School and commissioned him to write court entertainments, one of which was probably *Respublica*. Udall died on 23 December 1556.

See also Humanism; Western Rebellion

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Ulster Enterprise (Essex)

In 1573, the year Sir Thomas **Smith's** Ulster plantation came to ruin, Walter **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, proposed a much more elaborate colonization scheme for northern **Ireland**. Unlike Smith's joint-stock venture, Essex financed his expedition by mortgaging his English estates to **Elizabeth I** for £10,000. Although the queen agreed to share the costs of raising a force of 1,200 men, the expedition was a private effort; the earl had no government commission or salary. For conquering and colonizing the Antrim area of Ulster, Essex was to receive extensive rights and privileges in the region, including freedom from **cess** and control of trade and the administration of justice. Part of the land to be conquered was to be reserved for the queen and part for the group of adventurers, like Sir Peter **Carew**, and the courtiers, like the sons of Henry **Carey**, Lord Hunsdon, who accompanied the expedition.

Arriving in Ulster in the summer of 1573, Essex soon found himself facing a coalition of Irish chiefs, including Turlough Luineach **O'Neill**, leader of the powerful O'Neill clan. The Irish leaders argued that because Essex held no government position, their opposition to his venture constituted no **treason** to the queen. As supplies dwindled and the weather deteriorated, many of the 400 adventurers who had accompanied Essex abandoned the venture, and the earl made little headway against the united Irish with his force of ill-armed recruits. In 1574, to meet the Irish leaders' arguments, the queen made Essex governor of Ulster and sent him reinforcements. Most of the Irish leaders then either withdrew their forces or submitted, but supply remained a problem. Lord Deputy William **Fitzwilliam** in **Dublin** was also uncooperative, seeing Essex's position in Ulster as a threat to his own authority.

Growing desperate, Essex invited his chief opponent, Sir Brian O'Neill, to a feast in November 1574. The earl then treacherously murdered O'Neill's company and sent the chief himself to Dublin for execution. In 1575, Essex sent a force under Francis **Drake** to attack the Scots on Rathlin Island, which was part of the earl's grant. On the island, the English troops found and massacred 600 men, women, and children. In May 1575, Elizabeth ended the project, recalled Essex, and negotiated a peace with Turlough O'Neill. The venture had been a costly failure both in money and lives.

See also Joint-Stock Company; Plantations, Irish; Ulster Enterprise (Smith)

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Ulster Enterprise (Smith)

The first attempt to establish an English plantation in northern **Ireland** was undertaken by **Elizabeth I's** principal secretary, Sir Thomas **Smith**, and his son Thomas. The Smiths received approval to colonize the Ards Peninsula of Ulster in 1572. To cover transportation and supply costs, they organized the venture as a **joint-stock company** and stimulated investment by distributing pamphlets promoting the scheme. Investors were to receive land according to the amount of their investment. The Smiths first planned to clear the land of the “wicked, barbarous and uncivil people” who inhabited it, and then parcel out to the new English owners groups of poor Irish peasants to work the land for them. The Irish laborers were to be “gently entertained,” but would also be denied most political and civil rights. Under these terms, the Smiths gathered a group of some 700 adventurers in Liverpool by May 1572.

After obtaining some of the Smiths' promotional literature, the local Irish chiefs protested their loyalty to the Crown and began to make preparations to resist the enterprise. In **Dublin**, the lord deputy, Sir Henry **Sidney**, warned that the venture would only cause rebellion. The queen, always concerned by the expense and political disruption associated with suppressing Irish rebellions, withdrew her approval of the expedition. While Sir Thomas Smith tried to convince the queen to reverse her decision, most of the adventurers abandoned the enterprise to join the band of volunteers Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** was raising for the **Netherlands**.

The younger Smith finally landed in Ulster in late August with a force of only about 100 men. He was quickly attacked by one of the local chiefs and driven into Carrickfergus, where he appealed in vain for help from Dublin. Smith's group eventually re-formed and took up some of the land in their grant, but in the fall of 1573, Thomas Smith the younger was killed by some of his Irish laborers, who then boiled his body and fed it to their dogs. The distraught elder Smith launched two new expeditions in 1574 and 1575, but enthusiasm and support for the project had evaporated with the news of his son's terrible end, and the Smiths' Ulster enterprise quickly faded out.

See also Plantations, Irish; Ulster Enterprise (Essex)

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Uniformity, Acts of

The name Act of Uniformity applies to three Tudor statutes, two enacted under **Edward VI** and the third under **Elizabeth I**, that mandated the use of a uniform liturgy throughout the English Church.

Passed early in 1549 by the regency government of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the first Act of Uniformity took effect on 9 June 1549. The act represented the first time **Parliament** took a leading role in ordaining a liturgy for the English Church. Although opposed by conservative bishops in the House of Lords, the measure passed with substantial approval from the lay peers and the Commons. The statute enjoined Church-wide use of Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**'s first **Book of Common Prayer**. Penalties for noncompliance were restricted to clergy and ranged from loss of **benefice** for a year and imprisonment for six months for a first offense to deprivation from office and imprisonment for a second offense and life imprisonment for a third infraction. Punishment was also prescribed for anyone who in any "interludes, plays, songs, rhymes," or other words disparaged the Book of Common Prayer (Jordan, *Young King*, 314), or for anyone who procured the use of any other service or in any way hindered a clergyman from using the mandated service. The statute also required each parish to obtain copies of the new prayer book. Although dislike of the new English service sparked the **Western**

Rebellion in Devon and Cornwall in the summer of 1549, the prayer book was accepted without complaint in most parts of the country.

When demands for a more thoroughgoing Protestant worship service led Cranmer to substantially revise the prayer book, the regency government of John **Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, introduced the second Act of Uniformity into Parliament in 1552. The new enactment did not repeal the first act, but instead declared itself an amendment and revision of the earlier statute. Taking effect on 1 November 1552, the second act enjoined use of Cranmer's revised second Book of Common Prayer. Unlike the first statute, the 1552 act required all laypeople to attend the mandated service upon pain of Church censure. Anyone attending another form of service, such as a Catholic **Mass**, faced six months in prison for a first offense and life imprisonment for a third. While conservatives disliked the new service, the most vocal opposition to it came from advanced Protestants, who believed the second prayer book retained too much Catholic ritual. Because Scottish reformer John **Knox** objected strenuously to the directive for kneeling at reception of Communion, the **council** ordered insertion into the prayer book of an annotation known as the **Black Rubric**, which denied that kneeling in any way implied adoration of the elements of Communion.

The second Act of Uniformity was repealed by the first Parliament of **Mary I** on 20 December 1553. Catholic worship was thereafter restored until 24 June 1559, when the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity took effect. This statute, which repeated the earlier acts almost verbatim, mandated use of a new prayer book that was only a slight revision of the 1552 edition.

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The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York

See Hall, Edward

Unitarianism

See Anabaptism

Universities

The two English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, arose in the twelfth century when groups of male students gathered around the learned monks and teachers living in each town. By the thirteenth century, each university comprised a group of residential colleges. The colleges were corporations of students and instructors (masters) that had their own statutes, buildings, customs, and landed endowments. These medieval universities educated lower-class boys for careers in the English Church.

Students attended lectures and participated in academic debates. The curriculum centered on the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), the three philosophies (moral philosophy, natural philosophy, and metaphysics), and legal studies, the universities being the only training grounds in England for the **civil** and **canon law** used in medieval church courts.

By **Elizabeth I's** reign, the **Reformation** had brought the universities, like the English Church itself, under royal control. With the teaching of canon law prohibited after 1535, most of the universities' original purpose disappeared, and attendance declined sharply in the 1530s and 1540s. But in the 1550s, the universities revived as training centers for the well-born sons of the **gentry**. By 1603, most **justices of the peace**, members of **Parliament**, and royal officials had received



King's College Chapel at Cambridge University, one of the two English universities established in the twelfth century. (Shutterstock)

some university training. In the 1590s, the yearly number of incoming freshmen at Oxford was about 360, almost three and a half times the number of the 1510s. Many incoming students did not complete the full four-year course of study for a degree, leaving after two or three years to tour Europe or to begin legal studies in the **common law** at the **Inns of Court**.

The Elizabethan curriculum still focused on the seven liberal arts and the three philosophies, but it had been sufficiently influenced by **humanism** to place heavier emphasis on the study of Greek and Latin. The expansion of Elizabethan trade and exploration also created a demand for more courses in geography and history and a call from men such as Francis **Bacon** and Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** for more training in practical skills like navigation. Although many Elizabethan clergymen took advanced degrees in divinity, and Cambridge, in particular, acquired a reputation as a **Puritan** school, the English universities by 1603 were increasingly secular institutions providing education for the sons of gentlemen.

See also Grammar School; Grand Tour; Royal Supremacy

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Urswick, Christopher (1448–1522)

A trusted agent of Margaret **Beaufort** in her secret efforts to overthrow **Richard III** in 1483, the priest Christopher Urswick later served Margaret's son, **Henry VII**, as a diplomat and councillor. Urswick, who may have belonged to a Lancashire **gentry** family long associated with the Stanleys, came to the attention of Margaret Beaufort, then wife of Thomas **Stanley**, Lord Stanley, through Margaret's trusted Welsh physician, Lewis Caerleon. Seeking to replace Richard III with her exiled son, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, Margaret needed able and discreet servants; accordingly, she made Urswick her confessor and involved him in the coordination of a plot to place Richmond on the throne and marry him to **Edward IV**'s daughter **Elizabeth of York**. When the conspiracy, later known as Buckingham's Rebellion, collapsed in the autumn of 1483, Urswick fled to Burgundy with Bishop John **Morton**. In 1484, when Morton, by some unknown means, discovered that Richard had secretly negotiated Richmond's surrender by the Breton authorities, the bishop dispatched Urswick to **Brittany** to warn Richmond, who, in turn, sent Urswick to **Charles VIII** to request asylum in **France**. After obtaining the king's approval,

Urswick returned to Richmond, who shortly thereafter fled with Urswick and a few others to the safety of the French **court**. Having earned the earl's confidence, Urswick thereafter became Richmond's confessor, advisor, and confidential agent.

Urswick accompanied Richmond's army to **Wales** in August 1485 and was likely present at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, although, as a cleric, he did not fight. Richmond, now Henry VII, rewarded Urswick with numerous clerical appointments. He was named master of King's Hall, Cambridge, and king's almoner in 1485; dean of York in 1488; canon of Windsor in 1490; and dean of Windsor in 1495. Urswick also served on 11 diplomatic embassies, including a mission to the pope in 1486, the negotiations for the Treaty of **Medina del Campo** with **Spain** in 1489, the negotiations for the Treaty of **Etaples** with **France** in 1492, and the negotiations with **Scotland** in the late 1490s that led eventually to the Treaty of **Ayton**. He was also present at the king's meeting with Duke Philip of Burgundy in 1506. After 1502, Urswick resided mainly at Hackney outside **London**, where he held the living at St. Augustine's Church. In his later years, he became part of the humanist circle that included Sir Thomas **More** and Desiderius **Erasmus**, and even presented the latter with a horse during the Dutch scholar's visit in 1503. With Sir Reginald **Bray**, Urswick, as dean of Windsor, also supervised the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Urswick died on 24 March 1522.

See also Humanism; Netherlands

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Uses, Statute of

Passed during the last session of the **Reformation Parliament** in the spring of 1536, the Statute of Uses altered the operation of a legal device known as a use, whereby the holder of a piece of land transferred legal ownership of it to a group of trustees (or feoffees) who held it to the "use" (i.e., the occupation and enjoyment of profits) of the transferring party or to anyone else he might name as beneficiary. Because the device allowed landholders to avoid the payment of certain feudal dues owed to the Crown, both **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII** sought passage of a measure to alter or abolish its employment.

The advantage of the use to landholders, and the disadvantage of it to the Crown, was that it allowed a landholder who held his estate of the Crown to circumvent payment of feudal incidents, such as wardship, whereby an estate inherited by a minor came into royal custody until the heir came of age, and primer seisin, whereby an heir, upon inheriting an estate, paid to the Crown (or other feudal lord) a fine to enter into his inheritance. Because the group of feoffees who held actual ownership was a self-perpetuating body, the owner of the estate never died and the fine never fell due, thereby depriving the lord of significant revenue. The use also had other drawbacks. Because it allowed landholders to devise property by will to heirs of their choosing, the use also circumvented the feudal rule of primogeniture (descent of the entire estate to the eldest male heir), the only principle of inheritance recognized by **common law**. Disputes involving uses were therefore not triable in common law courts. Finally, uses were frequently created through the employment of legal instruments such as the “bargain and sale,” which did not require public notice and gave use transactions the character of secret agreements that could be abused to defraud creditors or potential purchasers.

Having failed to pass use statutes in 1529 and 1532, the government made ingenious use of a judicial decision rendered in **Exchequer** in 1534 to finally force **Parliament** into approving a measure. When the 1533 death of Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre of the South, left his considerable estate settled under a use that precluded any payment of feudal dues, the government sued in Exchequer, a common law court, to test the validity of such devices. Under pressure from the king, the judges voided the Dacre settlement and threw the legality of uses into question. Evidence indicates that the government persuaded the judges to its point of view by playing on their jealousy of the **equity** courts (such as the Court of **Chancery**), which enforced uses and so disparaged the authority of common law courts. With the land settlements of many families now in jeopardy, Parliament, by 1536, was anxious to pass a use statute.

Probably drafted by Thomas **Wriothesley**, the Act Concerning Uses and Wills (known to contemporaries as the Act of Primer Seisin) simply declared that where several persons held land in use for another, the beneficiary, not the trustees, was deemed the legal owner. Thus, uses were not abolished, though wills effectively were, while the Crown could collect feudal dues on the beneficiary's death, and disputes concerning uses would henceforth fall under the common law. To ease nervousness over the Dacre decision, a final clause declared that all wills made before 1 May 1536 were considered valid. Although the Statute of Uses accomplished the Crown's purposes, the severity of the measure in abolishing wills and laying landholders open to full payment of feudal dues made it highly unpopular. Because the statute also motivated lawyers to find new ways to circumvent it and drove some **gentry** to support the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, the uses act was substantially modified by the Statute of **Wills** in 1540.

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Utopia

Published in 1516, *Utopia* by Sir Thomas **More** is one of the most influential and popular literary works of the sixteenth century. The book contains More's account of society on Utopia, a fictional island in the Southern Hemisphere of the New World. Derived from the Greek *ou topos*, and meaning "nowhere," the book's title entered the language as a common noun for any idealized society or system of law and government, while the adjective "utopian" came to describe the new literary form that the book initiated. Utopian literature today encompasses works that describe or advocate a fictional ideal society or any scheme for achieving such a society.

More wrote a large portion of *Utopia* in the **Netherlands** in 1515 while serving on a diplomatic embassy sent by **Henry VIII** to renegotiate a trade agreement. The rest of the Latin work was completed in **London** by September 1516, when More sent the manuscript to his friend Desiderius **Erasmus**, who oversaw publication of the book in Louvain in December. By 1519, four new Latin editions of the work had appeared, and in 1524 *Utopia* was translated into German. Ralph Robynson published the first English edition in 1551, well after More's death. Since the mid-sixteenth century, *Utopia* has gone through countless new editions and has generated a wealth of scholarly studies of its meaning. It has also inspired a host of utopian books and novels, and, as such, is a foundational work for the modern genre of science fiction.

Book 1 of *Utopia* is a dialogue between More (the author's persona), Peter Giles, and an enigmatic traveler named Raphael Hythlodæus, who critiques for his companions the failings of contemporary European society. One of the most famous passages in Book 1 is Hythlodæus's condemnation of **enclosures**, which contains the striking description of sheep that "devour human beings . . . and devastate and depopulate fields, houses, and towns" (Marius, *Thomas More*, 156). In Book 2, Hythlodæus, who has visited Utopia, describes the island's government and society, which he presents as being, despite certain flaws and inconsistencies, the prime example of a true commonwealth. Reflecting More's London upbringing and his disdain for the way wealth overruled merit in Tudor society, Utopian society is communistic and urban, the individual is subordinated to the common good, and no one serves more than two years in the countryside, although all citizens

learn agriculture. Serious crime is punished by slavery, which is thought as great a deterrent as execution and more beneficial to the commonwealth. Supporting the two books of *Utopia* is a body of material that includes a pair of prefatory letters from More to Giles, a letter by Giles supplying more details about Utopia, and a series of other letters by noted humanists, including Erasmus, that all uphold More's straight-faced presentation of the island as an actual place.

Humorous and ironic, *Utopia* explores basic questions about the purpose and structure of human society, the nature of political power, the problem of injustice, and the question of whether a human community can be organized solely for the common good. It also tackles the problem, much on More's mind in 1516, of whether or how a godly man can serve a worldly prince. Although the Utopians are themselves not Christian, and European society is harshly criticized in Book 1, *Utopia* is steeped in Christian **humanism**, especially in its hatred of idleness, devotion to simplicity, and elevation of community over individual judgment. The book has been taken as many things, including, initially, a literate description of an actual society, a call for justice and social reform, an actual blueprint for such reform, and an attempt to generate thought about the fundamental nature of politics and society. Although *Utopia* is a slim volume quickly read, its ultimate purpose and meaning are still much debated.

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Vagrancy

Tudor society considered vagrancy to be one of the most serious social problems of the age. Vagrants were poor and rootless people who had no trade or assured livelihood and who moved about the country seeking subsistence wherever economic conditions might be more favorable. Contemporaries almost invariably considered vagrants to be criminals who threatened national security and public order. However, modern research has shown this view of Tudor vagrancy to be highly distorted.

Growing population, prolonged inflation, and the ill effects of **enclosures** and poor harvests all combined to erode the standard of living of the working poor in Tudor England. Unable to make a living where they were, many people took to the roads to find better conditions elsewhere. This migration of people threatened the settled order of county society, which was dominated by the **peerage** and **gentry**. Migrant vagabonds were truly “masterless men,” moving freely outside the control of their social superiors. From the reign of **Henry VIII** into the Elizabethan period, English social commentators and moralists railed against “sturdy beggars,” undisciplined and able-bodied poor who drifted about the country living lives of idleness, immorality, and criminality. Contemporary estimates of the number of vagrants ranged widely, from several thousand to more than 100,000, but all observers agreed that vagrants traveled in large gangs organized for the commission of theft and other crimes. This perception explains the harshness of Henrician and Edwardian **poor laws**, especially the 1547 statute, which sought to make slaves of those who refused to work.

Recent studies of local records detailing arrests for vagrancy have shown the contemporary image of vagrants to be seriously at odds with reality. Most vagrants were single men in their 20s or 30s who tended to travel alone or in pairs. About a quarter of the vagrants were single or separated women, also traveling alone or in small groups. The vicious gangs of popular imagination were largely nonexistent; the largest groups tended to be husbands and wives traveling together with young children or other family members. Rather than roaming the country, most migrants were apprehended less than 40 miles from their place of origin. Like the

American tramps of the Great Depression, Tudor vagrants were people displaced by economic or agrarian distress and forced to travel the roads in search of work; they resorted to theft or trespass when opportunities presented themselves, but organized criminal activity was rare. Despite this reality, vagabonds, as illustrated by Tudor law and literature on the subject, constituted a fearful, perplexing, and insoluble problem for property owners and leaders of Tudor society.

See also Price Revolution; Social Structure

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Valois, Francis (Hercules), Duke of Alençon (1554–1584)

Francis Valois, Duke of Alençon, was **Elizabeth I**'s most persistent and most seriously considered foreign suitor. Alençon, the youngest son of **Henri II** of **France** and Catherine de **Medici**, was christened Hercules but renamed Francis in 1560 after the death of his elder brother, **Francis II**. He became heir to the French throne in 1574 at the accession of his brother **Henri III**, against whom he had openly conspired. He also inherited his brother's title, Duke of Anjou, but he is best known in Elizabethan history as the Duke of Alençon. He first paid suit to Elizabeth in 1572, when he was 18 and she 39. Negotiations for the match dragged on until 1576, while the duke plotted with Huguenots against his mother and brother and generally made a nuisance of himself. To be rid of his unstable sibling, Henri III urged Alençon to win the leadership of the Dutch rebels, who were seeking a ruler to direct their war against **Spain** and were having difficulty interesting Elizabeth in the position.

By October 1578, Alençon had concluded an agreement with the Dutch legislature, the **States-General**, making him protector of the **Netherlands** in return for military assistance against Spain. In August 1579, Elizabeth reopened marriage talks by allowing Alençon to visit her in person. Although the duke was ugly, short, and pockmarked, Elizabeth was delighted with him, calling him "my frog" and flirting with him before the **court**. Horrified by the idea of a French, Catholic consort, and fearful of their 46-year-old queen dying in childbed to leave the duke ruling over them, English Protestants vigorously opposed the match, as did Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, and other members of the Privy Council. Advised by

the council to reject the duke, Elizabeth did so reluctantly, sending him away with a large gift of money.

In 1581, Elizabeth revived the courtship in an attempt to gain France as an ally in the Netherlands. In November, the queen slipped a ring on the duke's finger and announced their engagement, but within days she again changed her mind. Frustrated in his marriage suit, Alençon proved equally unsuccessful in war. His campaign in the Netherlands in 1583 ended in quarrels with the Dutch and defeat by the Spaniards. In June 1584, before he could resume campaigning, Alençon died in France at age 30, leaving the Dutch without a ruler and the French king without a Catholic heir.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Valois, House of

Having ruled **France** since 1328, the Valois family was one of the longest established royal dynasties in Europe when the Tudors first came to the English throne in 1485. **Francis I**, a contemporary of **Henry VIII**, was a Renaissance prince of taste and distinction; his constant battle for dominance in **Italy** with **Charles V**, ruler of **Spain**, Germany, and the **Netherlands**, threw western Europe into political and economic disorder.

Henri II, son of Francis I, continued the war until the financial exhaustion of both countries led him to make peace with **Philip II** of Spain, son of Charles V, in 1559, the first year of **Elizabeth I**'s reign. Henri II died in July 1559 of injuries received at a tournament celebrating the peace of **Cateau-Cambrésis**. The French Crown passed to Henri's son **Francis II**, the husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, the Catholic claimant to the English throne. Only in his teens and sickly, Francis II was dominated by his wife's maternal uncles, the duke and cardinal of Guise who, as staunch Catholics, aimed to destroy **Protestantism** in France and restore Catholicism in England. Francis II's death in December 1560 made his younger brother king as Charles IX and handed political power to his mother, Catherine de **Medici**. She sent Mary back to **Scotland** and sought to balance the power of the Guises and the Catholic party with the growing strength of the **Huguenots**. Civil war between the two religious factions culminated in the

Saint Bartholomew Massacre of 1572, when a frightened queen mother ordered the murder of Huguenot leaders who had gathered in Paris for a royal wedding.

When Charles IX died in 1574, the Crown passed to another brother, **Henri III**, who in the late 1570s promoted the marriage of his only remaining brother and heir, Francis **Valois**, Duke of Alençon, to the much older Queen Elizabeth. After much indecision, Elizabeth finally rejected the duke, who, after intervening disastrously in the Netherlands, died in 1584. The duke's death left the childless Henri III without a Catholic successor; the next heir was Henri Bourbon, the king's cousin and a Huguenot. In 1589, after further civil war, both Catherine de Medici and her son died; Henri Bourbon succeeded as **Henri IV** but was not able, even with the help of Elizabeth, to establish himself and the new Bourbon dynasty until he converted to Catholicism in 1593.

See also Brittany Expeditions; Catholicism, English; Guise Family; Habsburg, House of

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Valor Ecclesiasticus

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, a detailed, countrywide valuation of the property of the English Church, was undertaken by royal commissioners in each county in 1535. Passage of the 1534 Act for **First Fruits and Tenths**, which transferred to the Crown payments of **annates** and other ecclesiastical fees formerly given to the pope, required that a complete survey of the extent and source of all clerical incomes be conducted to provide a realistic basis for the calculation of assessments. Although compiled before the **dissolution of the monasteries** began, the *Valor* proved an important tool for the commissioners later charged with assessing the value of monastic properties confiscated to the Crown.

Completed by early 1536, the survey contained valuations for both the gross and net incomes of over 800 religious houses and over 9,000 parish clergymen. No systematic Church census had been made since 1291, and no undertaking of comparable scope and importance had been attempted in England since the compilation

of the Domesday Book in 1086. Conducted in each county by a commission of laymen and the local bishop, the census, though an enormous task, proceeded smoothly and generated little clerical resistance, perhaps because rumors that the government intended to confiscate all ecclesiastical property proved unfounded. Where comparison with other records is possible, historians have found the *Valor* to be generally reliable, although where estimates had to be made, such as for the unrented demesne lands of a monastic house, the valuations tended to be conservative. For episcopal incomes, the *Valor* included revenue derived from land, administrative fees, and the profits of justice. The recorded totals represented the amount of income due, not the amount actually collected in a year. Because of its thoroughness and reliability, the *Valor* remained the basis of valuation for clerical tax assessments throughout the Tudor period.

According to the *Valor*, variations in income among Tudor bishops were great, ranging from the £4,000 per year due to the bishop of Winchester to the £400 per annum available to the bishop of Rochester. Parish clergy tended to be poorly paid and to be heavily dependent on the parish **tithes** (traditional payments in kind made by parishioners to support their priest) and the revenue derived from farming their glebe (land set aside in each parish for use by the clergyman). Only half the parochial livings in England and **Wales** were worth £10 or more per year, and almost one-tenth were worth less than £2 per annum. Despite some errors and omissions, the *Valor* proved a useful basis for clerical tax assessments under the Tudors, and the survey is still occasionally cited in modern disputes over Church property.

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Vannes, Peter (c. 1488–1563)

Born in Lucca, **Italy**, Pater Vannes was a kinsman of Andrea Ammonius, who as Latin secretary to **Henry VIII** was a prominent member of the circle of Italian humanists at the English **court**. Arriving in England in 1513 to serve as Ammonius's assistant, Vannes became Latin secretary to Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** in 1514. Cambridge gave him a bachelor of theology in 1523, possibly in recognition of his having earned the degree at a continental institution. By the mid-1520s, Vannes had acquired a number of ecclesiastical livings, including prebends at Hereford and Salisbury.

In 1527, Vannes began his diplomatic career by accompanying Wolsey, Sir Thomas **More**, Cuthbert **Tunstall**, and other envoys to the Continent to seek

formation of a league allying England with **France**, Venice, and the Holy Roman Empire. In 1528, he and Sir Francis **Bryan** were sent to Rome as special ambassadors charged with persuading Pope **Clement VII** to grant an annulment of the king's marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. Vannes was given a free hand in how he achieved this mission, even to the point of bribing cardinals; threatening the pope with the withdrawal of England's Roman allegiance; and, as a last resort, requesting permission for the king to commit bigamy. After the failure of his mission, Vannes returned to England via Paris, where he sought to win support for the annulment from **Francis I** and the French clergy.

Vannes became Latin secretary to the king in about 1529, an appointment that may have helped him survive the fall of his patron Wolsey at the end of that year. In 1533, he became collector of papal taxes in England and by 1540 had acquired other important ecclesiastical appointments, including as archdeacon of Worcester in 1534 and dean of Salisbury in about 1536. Upon the accession of **Edward VI** in 1547, Vannes retained his position as royal Latin secretary, a post he was granted for life in 1549. In May 1550, Vannes took appointment as English ambassador to Venice, where he was ordered to keep close watch on any Englishmen with Catholic leanings then traveling in Italy. After her accession in 1553, **Mary I** retained Vannes at his post in Venice, but the stream of **Marian exiles** into Italy involved him in a series of questionable endeavors. In 1554, he apparently hired assassins to kill Sir Peter **Carew**, then an exile in Venice for his involvement in **Wyatt's Rebellion**. In 1556, he may have been involved in the mysterious death of Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, who was also implicated in **Wyatt's Rebellion** and was rumored to have died of poison. Vannes requested his recall shortly after Devon's demise and returned to England in late 1556. Although not further employed by **Elizabeth I** after her accession in 1558, Vannes retained his church livings and died in the spring of 1563.

John A. Wagner

See also Humanism; Patronage

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Vere, Edward de, Earl of Oxford (1550–1604)

A noted Elizabethan courtier and poet, Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, has in the twentieth century become a leading candidate for authorship of the plays

traditionally attributed to William **Shakespeare**. On his father's death in 1562, the 12-year-old earl became a ward of William **Cecil**, whose daughter Anne he married in December 1571. Educated at Cambridge and Oxford, the earl showed an early aptitude for **music**, **poetry**, and dance, but also displayed a violent and unstable personality. In 1567, Cecil hushed up the earl's involvement in the death of one of Cecil's servants, the coroner's jury having to be convinced that the "accidental" death was caused by the servant carelessly running onto Oxford's sword.

In 1571, after serving against the **Northern Rebellion**, Oxford came to **court**, where his skill at dancing and verse made him a **favorite** of **Elizabeth I**. He fled England in 1572, possibly after an attempt to rescue his imprisoned cousin, Thomas **Howard**, Duke of Norfolk. After being restored to favor in England, Oxford returned to Europe with permission in 1574, traveling for the next two years in **Italy**. His extravagant lifestyle and conversion to **Catholicism** estranged Oxford from his wife and father-in-law, but the queen continued to favor him despite his growing debts and involvement in a violent quarrel with Sir Philip **Sidney** at **Whitehall Palace** in 1579. Elizabeth finally sent Oxford to the **Tower of London** in 1581 when he impregnated Anne Vavasour, one of her **ladies-in-waiting**. Oxford won his release by promising to return to his wife, who died in 1588. In 1582, Oxford fought a duel with Vavasour's cousin, an incident that resulted in the deaths of several servants. In 1585, the earl served under John **Norris** in the **Netherlands**.

Oxford is known to have written plays for a juvenile acting company known as Oxford's Boys and to have financially supported an adult company. Although none of his plays have survived, the earl's interest in and patronage of Elizabethan **drama** led to the proposal in 1920 that Oxford, an accomplished courtier, may have been the true author of the plays attributed to the supposedly ill-educated countryman William Shakespeare. Although dismissed by most Shakespeare scholars, not least because Oxford was dead by 1604, well before the later plays are thought to have been written, the theory is still upheld by many Oxfordians.

See also Universities

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Vere, Sir Francis (1560–1609)

Sir Francis Vere was one of England’s most talented and experienced military commanders. A distant cousin of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Vere was born in Essex and decided early in life to pursue a military career. In 1585, Vere volunteered to serve in the **Netherlands expedition** led by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. Joining the cavalry under Peregrine **Bertie**, Lord Willoughby, Vere soon received command of 150 men in the Bergen-op-Zoom garrison. In 1587, after distinguishing himself in numerous engagements, Vere was knighted by Willoughby, who had succeeded Leicester as English commander in the **Netherlands**. After

a brief visit to England, Vere returned to the Netherlands in 1589 to succeed Willoughby as commander.

Over the next five years, Vere proved himself a brilliant military strategist and an excellent leader. He captured several important Dutch towns from the Spanish, including Breda in 1589, Nymegen in 1591, and Groningen in 1594. By 1593, Vere was being paid by the Dutch **States-General**, an arrangement that had **Elizabeth I**’s approval. In 1596, Vere and 1,000 of his Netherlands veterans joined the **Cadiz Raid** on **Spain** itself. During the expedition, Vere quarreled with Sir Walter **Raleigh**, and the two finally agreed that Raleigh would command at sea and Vere on land. In the attack on Cadiz, Vere’s experience helped steady the impetuous leadership of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, and Vere shared in the popular acclaim that greeted the leaders of the expedition in England. Vere also participated in the unsuccessful **Islands Voyage** of



Sir Francis Vere was a distinguished military leader and strategist who was active in the Netherlands and later in the Cadiz Raid of 1596. (Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres*. . . . London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, Ltd., 1888)

1597, finding himself caught between Essex and Raleigh, the expedition's quarrelling commanders.

On Vere's return to the Netherlands in 1598, the queen appointed him to negotiate a new treaty with the States-General and to be governor of Brill. On the accession of **James I** in 1603, Vere retained his governorship, but he retired from active service when England made peace with Spain and withdrew from the war in 1604. In his last years, Vere wrote accounts of his military campaigns and contributed to the support of the new **Bodleian Library** at Oxford founded by his friend Sir Thomas **Bodley**. Vere died in August 1609, only four months after Spain recognized Dutch independence.

See also Cautionary Towns

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Vergil, Polydore (1470–1555)

Polydore Vergil, an Italian humanist and former papal official, wrote the *Anglica Historia*, a comprehensive humanist history of England. Vergil's account of fifteenth-century English history and the accession of the House of **Tudor** influenced most sixteenth-century depictions of the previous century, including William **Shakespeare's** tetralogy (i.e., four-play series) on the **Wars of the Roses**.

Born in Urbino, **Italy**, Vergil studied at the **universities** of Padua and Bologna before serving as secretary to Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino. In 1502, Vergil came to England and entered the service of his kinsman, Adriano Castello, cardinal of Corneto, who was also bishop of Hereford and papal collector of Peter's Pence. Acting as Castello's deputy in the collectorship, Vergil also undertook several diplomatic missions for the English **court**, obtaining a papal bull for the foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1510 and trying unsuccessfully to secure a cardinal's hat for Thomas **Wolsey** in 1514. For the latter failure, Vergil and Castello were briefly imprisoned in 1515. In 1517, upon his return to England from another embassy to Rome, Vergil withdrew from public office and devoted his life to scholarly pursuits. In the 1530s and 1540s, he accepted abolition of papal supremacy and conformed to most mandated changes in religion. Vergil returned to Italy in 1553 and died at Urbino in 1555.

Vergil's many published works include *De Prodigiiis*, a study of prodigies; *Commentariolum in Dominicam Precem*, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer; and an

edition of *De Excidio Britonum* (*The Ruin of Britain*), an account of the Anglo-Saxon invasions by Gildas, a sixth-century British monk. In his own day, Vergil's most famous work was *De Inventoribus Rerum* (*Concerning the Inventors of Things*), which was published in 1499. Expanded to five books in 1521, and running through 30 editions in several languages by the 1550s, *De Inventoribus Rerum* was a scholarly, fully referenced guide to the origins of important customs, ideas, and movements, such as language, Christianity, and religion in general. Today, Vergil is best known as the author of the *Anglica Historia* (*English History*), which was published with illustrations by Hans **Holbein** in 1534. According to tradition, Bishop Richard **Foxe** (perhaps speaking for **Henry VII**) suggested in 1506 that Vergil write a history of England. Based on careful study of chronicles and other sources, including, for the most recent periods, still-living eyewitnesses at court, Vergil's Latin history comprised 26 books, with the last four covering the fifteenth century, the Wars of the Roses, and the reigns of Henry VII and **Henry VIII**. Books 23–25 present the deposition of Richard II in 1399 as the initiating event in a century of war and disorder that was made right only by the accession of Henry VII, a view of fifteenth-century history that was later adopted by sixteenth-century writers and historians.

The *Anglica Historia* was innovative in two ways: it followed the chronological/biographical organization of the new humanist histories being written in Italy and **France** (rather than employing the year-by-year listing of medieval chronicles), and it rejected the traditional accounts of the Celtic and British past as related by the twelfth-century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth. In particular, Vergil denied the existence of Brutus, the mythological Trojan founder of Britain, and of Arthur, the British war leader transformed into a great king by medieval romance literature. Although his views were attacked by such English writers as John **Leland** and John **Bale**, who dismissed him as a foreigner and Catholic, Vergil challenged Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*History of the Kings of Britain*) because it was not supported by other documentary evidence. Although anxious to justify the accession of the Tudors, and dismissed by some modern defenders of **Richard III** as a Tudor propagandist, Vergil strove to uncover the truth and questioned his sources whenever they violated common sense.

See also Humanism

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Vermigli, Peter Martyr (1499–1562)

Peter Martyr Vermigli was an Italian Protestant theologian who influenced the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 and theological thinking in both the Anglican and Puritan communities. Born Pietro Mariano Vermigli in Florence, the future reformer took on the name Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire) when he entered an Augustinian monastery. He received his doctor of divinity in Padua in 1527 and became a preacher. At the same time, he made extensive studies of Hebrew and Greek. Around 1530, he became interested in the ideas of the reformer Martin **Bucer**, who was later to be his colleague at Oxford. He repeatedly fell under suspicion of **heresy**, and at one time his preaching was banned in Naples. Together with fellow Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino, he fled to Switzerland. From there, he moved to Strasbourg, a Protestant city, where Bucer helped him become professor of theology.

Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** invited him to England in 1547 and gave him a pension from the government. In 1548, he became Regius professor of divinity at Oxford. He participated in a historic debate over the **Eucharist** in 1549, taking a line on the Real Presence consonant with the mainstream of reformed thinking at the time. When **Mary I** became queen in 1553, Vermigli returned to Strasbourg. He was there when **Elizabeth I** came to the throne in 1558. He corresponded with English reformers and was influential on their views at that crucial time, but never again lived in England.

Since Vermigli left England with the accession of Mary, his importance for Elizabethan England lies in his ideas and influence. His works were widely reprinted, and more of them were translated into English than into any other vernacular. He carried a great deal of authority. During the **Vestiarian Controversy** of 1559–1566, he was cited as an authority by both sides. His correspondence reveals that he was sympathetic to the view that priests should not wear distinctive clothing, but counseled a diplomatic compromise because he did not think the issue was crucial.

While he was living in England, he was closely linked with Cranmer, and submitted critiques and revisions for the **Book of Common Prayer** in both its editions. When the Elizabethan divines came to write the *Book of Homilies*, they used Vermigli's material. One homily, on drunkenness and gluttony, is largely translated from his work.

Despite his identification with the Elizabethan Settlement, Vermigli's theology was also popular with **Puritans**, and they carried his works to the New World. Vermigli's thinking was formed in **Italy**, with much reading of Thomas Aquinas and of the Church Fathers, especially Augustine. His thinking on **predestination** was also deeply affected by medieval theologian Gregory of Rimini. When he became

a Protestant, he continued to use the Aristotelian modes of argument he had learned from Aquinas. For example, when he discussed the question of just war, he began by distinguishing the Aristotelian four causes of war. Though not alone in bringing scholastic thought into Protestant argument, he was an influential figure in the integration of scholastic method with Protestant theology.

Vermigli has sometimes been viewed as a *Reformkatholik*, holding doctrines midway between the Catholic and Reformed positions. This view is consonant with an interpretation of the Elizabethan Settlement as a *via media* between **Calvinism** and **Catholicism**. This view has also been criticized.

For three centuries after the decline of Vermigli's immediate influence in the seventeenth century, very little substantive scholarly work was done on him. Unlike Martin Luther or John **Calvin**, he was never a solitary figure, enunciating strongly radical ideas to an entrenched establishment. By the time Vermigli became a Protestant, the Protestant establishment already existed, and he both influenced and was influenced by all the major Protestant figures of his time. Since 1960, an argument has developed that his theology was truly original and profound. Several conferences and books of essays have been published assessing his thought and influence in a wide range of domains. His works are being translated into English in a major project at the Reformed Theological Seminary.

Matthew DeCoursey

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Vernon, Elizabeth

See Wriothesley, Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton

Vestiarian Controversy

The Vestiarian Controversy, a dispute between Anglican bishops and radical Protestants over proper clerical dress, was a significant event in the emergence of the **Puritans** as a distinct movement within the **Anglican Church**. Because **Elizabeth I** liked ceremony and ritual in worship services, the **Anglican Settlement** in 1559 required ministers to wear certain vestments (the ceremonial attire worn by clergymen when conducting rites and services). However, more radical Protestants were critical of the queen's tastes, believing such vestments to be unnecessary remnants of the Catholic past. The **Marian exiles**, those English Protestants who had fled to Europe to avoid the Catholic regime of **Mary I**, were especially unwilling to accept the vestments, for they had experienced firsthand the plain dress and austere churches of the reformed Protestant communities of Germany and Switzerland.

In the 1560s, many Anglican clergy ignored the vestments prescribed by law, preferring instead to wear the simple black gowns favored by continental Protestants. In 1566, when Archbishop **Matthew Parker** of Canterbury ordered strict enforcement of the law, 37 **London** clergymen refused to comply and were deprived of their **benefices**; unrest over the issue also arose in other parts of the country. The bishops themselves were divided on the issue; many agreed with the deprived clergymen. Elizabeth continued to insist on the vestments mandated by **Parliament** through the **Book of Common Prayer**, but the divisions among the bishops meant that no consistent policy was pursued on the issue, and the vestments question continued to vex church authorities throughout the Elizabethan period. The vestiarian dispute was the first major point of contention between the Anglican authorities and the Church's more radical members, who soon became a distinct faction known as Puritans, because they sought in many ways and on many issues to "purify" the English Church of its Catholic vestiges.

See also Catholicism, English; Protestantism

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Virgin Queen

On **Elizabeth I**'s accession in 1558, her gender was thought to be her greatest liability as a monarch. Ruling a kingdom was considered a man's job, and everyone

accepted that the queen needed a husband, both to help her govern and to maintain order among her male advisors. The great achievement of Elizabeth's reign was her success in turning the supposed weakness of being a woman into an instrument for controlling, disciplining, and directing the strong and proud men who formed her **court**, her Privy **Council**, and her military command.

Elizabeth accomplished this transformation by remaining unmarried and by making herself the center of a secular, political cult of devotion that in some ways replaced the medieval religious cult of the Virgin Mary, which the **Reformation** had destroyed. Where the knightly ideal of chivalry had dedicated itself to the Virgin, and to devotion to and protection of chaste femininity, Elizabethan courtiers dedicated themselves to the service and protection of a ruler who was not only a woman, but a virgin as well. The cult of the Virgin Queen allowed Elizabeth to equate herself with the State and to channel the often touchy pride and ready violence of her courtiers away from disorder and into controlled competition for her favor. And that favor, whether in the form of titles, lands, offices, or mere royal recognition, had to be earned by loyal service.

Beginning with an element of romance, as when the younger Elizabeth balanced her favors to Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, with those shown to Sir Christopher **Hatton** and other courtiers, the cult of the Virgin Queen became, by Elizabeth's later years, almost a form of worship, with the name and idea of Elizabeth inspiring men to fight, write, paint, and explore. Courtiers could also use the idea of the Virgin Queen to seek to manipulate Elizabeth. Thus, when his 1584 expedition to the New World claimed part of the east coast of North America for England, Walter **Raleigh** sought to win the queen's support for his plan to establish an English settlement there by naming the region Virginia, in honor of the Virgin Queen. By using her gender and chastity as a focus of devotion and service, Elizabeth became one of the strongest and most effective rulers in English history.

See also Amadas-Barlowe Expedition; Marriage Question (Elizabeth I)

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Vita Romanorum Pontificum

See Barnes, Robert

Vives, Juan Luis (1492–1540)

Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives was known for his educational works, including several dedicated to his patron, **Catherine of Aragon**, and meant for the education of her daughter, Princess Mary. Born in Valencia to Jewish parents recently converted to Catholicism, Vives undertook the study of logic at the University of Paris in 1509. His dissatisfaction with the professors and curriculum led him to later ridicule both in his *Adversus Pseudodialecticos*, a work that brought him to the attention of Sir Thomas **More**. Vives left Paris without a degree in 1512 and moved to Bruges to tutor the children of a Jewish merchant exiled from **Spain**. In 1516, Vives met Desiderius **Erasmus**, who helped him secure employment with the archbishop of Toledo in Louvain. In 1520, he received permission to teach at the University of Louvain and also began, at the request of Erasmus, a commentary on St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.

The archbishop's death in 1521 left Vives without a patron and led him to write to More about employment in England. A meeting with More and Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** at Bruges in September led in 1523 to the offer of a lectureship in Greek at Wolsey's new Oxford foundation, Cardinal College. Commissioned by Queen Catherine to write a treatise on the education of women, Vives produced *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (*Instruction of a Christian Woman*), which expressed advanced views on the subject, though not the acceptance of educational equality between the sexes. Both *De Institutione* and a later work, *De Ratione Studii Puerilis*, were intended to guide the education of Princess Mary. By 1525, as English foreign policy shifted from friendship with Spain to alliance with **France**, Wolsey's support for Vives waned. The king, however, continued the scholar's pension and recruited him to assist in the effort to draft a rebuttal to Martin Luther's attack on the king's anti-Lutheran treatise, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. In October 1527, the king, at Catherine's request, made Vives Mary's tutor.

By 1528, as the king's **divorce** suit became public, Vives's close association with the queen and her daughter cost him six weeks of house arrest. He left England on Catherine's advice but returned at the end of the year as a member of the papal delegation sent with Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** to try **Henry VIII's** case. When the queen rejected his advice to take no part in the trial, Vives left England for good. He returned to Bruges, where he replaced his lost English pension with an Imperial one and spent his last years writing and publishing some of his most important works, including *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere*, dedicated to **Charles V**; *De Disciplinis*, a collection of his educational writings; *De Anima et Vita*, a study of human nature; and *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*, a treatise on religion. Vives died in Bruges on 6 May 1540.

See also Humanism; Mary I

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Wales

During the Tudor period, **Parliament** incorporated Wales into the Tudor State, extending English language, law, and administration into the principality and the various independent lordships on the Anglo-Welsh marches (i.e., borderlands). The Welsh Church also experienced the full effect of the English **Reformation**, from establishment of the **royal supremacy** and **dissolution of the monasteries** under **Henry VIII** to abolition of **chantries** and imposition of Protestant doctrine under **Edward VI**.

At the accession of the House of **Tudor** in 1485, the country was divided into the Principality of Wales, ruled by the king or his heir as Prince of Wales, and the marcher lordships, governed independently by various noblemen. Since the early fifteenth century, when harsh penal laws had restricted the rights of the Welsh, a strong national consciousness had developed in Wales. Because of his Welsh name and ancestry, **Henry VII** was hailed as a deliverer whose victory at **Bosworth Field** ended alien rule. Henry responded by proclaiming himself Prince of Wales, reviving the **Council in the Marches of Wales**, reforming marcher administration, and granting charters of enfranchisement to certain localities, thereby giving their inhabitants equal status with English subjects. In 1489, Henry made his son Arthur **Tudor**—whose very name was an appeal to Welsh pride—Prince of Wales.

Welsh administration was transformed in 1536, when Thomas **Cromwell** pushed the Welsh Act of Union through Parliament. Because the 1521 execution of Edward **Stafford**, Duke of Buckingham, had eliminated the last powerful marcher lord, the statute abolished the independent lordships, converting them into shire ground. The act also introduced English law and custom into Wales and authorized shires and **boroughs** to send representatives to Parliament, with the first Welsh members arriving at Westminster in 1542. In 1543, a second statute confirmed and consolidated the new union but also allowed the Crown to continue to legislate for Wales without reference to Parliament. Thus, the statute also strengthened the Council in the Marches, which, even though the marches had ceased to exist, continued as a **prerogative** court for the maintenance of royal authority. Under the

presidency of Rowland **Lee** (1534–1543), the council continued to sternly repress disorder throughout the principality.

The administrative and political changes imposed by the first two Tudors were generally popular with the Welsh **gentry**, who found their status and authority enhanced as **justices of the peace** and members of Parliament. The religious changes imposed on Wales from the 1530s were likewise accepted with little opposition. The Welsh Church had no tradition of **Lollardy** or **anticlericalism**, and, being on the west of Britain, was little influenced by **Lutheranism** or other reformist teachings. Loyalty to the Tudor Crown and government efforts to portray major innovations as according with Welsh religious traditions limited resistance to the Reformation. The Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments appeared in Welsh in 1546, and Parliament authorized the translation of the Bible and the **Book of Common Prayer** in 1563, with the first Welsh New Testament appearing in 1567. A Welsh translation of the **Bible** by Bishop William **Morgan** appeared in 1588 and helped advance **Protestantism** in Wales during the Elizabethan period. The government ordered a copy placed in every Welsh church to facilitate the reading of scripture and the spread of the reformed religion. However, each church was also required to have a copy of the English Bible to facilitate the adoption of the **English** language, Welsh parishioners being able to learn English by comparing the two translations. By **Elizabeth I**'s death in 1603, these initiatives and loyalty to the queen and the dynasty had led a majority of the Welsh population to accept Protestantism.

See also Council, Royal/Privy Council

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Walsingham, Sir Francis (1532–1590)

Although a staunch **Puritan**, and therefore not personally influential with **Elizabeth I**, Sir Francis Walsingham was a key figure in Elizabethan diplomacy and intelligence gathering. Born into a **gentry** family of Kent, Walsingham entered

Cambridge but soon left to travel in Europe and attend Gray's Inn. A convinced Protestant fluent in French and Italian, he spent the reign of **Mary I** on the Continent, mainly studying law at the University of Padua in **Italy**.

After Elizabeth's accession in 1558, Walsingham came to **court** under the patronage of Sir William **Cecil**, who found him a place in **Parliament** and used him for diplomatic missions. From 1571 to 1573, he was the English ambassador at Paris, where he helped shelter Protestants during the **Saint Bartholomew Massacre** in August 1572. In 1573, the queen named Walsingham secretary of state and a member of the Privy **Council**, and in 1577, she granted him a knighthood. His experiences at the French court led him to advocate a strong

Protestant foreign policy based on alliance with the French **Huguenots** and on English aid to the Dutch Protestant rebels who were fighting **Spain**. Ever alert for Catholic conspiracies against Elizabeth, he organized a large and effective intelligence service that made use of English merchants overseas and undercover agents working both in England and abroad. By means of this spy network, Walsingham tracked the activities of Jesuits and **seminary priests** in England, received advance warning from Spain of plans to launch the **armada**, and unraveled the plots against Elizabeth that formed around Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, including the **Babington Plot** in 1586.

Walsingham repeatedly urged the execution of Mary but was overruled by the queen until he was able, as part of the Babington investigation, to draw Mary into condoning, in writing, the murder of Elizabeth. Walsingham also invested regularly in voyages of exploration, including those of Sir Francis **Drake** and Sir Martin **Frobisher**, and was a literary patron of writers who advocated exploration and colonization, such as Richard **Hakluyt**. Although the queen disliked Walsingham's gloomy, pessimistic demeanor, she found his diplomatic and security work invaluable, and she continued to employ him until his death in 1590.

See also Inns of Court; Jesuit Mission; Marian Exiles; Universities



Trained in several languages and the law and well-traveled, Sir Francis Walsingham was an important diplomat and intelligence gatherer for Elizabeth I. (Library of Congress)

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Warbeck, Perkin (c. 1474–1499)

By impersonating a son of the Yorkist monarch **Edward IV**, Perkin Warbeck became, for over six years, a useful weapon for any domestic opponent or unfriendly foreign ruler who sought to threaten **Henry VII** and the House of **Tudor**. Born Perkin Werbecque (or Osbeck) at Tournai in Burgundy, Warbeck (as the name was later anglicized) was the son of a customs official. Taking service with a Breton cloth merchant, who used the handsome youth to model his finery, Warbeck accompanied his master to **Ireland** in 1491. According to Warbeck's later confession, his aristocratic manner led the people of Cork to mistake him for a Yorkist prince. However, Warbeck probably became part of a Yorkist conspiracy in Tournai, which was for a time the residence of **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy and sister to Edward IV. He was likely coached by a Yorkist agent named John Taylor to impersonate first Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, and then Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who were, respectively, the nephew and son of Edward IV. In November 1491, with the connivance of Gerald **Fitzgerald**, eighth Earl of Kildare, the Irish lord deputy, Warbeck paraded through Cork claiming to be York, who had disappeared in the **Tower of London** in 1483. Warbeck also began calling himself "Richard IV," rightful king of England. By December, Henry VII feared that Warbeck would win control of Ireland, just as Lambert **Simnel**, an earlier Yorkist pretender, had done in 1487. When the king dispatched an army to Ireland, the pretender accepted an invitation from **Charles VIII** to come to **France**.

Anxious to make trouble for Henry, who was opposing French attempts to absorb **Brittany**, Charles treated Warbeck as an honored guest until November 1492, when the conclusion of the Treaty of **Etaples** with England required Warbeck's expulsion. The pretender then withdrew to Burgundy, where he was welcomed by Margaret of York, a longtime foe of Henry VII, who formally recognized Warbeck as her nephew. In 1493, Warbeck traveled to Vienna and was recognized as Richard IV by Emperor **Maximilian I**. In 1494, Henry VII foiled a pro-Warbeck conspiracy in England by executing its leaders, most notably Sir William **Stanley**, the man whose intervention at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485 had helped Henry become king. Backed by Margaret and the emperor, Warbeck invaded England in June 1495. However, his landing party was quickly overwhelmed in Kent,

and Warbeck retreated to Ireland. When an Irish landing was also repulsed, Warbeck sailed for **Scotland**, where **James IV** was also eager to make difficulties for Henry. James recognized Warbeck as king of England and allowed him to marry a royal kinswoman, Lady Catherine Gordon. In September 1496, James invaded northern England on Warbeck's behalf, but the enterprise aroused no support for a Yorkist restoration, and the Scottish force withdrew. By the spring of 1497, James was interested in peace with England, making Warbeck unwelcome in Scotland.

After another abortive attempt on Ireland, Warbeck and a band of supporters landed in Cornwall in September 1497. Hoping to revive a recently quelled Cornish uprising, Warbeck attracted some support but was unable to seize Exeter and was soon captured. After confessing his imposture to the king, Warbeck was confined at Westminster, and his wife became lady-in-waiting to Queen **Elizabeth of York**. In June 1498, Warbeck fled but was recaptured and imprisoned in the Tower. In November 1499, the discovery of an escape plot involving Warbeck and his fellow prisoner Warwick, the last direct male descendent of the House of **York**, led to the trial and execution of both men. The plot may have been provoked by royal agents as a pretext for eliminating the two pretenders, whose existence had led **Ferdinand and Isabella** of **Spain** to hesitate in marrying their daughter to Prince Arthur **Tudor**.

See also Cornish Rebellion; Netherlands

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Wards and Liveries, Court of

The Court of Wards and Liveries oversaw all matters arising from the Crown's right of wardship, an ancient feudal due that gave the monarch supervision of the persons and estates of all minors inheriting lands held of the Crown by knight service. The court also handled the granting of livery—the formal conveyance of an estate held of the Crown to an adult male heir upon payment by the heir of a fine known as a relief. The creation of a formal court of record for the administration of wardship and livery arose from the efforts of the Tudors to fully exploit the financial opportunities inherent in the Crown's feudal rights, a policy known as **fiscal feudalism**.

Wardship was the most important feudal due; it gave the Crown control of the revenues of a minor's estate and allowed the king to arrange the heir's marriage.

Because many noblemen and gentlemen were looking to augment their revenues and find suitable marriage partners for their children, a wardship was a valuable commodity that could be given to a favored servant or sold for ready cash. The Crown's annual revenue from wardships rose steadily throughout the Tudor period, from about £4,500 at the death of **Henry VII** in 1509 to over £20,000 by the reign of **Elizabeth I**.

In about 1503, Henry VII gave the oversight of wardships to an office consisting of a master of wards, a receiver-general of revenues, an auditor, and a group of receivers with responsibility for collecting wardship dues in particular counties. Under **Henry VIII**, the office developed more formal procedures, thanks largely to the work of William **Paulet**, who was master of wards from 1526 to 1554, and Thomas **Cromwell**, who oversaw the 1540 passage of a statute establishing the Court of Wards. In 1542, a second act brought the management of livery under the jurisdiction of the court, which was henceforth known as the Court of Wards and Liveries.

Besides governing royal wards and administering their lands, the court oversaw the affairs of mentally incompetent landholders and of widows of royal tenants-in-chief. The court's other duties included adjudicating any disputes arising from the court's administrative activities and collecting and accounting for all revenues generated from wardship and livery. Under the statutes, the head of the court was the master of wards, and the other chief officers were the surveyor-general of liveries, the receiver-general, the auditor, and the attorney. Much of the daily secretarial and administrative work was handled by the clerk of wards and the clerk of liveries. Although official salaries were small, posts in the court were lucrative, for the ranking officers were often offered bribes and gifts by eager suitors.

After 1540, the business of the court increased dramatically. The 1536 Statute of **Uses** and the 1540 Statute of **Wills** ended evasions of feudal dues and increased the number of tenancies liable to wardship by declaring all recipients or purchasers of monastic lands to be tenants-in-chief of the Crown. The renewed warfare of the 1540s depleted the Crown's financial resources and increased the need for vigorous collection of feudal revenues. Also, efforts to improve government knowledge of which estates were subject to feudal dues increased the number of wardships and liveries. Because the whole system of wardship was open to abuse, including the ruining of estates by guardians who acted more in their own interests than in those of their wards, the Elizabethan and early Stuart Court of Wards was highly unpopular. The court was therefore abolished by **Parliament** in the 1640s.

See also Anglo-French War (Henry VIII)

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Warham, William (c. 1450–1532)

An experienced lawyer and diplomat, William Warham was archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor of England. Born in Hampshire, Warham was educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford, where he was admitted as a fellow in the 1470s. After taking a doctorate of **civil law** and serving as principal of the school of civil law, Warham left Oxford in 1488 to become an advocate in the Court of Arches, the consistory court of the province of Canterbury. Already a successful lawyer, Warham began his diplomatic career in 1490, serving at Rome as proctor for Bishop John Alcock of Ely. By 1500, Warham was one of **Henry VII's** most experienced diplomats, having gone to Burgundy in 1493 to protest **Margaret of York's** support for Perkin **Warbeck** and to **Scotland** in 1497 to negotiate the Treaty of **Ayton**. He also participated in the 1496 discussions concerning the marriage of Prince Arthur **Tudor** to **Catherine of Aragon**.

From 1493, Warham received various ecclesiastical offices, becoming bishop of **London** in 1501 and archbishop of Canterbury in 1503. His secular appointments included master of the rolls (1494), keeper of the Great Seal (1502), and chancellor of England (1504). He became chancellor of Oxford in 1506. Warham crowned **Henry VIII** in 1509, but the archbishop's political influence thereafter declined; in 1515, the king required Warham to resign the chancellorship to Thomas **Wolsey**, who also superseded Warham as leader of the English Church by becoming cardinal and papal legate. However, Warham continued to serve at diplomatic and ceremonial functions. In 1518, he greeted Cardinal Lorenzo **Campeggio** on his arrival in England, and in 1520, he accompanied the king to the **Field of Cloth of Gold** and to meetings with **Charles V**.

More at home with the legal than the pastoral aspects of his office, Warham did little to check the spread of **Lutheranism**, believing, as he explained in a 1521 letter to Wolsey, that Luther had few English followers. As the **divorce** controversy grew in the late 1520s, Warham found himself increasingly torn between obedience to the king and loyalty to the pope. At first, he tried to please the king. In 1530, he signed a letter urging **Clement VII** to grant the king's divorce, and, although named chief counsel to the queen, he provided Catherine with little legal assistance. However, in January 1531, Warham used the disclaimer, "so far as the law of Christ allows," to qualify his acceptance of Henry as supreme head of the English Church. By February 1532, the government's continuing use of **Parliament** to overawe the Church convinced Warham to openly declare his opposition to all acts derogatory to papal authority or the prerogatives of Canterbury. Old, ill,

and threatened with a writ of **praemunire**, Warham in May agreed to what became known as the **Submission of the Clergy**, **Convocation's** reluctant surrender of its legislative independence. In the midst of this crisis, Warham died at Canterbury on 22 August 1532.

See also Netherlands

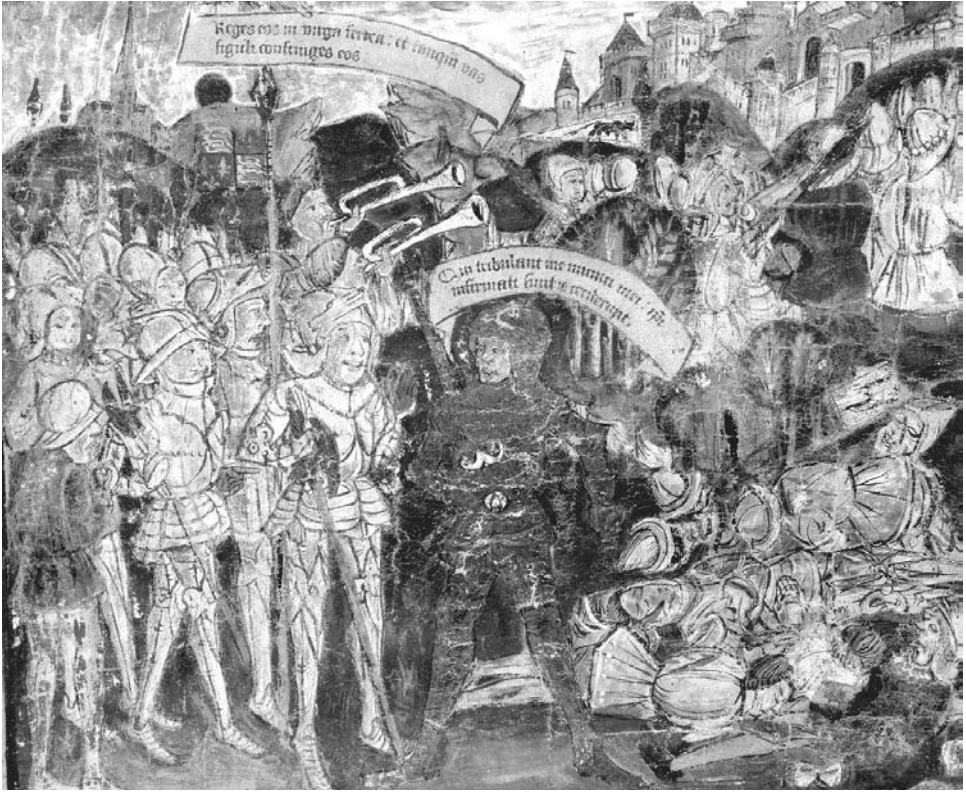
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Wars of the Roses

"Wars of the Roses" is a nineteenth-century term for a series of intermittent fifteenth-century conflicts fought for possession of the English Crown by members and partisans of rival branches of the House of Plantagenet. These struggles, which extended from the 1450s to the 1480s, resulted in the establishment of the **Tudor** dynasty. Although modern research has shown that periods of actual warfare were brief, and that the wars had small effect on the lives of common people, the memory of the Wars of the Roses as an endless period of political and social turmoil instilled in sixteenth-century Englishmen a horror of domestic disorder and dynastic uncertainty. These ingrained beliefs in large part drove **Henry VII** and **Henry VIII** to secure their dynasty by demanding internal obedience and foreign respect and underlay the latter Henry's unceasing efforts to ensure an unquestioned succession by providing legitimate male heirs.

Although the wars were not simply a dynastic struggle, the deposition of Richard II (r. 1377–1399) in 1399 and his replacement by his Lancastrian cousin Henry IV (r. 1399–1413) broke the direct line of succession to the throne and allowed Richard, Duke of York, cousin of the reigning Lancastrian monarch **Henry VI**, to lay claim to the Crown in 1460. By that time, the duke had become head of a noble faction that believed itself excluded from government and deprived of royal favor by a clique of royal favorites headed by Queen Margaret of Anjou. The incompetence and mental instability of Henry VI had allowed the formation of both factions. Conducted by bands of armed retainers, the violent political rivalry between these powerful noble groups caused respect for the Crown to decline. This breakdown of royal authority led to increasing disorder in the counties, where local officials attached themselves to or were dominated by powerful and wealthy local lords. After changing hands in 1461 and again in 1470, the Crown began to recover its authority after **Edward IV** of York destroyed the direct male line of Lancaster and regained the throne in 1471. Conflict returned briefly in the mid-1480s when



The Battle of Mortimer's Cross depicted here was one of the fifteenth-century dynastic conflicts collectively referred to since the nineteenth century as the Wars of the Roses. (The British Library/StockphotoPro)

Edward's brother **Richard III** deposed his nephew **Edward V**. This usurpation allowed Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the remaining Lancastrian claimant, to invade the kingdom and overthrow Richard and the House of **York** at **Bosworth Field** on 22 August 1485.

Within months of winning the throne, Henry VII married **Elizabeth of York**, daughter of Edward IV, thus ensuring that their children would have both Lancastrian and Yorkist blood. Henry also ordered the blending of the red rose (one emblem of Lancaster) with the white rose (an emblem of York) to form the two-color Tudor rose, a new royal emblem to signify for all the peace and unity that the Tudor accession had brought to England. (The term "Wars of the Roses" was derived in the nineteenth century from this emblem and from a scene in William Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 1* in which the partisans of York pluck white roses and the supporters of Lancaster pick red roses.) Because the size and importance of Henry's accomplishment were directly related to the disorder and destructiveness of what had gone before, histories of the fifteenth century written under the Tudors

tended to magnify the horrors of civil war and to vilify the actions of Henry's Yorkist predecessors—especially Richard III—just as the Yorkists had justified their own usurpation by denouncing the actions of those who had ruled before them. Thus, sixteenth-century perceptions of the fifteenth-century Wars of the Roses had significant influence on actions and events in the Tudor period.

See also Beaufort Family

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Warwick, Earl of

See Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland; Dudley, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick; Plantagenet, Edward, Earl of Warwick

Wentworth, Paul (1533–1593)

Like his elder brother Peter **Wentworth**, Paul Wentworth was an outspoken advocate for parliamentary freedom of speech. Wentworth, the son of a Buckinghamshire gentleman, acquired a large block of former monastic properties through marriage. A zealous **Puritan**, Wentworth sat for Buckingham in the **Parliaments** of 1563 and 1566. In the latter session, Wentworth was active in promoting a Commons petition requesting **Elizabeth I** to marry and name a successor. The queen returned an evasive reply to the petition, and when Wentworth and his colleagues continued to press the issue, the queen instructed the Commons through Sir Francis **Knollys** to proceed no further with the matter.

At Parliament's next sitting on 11 November 1566, Wentworth made a motion asking whether the queen's command contravened the liberties and privileges of the House of Commons. This motion started a debate that raged all day (from about 9:00 a.m. to adjournment at 2:00 p.m.), preventing the discussion of any other business. During the debate, Wentworth questioned the extent of royal authority and insisted that the queen was required to name an heir. Next day, Elizabeth ordered

discussion on Wentworth's motion to stop. A compromise was reached in late November, whereby the queen withdrew her two orders halting debate, and the Commons agreed to discuss the matter no further.

Wentworth was again prominent in Parliament in 1581, when he moved that the Commons declare a public fast and attend preaching each morning before the start of each day's session. Although opposed by Knollys and other government officials in the Commons, the motion passed on division. The queen sent a message indicating her disapproval of Wentworth's motion, but she excused the offense as proceeding from religious zeal and from her own leniency toward Wentworth's brother Peter, who in the previous parliamentary session had been briefly imprisoned for delivering a speech critical of the queen. The Commons responded by rescinding Wentworth's motion. Wentworth died at his home at Burnham in 1593. Although less fiery in his opposition to the Crown than his brother, Paul Wentworth was a notable defender of the rights and privileges of the Commons.

See also Gentry

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Wentworth, Peter (c. 1524–1596)

Peter Wentworth was a parliamentary critic of the royal **prerogative** and a strong advocate for wider freedom of speech in **Parliament**. Elected to the Parliament of 1571, Wentworth rose in the Commons to attack Sir Humphrey **Gilbert** for the “disposition to flatter or fawn on the Prince” that Gilbert had exhibited in a speech defending the royal prerogative. In the Parliament of 1572, the Commons voted a resolution of thanks to **Elizabeth I** for consenting to meet a parliamentary committee sent to request the execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots, for her involvement in the **Ridolfi Plot**. However, because Elizabeth refused to proceed against Mary, Wentworth believed she deserved no thanks and opposed the resolution.

On 8 February 1576, during the next parliamentary session, Wentworth moved a resolution on freedom of speech. He attacked the queen for the “great faults” she had committed in the previous Parliament by not settling the succession and by limiting discussion of the matter in the Commons. A horrified House, utterly unaccustomed to such frank criticism of the queen, stopped him in mid-speech and

placed him in custody. After a month in the **Tower of London**, Wentworth was released by the queen and forced to make humble submission on his knees at the bar of the House before being allowed to resume his seat.

Wentworth landed in the Tower again during the parliamentary session of 1586–1587, when the queen’s refusal to allow the Commons to discuss measures for presbyterian reform of the Church led him to again demand wider freedom of speech for members, and to begin organizing meetings outside the House with other **Puritan** members of Parliament to discuss ways to advance the presbyterian program. Such opposition measures were unacceptable to the political culture of the age, and no one protested Wentworth’s confinement.

After his release, Wentworth wrote *A Pithy Exhortation to Her Majesty for Establishing Her Successor to the Crown*, a tract urging Elizabeth to name an heir. Unimpressed by Wentworth’s arguments, Elizabeth imprisoned him again in 1591. He entered the Tower for good in 1593 when the government learned of his plans to launch a concerted campaign in the next parliamentary session to persuade the queen to settle the succession. An unrepentant Wentworth died in the Tower in 1596.

See also Presbyterian Movement; Wentworth, Paul

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Western Rebellion

The Western Rebellion, or Prayer Book Rebellion, was a widespread peasant uprising that occurred in southwestern England in the summer of 1549. Unlike the economically motivated **Kett’s Rebellion**, which occurred at roughly the same time in Norfolk, the Western Rebellion was caused mainly by religious grievances, particularly opposition to Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer**’s first **Book of Common Prayer**. The Western Rebellion, like the other 1549 uprisings, was an important factor in the subsequent overthrow of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, the leader of **Edward VI**’s first regency government.

The Protestant reforms undertaken by the Protectorate government were unpopular in the conservative West Country. When the 1547 dissolution of **chantries** was followed in 1548 by a series of formal inquisitions into the value of goods owned by local churches, rumors began to spread that the government planned to plunder local parishes. In 1549, **Parliament** passed the Act of **Uniformity**, which required all priests to conduct services according to the prayer book beginning on Whitsunday, 9 June. On 10 June, the people of the Devon village of Sampford Courtenay compelled their priest to return to the Latin **Mass**. When local **gentry** proved unable to calm this disturbance, neighboring villages likewise refused the new English service, leaving much of Devon in rebellion against the government's religious policies. The Devon protestors, buoyed by news that similar commotions had occurred in Cornwall, began banding together and moving toward Exeter. On 21 June, a group of gentlemen led by Sir Peter **Carew** and Sir Gawen **Carew**, who had been sent to Devon by the protector and **council**, met the rebels at Crediton, hoping to persuade them to return to their homes. However, rather than pacify the protestors, the Carews attacked the town when they found themselves barred from entering it. This action only enflamed the situation, forcing Peter Carew to flee to **London** and allowing the rebels, now joined by their Cornish counterparts, to surround Exeter and prevent anyone from leaving or entering the city for the next six weeks.

Leadership of the rebels was assumed by a group of minor gentlemen led by Humphrey **Arundell** and a number of dissident priests led by Robert Welsh. Because the rebel cause had many sympathizers within the city, strenuous efforts were made to obtain Exeter's capitulation, but, despite many hardships, the city held out. In their camps, the rebels devised several sets of articles that were sent to London. These documents demanded an end to all religious innovation, especially use of the English liturgy, which the rebels likened to "a Christmas game" (Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry*, 115). The rebels wanted the English Church returned to where it had stood at the death of **Henry VIII**. The only demand that was not religious in nature was one calling for limits on the number of servants a gentleman could employ.

To counter the rebels' demands, the government had Cranmer and reformist divine Nicholas **Udall** write stinging denunciations of the form and content of the articles. To crush the uprising itself, the government dispatched troops under John **Russell**, Lord Russell, a prominent western magnate. For some weeks, Russell, to the annoyance of Somerset, refused to move, arguing his manpower was insufficient for the task. In August, Russell, now reinforced by foreign mercenaries originally intended for service in **Scotland**, broke the siege of Exeter with victories in bloody skirmishes at Fenny Bridges and Clyst St. Mary. In a final encounter near Sampford Courtenay on 17 August, Russell defeated the remaining dissidents. Arundell and other rebel leaders were executed in early 1550. While the rebellion did not change religious policy, it did contribute to a change in government; in

October, Russell, disillusioned with the protector, supported the coup that overthrew Somerset.

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Westminster Palace

Once the monarch's official residence, Westminster Palace was, by the Tudor period, the home of the courts of **common law**, the meeting place of **Parliament**, and the administrative headquarters of the English government. Westminster Palace is located just west of **London** along a bend on the Thames; Edward the Confessor substantially rebuilt the royal church on the site, Westminster Abbey, in the 1050s, and William II built a great royal hall adjacent to the abbey in the 1090s. As Westminster Abbey became the center of royal ceremony, being the coronation site of every monarch since 1066 and the burial place of most monarchs down to the Tudors, Westminster Hall became the nucleus of the principal royal residence in the country.

In the Middle Ages, Westminster also developed as the headquarters of various government departments, the first structure in western Europe to serve such a function. In the thirteenth century, the chief courts of the common law were permanently sited at Westminster, and by the sixteenth century, the House of Commons met in St. Stephen's Chapel, part of Westminster Palace. As the only royal residence to also serve as a seat of government, Westminster was the only royal site in England to be referred to officially as a "palace." In the 1520s, **Henry VIII** built a new London residence called **Whitehall**, and Westminster, which had been damaged by a recent fire and which the king considered too old and shabby to continue as a residence, was handed over entirely to the law courts and the royal bureaucracy. Thus, later Tudor monarchs never lived at Westminster, but it remained the center of Tudor law and government and was the site of various important events through the period.

Westminster suffered later from the fire of 1698, which destroyed much of nearby Whitehall, and the fire of 1834, which spared Westminster Hall but destroyed St. Stephen's Chapel and most of the rest of Westminster Palace. After 1835, the current houses of Parliament were rebuilt around Westminster Hall on the site of the old palace. Today, when speaking informally of Parliament or the central administration of the British government, one still refers to "Westminster."

See also Common Pleas, Court of; King's (Queen's) Bench, Court of

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Weston, Sir Francis (c. 1511–1536)

Sir Francis Weston was one of five men executed for committing adultery with Anne **Boleyn**. The only son of Sir Richard Weston, Francis Weston became a page at **court** in 1526. A popular young man who played tennis and other games with **Henry VIII**, Weston became a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1532 and governor of Guernsey in 1533. In the latter year, he was knighted with several other young courtiers as part of the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of Queen Anne. In May 1530, Weston married his father's ward, Anne Pickering, the daughter and heir of the late Cumberland gentleman Sir Christopher Pickering.

Arrested with William **Brereton** on 4 May 1536, Weston was accused of having sexual relations with the queen at **Whitehall** and **Greenwich** in May and June 1534. His inclusion among Anne's alleged lovers is generally attributed to remarks made by Anne herself after her confinement in the **Tower of London** on 2 May. As reported to Thomas **Cromwell** by William Kingston, the constable of the Tower, Anne recalled how in the spring of 1535 she had rebuked the married Weston for dallying with her maid Mary **Shelton**, in whom another privy chamber gentleman, Henry **Norris**, had also shown interest. Weston responded by revealing that Norris visited the queen's maids mainly to see the queen and by confessing that he himself cared for the queen more than for any of her maids or even for his own wife. Although Weston's remarks were likely an attempt to hide his relationship with Shelton, Anne probably revealed them to forestall their use by Cromwell in constructing an adulterous relationship between her and Norris, whom the queen likely knew to already be under investigation.

Several theories explain why Anne's Tower revelations led to Weston's arrest two days later. One theory (see Ives, *Life and Death*) is that Weston, because he was not closely identified with the Boleyns, served as cover for Cromwell, who used the courtier's arrest to argue that the men accused with Anne were not all her supporters and so were not suffering for their adherence to the Boleyn faction, but because they had genuinely committed treason with the queen. Another theory (see Warnicke, *Rise and Fall*) is that Weston was guilty of sexual excesses, perhaps even homosexual activity, and so fit Cromwell's need to connect the queen with known libertines so as to prove her own gross immorality. This theory is based on Weston's execution speech, in which he supposedly spoke of his many

“abominations,” and his farewell letter to his family, in which he called himself “a great offender to God” (Warnicke, *Rise and Fall*, 221).

Despite vigorous efforts by Weston’s father and friends to secure his pardon, the king was adamant. Weston was tried with the other commoners—Norris, Brereton, and Mark **Smeaton**—on 12 May 1536. Although he, like the others, declared his innocence, Weston was condemned and executed at the Tower on 17 May.

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Wheathill, Anne (fl. 1584)

We know almost nothing about Anne Wheathill except that in 1584 she published a prayer book entitled *A Handfull of Holesome (Though Homelie) Hearbs Gathered Out of the Goodlie Garden of Gods Most Holie Word; For the Common Benefit and Comfortable Exercise of All Such As Are Deuoutlie Disposed*, which may be the first published prayer book by a gentlewoman addressed to other women. However, *A Handfull of Holesome Hearbs* should be read in the context of devotional writings and publications by other women of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, notably Queen Katherine **Parr**, Anne **Askew**, Mary Sidney **Herbert**, Emilia **Lanier**, and **Elizabeth I** herself. Wheathill’s book exists today in only one copy, now at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

On the title page, Wheathill dedicates her book to “All religious ladies, Gentlewomen, and others; by Anne Wheathill, Gentlewoman.” Wheathill was, then, not an aristocrat, like Sidney, or royal, like Elizabeth. Most likely, she was a woman of good family and fairly extensive education. Wheathill describes herself as humble and ignorant, employing a common humility trope that was probably intended to forestall criticisms of her presumption for writing and **printing** a collection of prayers, since she writes that the learned—who are, implicitly, male—may judge her as “gross and unwise” for doing so. She represents herself as inspired and supported by God, who helps her overcome her own weakness and offer up the fruits of her labor to inspire others. Wheathill defines herself within the context of a community of the faithful, rather than as an individual, and she addresses herself not only to women, but to any others who may care to read her work. She also does not include any prayers specifically designed for women, such as prayers for those in childbirth. The text thus appears more concerned with salvation and the soul, rather than with any gender-specific life events.

Wheathill's description of her prayers as "gross herbs" employs a horticultural metaphor to suggest that her prayers may be less aesthetically appealing than those written by scholars and theologians, but that they may have more medicinal worth. In the Elizabethan world, herbals were very popular, especially for women, for whom knowledge of herbs was essential for healing, cookery, and other household tasks. But the herbal metaphor was used by other devotional writers, including male ones, and there is no uniquely female association of prayer writing with herbs. As "gross herbs," the prayers seem important primarily as the writings of an ordinary Christian and the expressions of devout, if uninformed, belief.

Wheathill's prayers are original, but her book falls into the category of reformist rewritings of Catholic books of hours for Protestant worshippers. It has a decidedly Calvinist bent, consistent with the doctrine of the Elizabethan **Anglican Church**. The book especially stresses the Calvinist doctrine of **predestination** in passages like the following: "Certainly we can do nothing of our selves; but when thou O God dost inwardly instruct us by thy holy spirit, then feel we thy graces sweeter than the honey and the honey comb." Modern historians have shown that Wheathill structured her book according to a complex numerical system usually employed only by male writers, and highly skilled ones at that. The 49 prayers are organized in seven groups of seven prayers each, forming a week of weeks and following the hexaemeral tradition popular in the Renaissance. In spite of our lack of knowledge about Wheathill, her book deserves continued attention as one of the best-written and most structurally complex of Elizabethan books of private devotion.

Jennifer Clement

See also Calvinism, English

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White, John (d. 1593)

The maps and drawings of the Elizabethan painter and cartographer John White are the most vivid depictions we have of Native American life in sixteenth-century Virginia. As a member of Sir Walter **Raleigh**'s first attempt to establish an English colony in Virginia, White and his fellow settlers left Plymouth, England, with Sir Richard **Grenville** in April 1585. Grenville landed the colonists on Roanoke Island (off what is now North Carolina), where they established a settlement under the governorship of Sir Ralph **Lane**. In June 1586, the colonists asked Sir Francis **Drake**, then passing by on his return from the Spanish West Indies, to take them back to England. White's year in Virginia resulted in the execution of a series of paintings of Indian life and of the native flora and fauna, as well as the drafting of a series of maps of the North American coast. In 1588, 23 of White's drawings were reproduced in the ***Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia***, which was published in **London** by fellow colonist Thomas **Harriot**.

Raleigh named White governor of his second colonization expedition, which left England with 117 settlers in July 1587. In August, shortly after their arrival at Roanoke, the colonists asked White to return to England to press their considerable need for supplies on Raleigh. Although reluctant to leave his family, White embarked for England on 27 August 1587, only nine days after the birth



This illustration of a Native American Indian chief was made by the noted explorer and artist John White. (Library of Congress)

of his granddaughter Virginia Dare, the first English child born in North America. Accompanied by an Indian, White reached England in October.

In April 1588, White set out for Roanoke with two relief ships, but, the crews being more interested in piracy than in Virginia, White had to turn back when his ships had the worse of an encounter with a Spanish vessel. The **Armada** Crisis of 1588 tied up all shipping and prevented White from returning to Virginia until 1590. On 16 August, White finally landed on Roanoke, but he found no trace of the colony. In February 1593, shortly before his death, White described his last voyage to **America** in a letter to Richard **Hakluyt**, who later printed it in his *Principal Navigations*.

See also Lost Colony; Roanoke Colony (1585); Roanoke Colony (1587)

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Whitehall Palace

Whitehall Palace was the main **London** residence of **Henry VIII** and his children. In 1529, immediately upon dismissing Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, from office as his chief minister, Henry seized York Place, the official London residence of the archbishops of York. Because the king's own London residence, ancient **Westminster Palace**, seemed old-fashioned and run-down, Henry planned to use the site of Wolsey's palace for his new London home. Retaining the core of York Place, Henry demolished hundreds of houses, many of which were the London residences of important courtiers, and built what became the largest palace in Europe at the time. Whitehall Palace covered 23 acres on a site along the Thames north of Westminster. The new palace had no regular layout but extended west from the river in a series of buildings, gardens, and courts connected by an innovative network of long galleries. King Street, a public thoroughfare, ran through the middle of the palace, which culminated, on its western end, in St. James's Park, on the other side of which Henry built smaller **St. James's Palace** as his private retreat from the cares of state.

The most striking of Whitehall Palace's galleries, the Privy Gallery, ran across the "Holbein Gate," the ornate gatehouse on the northern end of King Street. The great hall, in which the **court** could be fed, had been part of York Place, but the

royal apartments on the east side of the palace along the river were new constructions. Anne **Boleyn** was the first occupant of the queen's apartments. **Elizabeth I**, as reigning queen (not wife of the king), lived in what had been her father's state rooms, which included a great presence chamber for audiences and a large Privy Chamber containing a portrait of the **Tudor** dynasty painted for Henry VIII by Hans **Holbein**.

In Elizabeth's reign, the privy garden of the palace contained an open-air pulpit topped by a great sounding board that allowed preachers to easily address a large audience packed onto the walks of the surrounding garden. Whitehall burned in 1698 and thereafter ceased to be a royal residence. Nothing remains of it today but the seventeenth-century banqueting house, the site of Charles I's execution in 1649. Because the site of the palace was later occupied by government offices, the term "Whitehall" came by the nineteenth century to refer generally to the great departments of state.

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White Horse Tavern

In the early 1520s, the White Horse Tavern in Cambridge was the meeting place of an informal group of university scholars interested in discussion of the writings and ideas of German reformer Martin Luther. Many later leaders of the English Protestant movement, as well as many prominent opponents of the movement, participated at one time or another in the White Horse discussions.

Little is known about the dates, nature, or extent of the White Horse group or of the meetings it held, although because the gatherings were mockingly referred to as "Little Germany," it is clear that the theology of Luther was a major topic of discussion. The main source for the White Horse fellowship, Elizabethan martyrologist John **Foxe**, wrote only that "the godly learned in Christ" came to the White Horse from various Cambridge colleges to confer "continually together" (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 5:415–416). The meetings probably began about 1520, perhaps shortly before the first public burning of Luther's works occurred in Cambridge. This official condemnation of Luther explains why, according to Foxe, some group members entered the White Horse through a back way.

Probably drawn together by shared interests in religion and the "new learning," the White Horse fellowship was likely not a reformist club but rather a gathering of

like-minded humanists discussing new ideas and contemporary issues. Although some of the members, like Robert **Barnes** and Thomas **Bilney**, later died for their Protestant beliefs, others, like Stephen **Gardiner**, future bishop of Winchester, became champions of orthodoxy. Many prominent names in the English evangelical movement or in the English Protestant Church of **Edward VI** are known or thought to have been part of the Cambridge group, such as Hugh **Latimer**, Nicholas **Ridley**, John **Frith**, and Nicholas **Shaxton**. Although his involvement is less certain, Thomas **Cranmer**, future archbishop of Canterbury, was at Cambridge in the 1520s and is also a likely member. Of the 45 participants who can be identified, 3 became archbishops, 9 became bishops, and 10 became martyrs for their faith. Six others, including William **Tyndale**, involved themselves in the publication of the English **Bible**. When group leader Robert Barnes was arrested for heresy at the end of 1525, university authorities searched the rooms of some 30 individuals for forbidden books, an event that likely spelled the end of the White Horse gatherings.

See also Humanism; Lutheranism

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Whitgift, John (c. 1530–1604)

John Whitgift was **Elizabeth I**'s last archbishop of Canterbury. The son of a wealthy merchant, Whitgift was educated at St. Anthony's School in **London** and at Cambridge, where he held several important university positions, including, by 1567, the vice-chancellorship and the prestigious Regius Chair in Divinity. Ordained in 1560, Whitgift became chaplain to the queen in 1567. In 1571, Whitgift obtained a special dispensation to hold several **benefices** at once. He was named prolocutor (i.e., presiding officer and spokesman) for the lower house of **Convocation** in 1572 and in the same year published the *Answer to a Certain Libel Instituted, an Admonition to the Parliament*, which defended the **Anglican Church** against the parliamentary and clerical supporters of the **Presbyterian movement**.

In 1577, Elizabeth appointed Whitgift to an ecclesiastical position—the bishopric of Worcester—and a political position—the vice presidency of the Council

for Wales. Seeking an archbishop who would defend the Anglican Church against the attacks of Presbyterians and **Puritans**, Elizabeth appointed Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. Unlike his two Elizabethan predecessors—Matthew **Parker** and Edmund **Grindal**—Whitgift, the only cleric Elizabeth appointed to the Privy **Council**, had the full confidence of both the queen and William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. Whitgift strictly enforced conformity to Anglican doctrine and practice, rooting out secret Presbyterians and nonconforming Puritans and **Separatists**. In 1588–1589, he led the effort to uncover the authors of the **Marpurate Tracts**. However, Whitgift was always careful to avoid creating Puritan martyrs, as illustrated by his treatment of Thomas **Cartwright**, who was allowed to withdraw to the Channel Islands after several years of imprisonment. Whitgift used the Court of **High Commission** to punish deviations from orthodoxy, but exhibited leniency whenever a measure of compliance was shown, and he never proceeded to extremes.

As she lay dying at **Richmond Palace** in March 1603, the queen summoned Whitgift to her side to give comfort. In January 1604, Whitgift took part in the Hampton Court Conference, where he backed **James I** in his refusal to allow Puritan changes to Anglican doctrine. The archbishop did support the Puritan request for a new English translation of the **Bible**. Whitgift died on 29 February 1604.

See also Admonition Controversy; Grammar School; Universities

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Whitney, Isabella (fl. 1567–1573)

Isabella Whitney is the first woman writer in England, that we know of, who published collections of secular verse. *The Copy of a Letter Lately Written in Meeter, by a Yonge Gentilwoman: to Her Unconstant Lover* appeared in print in 1567, and *A Sweet Nosgay, Or Pleasant Posye: Contayning a Hundred and Ten Phylosophicall Flowers* in 1573. Four more poems outside of these two published collections have been attributed to Whitney, though without scholarly consensus.

We know little about Isabella Whitney's life. Geoffrey Whitney, the author of *A Choice of Emblems* (1586), might be Isabella's brother. Taking clues from Whitney's own writings, scholars have suggested that she was a member of the **gentry**. She might have grown up in Cheshire, where Geoffrey Whitney was born and

where George Mainwaring, the dedicatee of *Nosgay* and a childhood friend, was from. Whitney likely served for a time as a lady's attendant, as was common for daughters of the gentry. Presumably she lost this form of employment, possibly as a victim of slander, and took to writing both as a means to regain the lady's favor and earn money. She perhaps struggled financially and suffered ill health. The problem with gleaned biographical information from Whitney's poems and published epistles to family members, however, is that Whitney could very well have created a persona to suit the aims of her writing that may or may not have accurately reflected the details of her personal situation.

Whitney published at a time when women faced significant obstacles to making their voices heard through print. Print publication was often sexualized in a way that equated submitting one's writing to the press and circulating it abroad with sexual promiscuity—an association particularly detrimental to women, whose social and financial well-being very much depended upon their reputation of virtue.

Whitney demonstrates awareness of recent literary fashions and considerable inventiveness in adapting established literary genres. Her *Copy of a Letter* comprises four verse epistles, two in the voice of male personae and two in the voice of female personae. The work taps into popular gender debates and thematically draws on Ovid's *Heroides*, which appeared in an English translation by George Turbervile in the same year as Whitney's *Copy of a Letter*.

In *Nosgay*, Whitney gives voice to the itinerant, out-of-work, single woman living in **London**, drawing attention to both the hazards such a woman risks and the freedom she can experience. Her speaker frames her writing as a substitute, even if sometimes metaphorical, for much of what society denies her: currency, a companion, protection, and property. This second collection of poetry consists of dedications to George Mainwaring and to the reader; a "commendation of the Authour" by T. B.; a collection of versified morals selected and adapted from Hugh Plat's *Floures of Philosophy*; "Certain familer Epistles and friendly Letters by the Auctor: with Replies"; and closes with the speaker's witty "WYLL and Testament" to the city of London. This last poem alters the complaint form Whitney employed in *Copy* to situate London as the speaker's faithless lover. The speaker criticizes social injustice by ironically bequeathing the city of London to itself unchanged, complete with all its poverty and packed prisons, as if signaling that not even her writing can cure its ills. At the same time, the speaker generously gives every part of London all that she owns—her writing, despite London's failure to share its goods with her.

Whitney is important to scholars of early modernity and of women writers for wide-ranging reasons, including her sophisticated constructions of the act of writing; her engagement with notions of literary property; her mode of creating authorial voice; her engagement of gender issues; her attention to the often precarious position of maidservants; and her contributions to different literary genres.

Sarah E. Johnson

See also Women

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Whittingham, William (c. 1524–1579)

William Whittingham was a translator of the Geneva **Bible**, the most widely read English translation in Elizabethan England. Whittingham was born at Chester and educated at Oxford. Between 1550 and 1553, he traveled the Continent, visiting **France**, Germany, and the **Netherlands**, acquiring both a proficiency in French and a Protestant wife. His own extreme Protestant views forced him to flee England shortly after the accession of **Mary I** in July 1553. A member of the English exile community in Frankfurt, Whittingham joined John **Knox** in demanding a thorough reform of the **Book of Common Prayer**. Knox moved to John **Calvin's** Geneva after supporters of the prayer book expelled him from the Frankfurt community; Whittingham joined Knox in Geneva and eventually succeeded him as minister of the English congregation. Whittingham is usually considered the author of *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfurt*, an account of the theological disputes that split the Frankfurt exile community.

In 1557, Whittingham produced English translations of the New Testament and the Psalms, then worked with other exiles to publish a new English edition of the complete Bible. Known as the Geneva Bible, it immediately became popular. Whittingham stayed in Switzerland until the Geneva Bible was published in 1560 and then returned to England to enter the service of Robert **Dudley** and his brother Ambrose **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick. In 1562, Whittingham served as Warwick's chaplain during the **Le Havre expedition** to support the **Huguenots**. For this service, Whittingham was named dean of Durham.

Utterly opposed to the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559, which he felt did not go nearly far enough in purging the English Church of Catholic elements, Whittingham was frequently at odds with Church authorities, on one occasion even locking the bishop of Durham out of Durham Cathedral. He also removed images from churches without permission and attempted to institute unauthorized Geneva forms of worship. In 1578, he was accused of being improperly ordained; the charge proved true, for Whittingham's status as a clergyman rested not on Anglican ordination but on his calling by the Geneva congregation in the 1550s. Whittingham died in June 1579 before any action could be taken against him.

See also Marian Exiles; Universities

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William, Prince of Orange (1533–1584)

William of Orange was the principal leader of the **Netherlands Revolt** against **Spain** and one of the founders of the independent United Provinces of the Netherlands. William was born into a Lutheran family that controlled the German principality of Orange and vast estates in the Spanish-ruled Netherlands. **Charles V** took a liking to the boy and ordered that he be raised Catholic. In 1558, after succeeding his father (Charles V) as ruler of the **Netherlands** and Spain, **Philip II** appointed Orange to the Netherlands Council of State, and in 1559, Philip made Orange stadtholder (i.e., governor and commander in chief) of the Dutch provinces of Holland and Zeeland. From these positions of influence, the prince gradually assumed the leadership of a group of nobles who believed the Spanish regency government was denying them their rightful part in running the country. Orange assumed a wider leadership role when the political complaints of the nobility merged with popular protests against Philip's attempts to impose a rigid Catholic orthodoxy throughout the country.

In 1566, after continuing government persecution of heretics caused Protestant mobs to attack and desecrate Catholic churches, Philip sent Spanish troops to restore order. When Orange fled to his German estates and refused to appear before a Spanish tribunal, Philip confiscated his holdings in the Netherlands. Realizing he had little future in a Catholic, Spanish Netherlands, Orange reverted to his childhood **Protestantism** and took up arms against Spain. Throughout the 1570s, the prince both led the rebellion and sought foreign financial and military aid,

especially from England. Philip outlawed Orange in 1580 and offered a reward for his assassination. The prince survived one attempt on his life in 1582 but was shot to death by a Spanish agent in Delft on 10 July 1584.

In England, Orange's death raised fears of similar Catholic attempts on the life of **Elizabeth I**, and it spurred the heretofore reluctant queen to think seriously about intervening militarily on behalf of the Dutch. During his lifetime, Orange acquired the nickname "William the Silent," not for his reticence, but through an accident of translation. An opponent in the regency government called him *schluwe*, meaning "sly," but this Dutch word was mistranslated into Latin as *taciturnus* ("quiet") and so came into English as "silent."

See also Bond of Association

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Williams, Sir Roger (c. 1540–1595)

Having fought in almost all the major Elizabethan military campaigns in Europe, Sir Roger Williams was among the most experienced Elizabethan soldiers and military leaders. Born into a Welsh **gentry** family, Williams entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1552. Little else is known of his early life, but by 1570 he was serving as a mercenary with the Spanish forces in the **Netherlands** under Fernandez **Alvarez de Toledo**, Duke of Alva. Although he became a colonel in the Spanish army, Williams had switched sides and joined the Dutch rebels by 1572.

In the late 1570s, he served under another English soldier fighting in the Netherlands, Sir John **Norris**. In July 1584, Williams was in Delft with **William, Prince of Orange**, when Orange was assassinated by a Spanish agent. In 1585, Williams joined the English **Netherlands expedition** led by Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. Williams returned to England in 1588 to serve in the army gathered at Tilbury to resist any Spanish **Armada** landing. He next offered his services to **Henri IV of France**. When **Elizabeth I** sent Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, to France with an army to support Henri against the **Catholic League**, Williams fought with Essex at Dieppe. After Essex's departure in 1592, Williams commanded the English forces in France, spending the last years of his life campaigning for Henri and acting as the king's unofficial envoy to Elizabeth.

Having attached himself to Essex's interest, Williams, on his death in **London** in 1595, left all his property to the earl, who arranged for Williams to have a proper

soldier's burial at St. Paul's Cathedral. Williams was the author of two works on the **Netherlands Revolt**—*The Actions of the Low Countries* (1618) and *A Brief Discourse of War* (1590). In these two books, Williams analyzed the war in the Netherlands, described the aims of Spanish policy, discussed techniques of fortification, and argued the merits of firearms over the English longbow. Williams has been suggested as a possible model for the character of Fluellen in William Shakespeare's *Henry V*.

See also Brittany Expeditions; Shakespeare, Works of; Universities

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Willoughby, Sir Hugh (d. c. 1554)

Sir Hugh Willoughby was captain of a voyage of exploration organized in 1553 to find a Northeast Passage to East Asia. Born into a prominent Derbyshire **gentry** family, Willoughby, like his father, who had fought for **Henry VII** at the Battle of **Stoke**, was a soldier. In 1544, he served in **Henry VIII**'s campaign in **Scotland**, where he was knighted by Edward **Seymour**, Earl of Hertford. Between 1548 and 1550, he commanded Lowther Castle on the Scottish border and in 1551 was still campaigning against the Scots along the eastern march.

In 1553, Sebastian **Cabot**, son of the explorer John **Cabot**, organized a voyage of exploration financed by a group of courtiers and **London** merchants interested in finding a viable northeastern passage to China. Anxious to be part of the venture, Willoughby “very earnestly requested to have the care and charge [of the expedition] committed unto him.” Because he was a “goodly personage” (i.e., tall and strong) (Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 2:241) and an experienced soldier, the voyage's organizers named him captain of the expedition, which consisted of three vessels: the *Bona Esperanza*, commanded by Willoughby; the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Richard **Chancellor**, the chief navigator; and the *Bona Confidentia*.

Departing England on 23 June 1553, the expedition sailed along the Norwegian coast until it reached the Lofoten Islands, where the vessels anchored for three days to discuss the best way to proceed. It was agreed that should the ships become

separated, they would make for and meet at the Norwegian port of Vardø. In early August, a storm did indeed scatter the expedition. Although the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Bona Confidentia* made contact the following day, the *Edward Bonaventure*, carrying Chancellor, the expedition's only experienced pilot, did not reappear. Lacking a navigator and having only the most rudimentary charts of the region, Willoughby, according to his personal journal, generally followed a northeasterly course, shifting to the southeast whenever the vessels fell out of sight of land for more than a day. By this means the two vessels missed Vardø and sailed far to the east, missing also the passage southward into the White Sea, into which Chancellor had sailed the *Edward Bonaventure*, which arrived safely at the Russian port of St. Nicholas.

On about 22 August, with his ships' holds filling with water, Willoughby turned west, retracing his outward journey in hopes of reaching Vardø. They made landfall along the Russian coast on 13 September but found no signs of habitation and set sail again, coming on 18 September to the estuary of the river Arzina, which was still east and south of Vardø, but west of the entrance to the White Sea. Attracted by an abundance of fish and wildlife, Willoughby and his men remained here until the onset of winter prevented them from resuming their journey. When search parties sent out to find any nearby habitation returned without success, Willoughby and his men stayed where they were and froze to death; a handwritten will found on one of the sailors indicated that some of the men lived until January 1554. Russian fishermen discovered the ships and bodies the following summer. In 1556, Chancellor took charge of the two ships and tried to sail them back to England, but both ill-fated vessels wrecked along the Norwegian coast.

John A. Wagner

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Willoughby, Maria, Lady Willoughby de Eresby (d. 1539)

Spanish by birth, Maria Willoughby, Lady Willoughby, was a loyal friend and lady-in-waiting of Queen **Catherine of Aragon**, being the longest serving of Catherine's Spanish servants. Born into a noble family related to the royal House of Castile, Maria de Salinas, the daughter of Martin de Salinas, likely accompanied Catherine to England upon the princess's first arrival in 1501 to marry Prince Arthur **Tudor**, elder brother of **Henry VIII**. Although there is no certain evidence of Maria's presence in England before 1511, when she stood as godmother to the

daughter of Charles **Brandon**, future Duke of Suffolk, the close relationship that Maria enjoyed with the queen in the early years of Henry VIII's reign suggests that she had been part of Catherine's household for some time. Because Maria was not listed among the household servants provided for the princess in 1500, it is possible that she was one of the ladies added to Catherine's suite in March 1501 by her mother, Isabella of Castile.

Evidence of Maria's influence with Catherine once she was queen comes from a 1514 letter of Luis Caroz de Villaragut, who was then the ambassador in England of Catherine's father, Ferdinand of Aragon. Frustrated because the queen was unwilling to assist him in promoting Spanish interests, the ambassador complained of the poor advice Catherine was receiving from her few remaining Spanish servants, the worst of whom was Maria de Salinas, who enjoyed Catherine's complete confidence and encouraged her to ignore the ambassador and favor English interests.

On 5 June 1516, only a week after becoming a naturalized English subject, Maria became the second wife of William Willoughby, Lord Willoughby de Eresby. After her marriage, Lady Willoughby attended **court** less frequently, though she was present at the **Field of Cloth of Gold** in 1520 and may have been namesake for the ship *Mary Willoby*, which appeared in royal service in 1522. The king stood godfather to her son Henry, who, like his brother Francis, died in infancy, leaving the Willoughbys with only one surviving child, Katherine, who was born in March 1519.

Lord Willoughby's death in October 1526 threw Maria into a prolonged and violent legal quarrel with her brother-in-law Sir Christopher Willoughby, who disputed the settlement of lands on Maria and her daughter provided for in her late husband's will. Sir Thomas **More** made a preliminary settlement of the case when it came before him in the courts of **Chancery** and **Star Chamber**, but Lady Willoughby did not gain the upper hand until 1533, when she acquired a valuable ally in Suffolk, who, after the death of his wife Mary **Tudor**, married Maria's daughter Katherine, whose wardship he had obtained. The duke's intervention likely led to passage of the 1536 act of **Parliament** that settled the matter in his new mother-in-law's favor.

Lady Willoughby remained in attendance on the queen until about July 1533, when Catherine, sent from court two years earlier, was ordered to move her household from Ampthill in Bedfordshire to Buckden in Huntingdonshire. Lady Willoughby was likely excluded from the new household by royal orders. On Catherine's behalf, she kept in touch with Imperial ambassador Eustace **Chapuys**, whom she informed of Suffolk's reluctance to do as he was ordered and pressure Catherine to accept the annulment of her marriage. Her son-in-law, wrote Lady Willoughby, "confessed on the Sacrament" (Paul, *Catherine of Aragon*, 133) that he found his task difficult and demeaning and that he wished himself quit of it. When repeated requests for permission to visit Catherine went unanswered, Lady Willoughby simply rode to Kimbolton without permission when she learned that

the ex-queen was gravely ill. Arriving on the evening of 1 January 1536 she refused to leave when denied admittance, claiming that she had been injured in a fall from her horse and could go no further. Although promising to produce documentation authorizing her visit, Maria went straight to Catherine's room, leaving the chamberlain at Kimbolton, Sir Edmund Bedingfield, to lament that he thereafter "never saw her, nor any letter of license to repair thither" (210). Maria Willoughby was thus present when Catherine died on 7 January. Lady Willoughby died in May 1539; her place of burial is unknown, despite stories that she was interred with Catherine in Peterborough Cathedral.

John A. Wagner

See also Bertie, Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk; Ferdinand and Isabella

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Willoughby de Eresby, Lord

See Bertie, Peregrine, Lord Willoughby de Eresby

Wills, Statute of

Enacted in July 1540, the Statute of Wills modified the unpopular Statute of Uses passed by the **Reformation Parliament** in 1536. The latter act had abolished wills and opened landowners holding of the king to the full payment of all feudal incidents. The Statute of Wills eased the severity of the 1536 act by allowing collection of feudal dues on only one-third of the land liable to such dues, and by permitting the remaining two-thirds to be freely devised by will to whomever the landowner chose.

Opposition to the Statute of Uses had arisen within months of its passage—it had been one of the stated grievances of the **Pilgrimage of Grace** in October 1536, and attempts to help a friend evade it had led to the later imprisonment of Sir Nicholas Hare, Speaker of the Commons. Such resistance, plus the efforts of lawyers to devise new means of circumventing the statute, led **Henry VIII** to consider a compromise. A measure concerning wills was introduced into **Parliament** in 1539, but it evidently did not provide sufficient relief and failed to pass. The 1540 bill was more comprehensive and moved quickly through both houses with few

amendments. Although Lord Chancellor Thomas **Audley** probably participated in the drafting, the bill's origins are somewhat mysterious; it was introduced only a month after the arrest of Thomas **Cromwell**, leaving historians uncertain as to how involved he may have been in its creation.

Besides the provisions concerning land held of the Crown, the statute also contained clauses allowing lords other than the king to collect feudal dues owed them from one-third of the land subject to such dues. Owners of land held neither of the king nor another lord were free to bequeath all their property by will. The Statute of Wills thus represented the first major departure from the rule of primogeniture (inheritance of the full estate by the eldest male heir) and the first legal recognition of the right to dispose of land by will to whomever the property owner saw fit. Landowners could now, without employing a device such as a use, settle property on younger children, make provision for payment of debts, or arrange for charitable bequests. A final clause increased the jurisdiction of the **common law** courts by transferring to them the probate of devises of land, a matter previously handled by ecclesiastical courts. Although slightly amended in 1542 and by a statute of Charles II in the late seventeenth century, the 1540 Statute of Wills remained in substantial effect until 1837.

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Wilson, Thomas (c. 1523–1581)

Thomas Wilson was a logician, rhetorician, politician, principal secretary of the Privy **Council**, and first keeper of the Public Records Office. Wilson is remembered for two books, *The Rule of Reason*, the first manual of logic in English, and *The Art of Rhetoric*, the first fully developed manual of rhetoric. Both were frequently reprinted, and the latter was much more widely known than any other rhetoric in English.

Wilson was born in Lincolnshire, in Lincoln or Strubby, in 1523 or 1524. He was a student at Eton and King's College Cambridge. He received his bachelor of arts in 1547 and his master of arts in 1549. While at Cambridge, he was associated with strongly Protestant circles. In 1551 Wilson published a funeral poem for Protestant reformer Martin **Bucer** for a collection edited by John **Cheke**.

The Rule of Reason (1551) sets out Aristotelian rhetoric, such as Wilson had studied at Cambridge, with modifications from the humanist Rodolphus Agricola.

Wilson, like Agricola, divides his topic into *inventio* and *iudicium*. *Inventio* has to do with finding arguments using topics: the dialectician runs significant words through a list of standard categories to discover the characteristics of the thing to be used for argument. The list of 24 topics in Wilson's book is directly from Agricola. *Iudicium* distinguishes good from bad arguments and arranges them. Wilson's *iudicium* is very much in the Aristotelian tradition, so he has to invent translations for many medieval Latin terms. Unconventionally, Wilson presented *iudicium* first and *inventio* second. He may have been following Aristotle or Philipp Melancthon. Finally, Wilson devotes a section to "fallacies and insolubles," drawing heavily on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations*.

The Art of Rhetoric (1553) sets out how to speak and write effectively. Book One sets out the parts of rhetoric in the classifications of Cicero. Most of the book examines demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial speeches, with topics and examples for each. The second discusses each of the five parts of the speech and goes on to amplification, joking, and arrangement. The last deals with style, beginning with four virtues of style and going on to figures. A short final section deals with memory. The extent of Wilson's originality and the nature of his sources have been debated. The basis is in the Ciceronian tradition, and there is explicit reference to Desiderius **Erasmus**. Gabriel **Harvey** wrote in the margin of a book that the *Art* had become "daily bread" for lawyers, and indeed lawyers are often thought to be much of the audience for English-language rhetorics.

Throughout both books, examples show a Protestant bias. One major example of reasoning argues that priests should marry. Unfortunately for Wilson, **Mary I** came to power only six months after the publication of *The Art of Rhetoric*. Wilson left England for Padua, where he studied **civil law**. He traveled to Rome to plead before the papal court in a divorce case. A royal summons called him back to England to answer charges that he had plotted to kill Cardinal Reginald **Pole**. He did not go. The Inquisition then seized him and tried him for **heresy** based on passages of his two books. He was condemned and remained in prison for nine months until the death of Pope Paul IV, when he took advantage of rioting to escape. He took his doctorate in civil law from the University of Ferrara in late 1559, and, **Elizabeth I** having acceded in 1558, returned to England.

Thereafter, Wilson's life is largely that of a royal official. He played the **patronage** game, writing an oration for Elizabeth and gaining the favor of Robert **Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. In 1561, the queen appointed him master of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine in **London**, a position he held for the rest of his life. He published two more books, one on usury and a volume of translations of Demosthenes. He was a member of **Parliament** and served as ambassador to Portugal and the **Netherlands**. At the time of the **Ridolfi Plot** of 1571, he urged the execution of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots. In 1577, he became principal secretary of the Privy

Council, and in 1578, he was put in charge of maintaining state records. He died at St. Katherine's Hospital in 1581.

Matthew DeCoursey

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Wiltshire, Earl of

See Boleyn, Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire

Winchester, Marquis of

See Paulet, William, Marquis of Winchester

Windsor Castle

Windsor Castle is the oldest surviving English royal residence. Although now not far outside the **London** metropolitan area, in Tudor times, Windsor was about 25 miles west of London. Standing at a strategic site at the west end of the Thames Valley, the first stone castle at Windsor, replacing an earlier Anglo-Saxon structure, was built shortly after the Norman Conquest in 1066. In the thirteenth century, Henry III built the first great stone keep and greatly extended the castle's walls. In the fourteenth century, Edward III built the Round Tower, which still survives today; in the fifteenth century, **Edward IV** and **Henry VII** built St. George's Chapel. A brilliant example of English gothic architecture, St. George's is the chapel of the Order of the Garter, an English chivalric order, and a royal mausoleum, in



Windsor Castle, the oldest surviving English royal residence, was the place Elizabeth went to escape outbreaks of the plague in London. (Dreamstime.com)

which are buried **Henry VI**, Edward IV, **Henry VIII** and Jane **Seymour**, Charles I, and George VI, among others.

Windsor was much favored by **Elizabeth I**, who spent more money on renovating it than on any other royal residence. Elizabeth constructed a new gallery, private chapel, and banqueting house. Because the castle occupies a low hill surrounded by the town of Windsor, Elizabeth had part of the surrounding park raised so that townspeople could not see into her private walking area. Although Elizabeth spent less time at Windsor than in some of the newer palaces built by her father, she often retreated there to escape **plague** in London, as she did during the autumn and winter of 1563 when the soldiers returning from the **Le Havre expedition** brought sickness back with them from **France**.

On St. George's Day, 23 April, the queen usually attended Garter ceremonies at Windsor. Tradition says that William **Shakespeare** wrote *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which contains much Windsor lore, at the request of the queen, who wanted to see Shakespeare's character Falstaff fall in love. Although partially open to the public, Windsor is still a royal residence today. During World War I, the present British royal family discarded its German surname (Saxe-Coburg) and adopted the name Windsor.

See also Shakespeare, Works of

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Winter, Sir William (d. 1589)

Sir William Winter (or Wynter) was an experienced Elizabethan naval commander who is often credited with instituting the improvements in ship design and armament that helped the English fleet overcome the Spanish **Armada**. The son of a Bristol merchant and sea captain, Winter went to sea at an early age as a member of his father's trading expeditions to **Spain** and the eastern Mediterranean. He entered the royal naval service about 1544 when his father was appointed treasurer of the **navy**. Between 1544 and 1547, Winter was part of three royal naval campaigns, two against **Scotland** in 1544 and 1547 and one against **France** in 1545. In July 1549, Winter was appointed surveyor of the navy and, in November 1557, master of ordnance, two posts that he retained until his death. He sailed to the Middle East in 1553 and saw action against the French at Conquet in 1558.

In 1559, Winter conducted a blockade of the Firth of Forth that prevented French reinforcements from landing in Scotland and thereby facilitated the negotiation of the Treaty of **Edinburgh** in 1560. In 1563, he was with the English fleet that supported the **Le Havre expedition**. **Elizabeth I** knighted Winter in August 1573 and held him in high favor at **court**. Winter invested in numerous voyages of trade and exploration, including those of John **Hawkins** and Francis **Drake**. Two of his sons served with Drake, and a nephew was part of Drake's circumnavigation voyage.

After 1577, when Hawkins was named treasurer of the navy, an office Winter believed he deserved, the two men often clashed, with Winter eventually accusing Hawkins of corruption and inefficiency. Nonetheless, Winter's work as a naval administrator was vital in strengthening the fighting capability of the English fleet. In the engagements with the armada in 1588, Winter commanded the *Vanguard* in the main fleet under Lord Admiral Charles **Howard**. Winter first proposed the idea of attacking the armada with fireships, and he and his sons (one of whom was killed) fought brilliantly in the Battle of **Gravelines**. Winter died in 1589.

See also Privateering

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Wishart, George (c. 1513–1546)

A reformist preacher and martyr, George Wishart was one of the earliest and most prominent Scottish Protestants. His teachings greatly influenced later Scottish reformers, including John **Knox**, whom Wishart converted to **Protestantism** in about 1544. Little is known for certain about the course of Wishart's life and career. He was born into a Scottish **gentry** family of Angus and was educated at King's College, Aberdeen. Employed as a schoolmaster at Montrose, Wishart taught his students to read the New Testament in Greek, an undertaking that caused John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, to threaten the teacher with a charge of **heresy**. In about 1538, Wishart fled to Bristol, where his public lectures elicited another accusation of heresy, this time from John Kerne, dean of Worcester. Examined by Archbishop Thomas **Cranmer** and several other English bishops, Wishart was condemned for heresy but released after making a public recantation on 15 July 1539. By 1540, Wishart departed England for the reformed cities of Germany and Switzerland, where his knowledge of and adherence to the Protestant faith were enlarged and strengthened.

Returning to England in about 1542, Wishart became a tutor at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Having by this time adopted the tenets of the *Helvetic Confession*, the Swiss statement of faith, Wishart undertook an English translation of the document, which was not published until 1548. In about 1543, Wishart returned to **Scotland**, where he began preaching to large audiences across the southern shires. Traveling with a band of followers, which by 1545 included Knox, Wishart was in many places denied access to the local churches, so he took to preaching in fields and marketplaces. Although Knox later wrote of several attempts by the ecclesiastical authorities, and especially Cardinal David **Beaton**, to seize or assassinate Wishart, it is today difficult to determine the accuracy of these stories, or of Knox's claims that Wishart several times predicted his own early death. In late December 1545 after preaching in Lothian, Wishart lodged in the house of a local laird, where he was arrested by Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. After promising not to surrender the reformer to Beaton, Bothwell conveyed Wishart to **Edinburgh**, where, by order of the **council**, he delivered his prisoner to Queen Mary **Stuart's** regent, James **Hamilton**, Earl of Arran.

In late January 1546, Arran sent Wishart into Beaton's custody at St. Andrews. Tried by a gathering of Scottish bishops and clergy on 28 February, Wishart was condemned for heresy. With Beaton and other ecclesiastics in attendance, Wishart was burned to death at St. Andrews on 1 March 1546. Beaton's murder, which occurred at St. Andrews in the following May, was in large part an act of revenge by supporters of Wishart.

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Witchcraft

Although the English Church had prosecuted individuals for witchcraft and sorcery during the late Middle Ages, the number and intensity of witchcraft accusations and prosecutions greatly increased during the Tudor period. Both the political insecurity of the House of **Tudor** and the theological impact of the **Reformation** fostered a growing fear of witchcraft in English society.

Belief in spirits and magic, and in their interaction with the physical world, was deeply engrained in Tudor society. People of all classes resorted to folk healers, fortune-tellers, and other cunning folk to protect themselves from disease, find lost goods, foretell the future, or ward off maleficent witches. The rise of witchcraft prosecutions in mid-sixteenth-century England seems in part related to the insecurity of the Tudor dynasty and to the frequent involvement of witchcraft in plots against the Crown. Elizabeth **Barton**, the prophetess who denounced **Henry VIII's divorce**, was believed to dabble in witchcraft. Suspicions of witchcraft helped destroy Anne **Boleyn** in 1536 and led to the 1540 execution of Walter Hungerford, Lord Hungerford, who was accused of asking a witch how long the king would live.

The Reformation also altered official attitudes toward witchcraft and magic. The medieval Church had tolerated many practices that combined folk wisdom with official liturgy, but Protestants condemned such usages and declared prayer and faith to be the only sure protections against evil. **Protestantism** also encouraged a stronger belief in the devil and his direct interference in daily life, with witches acting as his chosen agents. The **royal supremacy** also caused the Crown, which was now responsible for spiritual affairs, to take action against witchcraft.

Parliament passed the first English witchcraft act in 1542. Witchcraft prosecutions had previously been handled in **church courts**, where the offense was viewed as a type of **heresy**, but the Reformation had weakened public confidence in ecclesiastical justice. The statute made it a felony to use sorcery or incantations to find treasure, injure or kill, or cause anyone to fall in love. No one so accused could claim benefit of clergy or right of sanctuary to avoid prosecution. The act was exceedingly harsh, recognizing no gradation of offences; anyone convicted of practicing or abetting witchcraft was to be punished with death and forfeiture of goods. Perhaps because it was so draconian, the statute led to few prosecutions and was repealed in 1547.

The Elizabethan witchcraft statute of 1563 was slightly more lenient, providing for a year's imprisonment for a first offense. The revival of witchcraft prosecutions in the 1560s is thought to be related to the influence of the returning **Marian exiles**, who had spent years in parts of Europe where witch hysteria was in full force in the 1550s. Although the number of Tudor executions for witchcraft—estimates range from 300 to 1,000—were few compared to elsewhere in Europe, they followed similar patterns. Most of the people accused (perhaps 80 to 90 percent) were women, who were thought to be more susceptible to the devil and more prone to seek retribution and power through words rather than deeds. Some historians have theorized that male physicians used charges of witchcraft to destroy competition from mostly female folk healers, but such charges were often leveled by women against perceived rivals, and men were also commonly accused of maleficent witchcraft. A charge of witchcraft could arise out of any local or domestic dispute. English witchcraft prosecutions declined in the 1590s but revived under **James I**, who published a book on the subject. In the seventeenth century, belief in witchcraft traveled to **America** with the English colonists and led to the Salem witch hysteria in Massachusetts in 1692.

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Wolsey, Thomas (c. 1474–1530)

Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, was the most powerful royal minister in early Henrician England. For 15 years, **Henry VIII** left royal administration to Wolsey's energy and efficiency. Although both contemporaries and later historians accused Wolsey of being vain, greedy, and ambitious, and of using the English Church and government as instruments for his own aggrandizement, modern research has shown that policy and **patronage** were always controlled by the king, whose will guided the cardinal in all he did. Because he sought always to satisfy Henry, Wolsey's direction of affairs often lacked coherence and his attempts at reform often failed of their purpose.

The son of an Ipswich butcher, Wolsey was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was elected fellow in 1497 and ordained in 1498. By 1499, as senior bursar and master of Magdalen, Wolsey was tutor to the sons of Thomas **Grey**, first Marquis of Dorset, who presented Wolsey to his first ecclesiastical living. In 1501, Wolsey established the pattern for his future career by obtaining two **benefices in commendam** (i.e., held simultaneously with his original living) and a dispensation to be absent from all three. Wolsey became chaplain to Henry Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1501; to Sir Richard Nanfan, lord deputy of **Calais**, in 1505; and, on Nanfan's recommendation, to **Henry VII** in 1508. Named chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII in December 1509, Wolsey, using his intelligence and exceptional administrative skills, impressed Bishop Richard **Foxe** and Sir Thomas **Lovell** and through these senior councillors brought himself to the attention of Henry. In 1512–1513, he secured a unique hold on the king's confidence by effectively organizing and supplying the military and naval expeditions that led to the capture of Tournai and the victory at **Flodden Field**.

Adept in the minutiae of administration that bored Henry, Wolsey rose quickly to become chief minister of the Crown. He succeeded Christopher **Bainbridge** as archbishop of York in 1514 and replaced William **Warham** as lord chancellor in 1515. Henry also persuaded the pope to make Wolsey a cardinal in 1515 and to appoint him legate a latere (giving him precedence over all other English ecclesiastics) in 1518. In 1524, Wolsey convinced **Clement VII** to make him legate for life. Henry also unsuccessfully promoted Wolsey for pope in 1521 and 1523. Wolsey acquired the bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1518, of Durham in 1523, and of Winchester in 1529; secured the wealthy abbacy of St. Albans in 1522; and administered the sees of Salisbury, Worcester, and Llandaff while they were held by Italian absentees.

Responsible for implementing and funding the king's policies, Wolsey involved himself in all aspects of royal government. He enlarged the scope and activity of the **council** in **Star Chamber** to provide humble subjects with swift, fair justice and to regulate prices and limit **enclosures**. He also attempted to reform royal finance to make the Crown self-sufficient, to reorganize the royal **court** and household to improve administration and enhance his own position, and to enlarge royal authority in **Wales** and northern England. Much of Wolsey's time and attention was devoted to pursuit of a complicated and costly foreign policy that aimed at making Henry and England major players on the European stage. His greatest achievement was the 1518 Treaty of **London**, which briefly made Henry arbiter of European diplomacy. However, the ongoing rivalry between **Francis I** and **Charles V**, rulers of larger and wealthier states, stymied Wolsey's efforts on Henry's behalf, robbed domestic initiatives of necessary energy and funding, and eventually left Henry isolated and unable to enlist the diplomatic support required to secure his **divorce** from **Catherine of Aragon**.



Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's downfall was his inability to secure a divorce for Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon. (Duncan Walker)

Although Wolsey also concentrated Church government in his own hands, he undertook few reforms, being himself the embodiment of clerical abuses—a wealthy, worldly pluralist and absentee who had fathered an illegitimate son. Wolsey was interested in educational reform, being the founder of Cardinal College, Oxford, but his centralization of ecclesiastical authority weakened the position of

his fellow bishops, depriving them of any tradition of independence and disposing them to submit to the **royal supremacy** in the 1530s.

Although Wolsey did not entirely overshadow all other councillors during his ascendancy, he was the king's chief advisor, and his rise to power, especially from such a low birth, made him many enemies. In 1529, when Wolsey failed to obtain the king's divorce, Henry withdrew his confidence, and Wolsey's enemies, who now included Anne **Boleyn**, were free to speak and act against him. Dismissed from the chancellorship and indicted for **praemunire**, Wolsey withdrew as ordered to his see of York, where he schemed to regain royal favor. During 1530, he entered into secret correspondence with the pope and various foreign rulers; if these exchanges were meant to show how useful a diplomat he could still be, the plan backfired, only entangling the cardinal in **treason**. Ill and broken, Wolsey died on 24 November 1530 while being conveyed to London in the custody of royal officers.

See also Amicable Grant; Anglo-French War (Henry VIII); Cavendish, George; Eltham Ordinances; Minions; Navy

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Women

When considering Tudor women as a whole, it is important to remember that there are many differences within that group. Women's experiences varied significantly depending on their different social ranks, economic positions, family situations, marital status, religious and political affiliations, and geographical location. Nonetheless, women had in common the several forms of discrimination they faced solely on the basis of gender. To list a few examples, they were excluded from holding most types of public office, from voting for political representatives, from **grammar schools** and **universities**, and from the public playhouse stage, where female characters were played by boys. Indeed, most women's experiences were

in some way affected by the pervasive gender ideology of the time, which subordinated women to men and prescribed certain roles as appropriate for women to the exclusion of others.

Women's formal education remained a controversial topic in sixteenth-century England. Only a few women, mainly of noble birth, received a formal education at home from tutors hired by their families. At an early age, schooling might be provided for girls, either on their own or with boys, although we have no evidence documenting that girls were permitted to advance beyond reading and writing. Scholars usually identify the central aims of a girl's education as piety or the preservation of her virtue through reading scripture and devotional texts and preparation for the various domestic duties she would eventually be expected to perform as wife and mother. Girls and young women received such education at home from their mothers or during a period of service or apprenticeship in a different household. Orphaned girls and daughters of indigent families would likely enter service earlier and perform more menial tasks than daughters of yeoman and gentlemen, who served as maidservants and ladies' companions. Daughters of the nobility learned housewifery and deportment in the households of important kinswomen.

Gender hierarchy and the notion of women's inferiority to men found support in a variety of interrelated discourses: religious, scientific, medical, legal, and political. However, the system of patriarchy had sufficient inconsistencies and ambiguities that could be exploited by women to resist or subvert patriarchal expectations. Religious discourse could be mobilized to affirm a divine order in which a husband was ordained to govern his wife as her "head" just as Christ governs the church as its head, for instance, but it could also be employed to argue for men and women's spiritual equality before God.

Women often found themselves defined and categorized according to their relationships to men. They were either maids, wives, or widows, and if they deviated from this expected pattern or resisted the authority of their fathers, husbands, or other male relations, they could fall under the labels of "whore," "scold," or even "witch." Both men and women commonly prized a woman's virtue as her most valuable quality, which often translated into virginity before and chastity after marriage. While female virtue might be commended and practiced as a moral ideal, by ensuring legitimate heirs it also protected the interests of a patriarchal system invested in male property rights.

The social roles available to women or that women carved for themselves, however, were not necessarily limited to their relationships to men or by the prejudices they faced. Many Elizabethans saw developing a public voice as incompatible with female modesty and virtue, and yet women were beginning to venture into print with their thoughts and social criticisms. Aristocratic women could exercise considerable social and even political influence as patrons of the arts. Women's neighborhood vigilance and speech networks could help to protect them from forms of

physical abuse and could also have significant impact in determining the reputations of individual men and women alike. These examples only scratch the surface. In short, early modern women were not simply victims of the dominant patriarchal ideology of their time; sometimes they perpetuated the values they were inevitably influenced by. At other times they found ways to negotiate new positions for themselves within the “system” or even to outright resist its demands.

Sarah E. Johnson

See also Witchcraft

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Woodville, Elizabeth (c. 1437–1492)

Elizabeth Woodville (or Wydeville) was the wife of **Edward IV**, the mother-in-law of **Henry VII**, and the maternal grandmother of **Henry VIII**. The daughter of Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford, Elizabeth married Sir John Grey in about 1450. After Grey died fighting for **Henry VI** in 1461, Elizabeth was denied her portion of the Grey estates by her mother-in-law and was forced to make suit to Edward IV for redress. According to the traditional romantic tale later recorded by Sir Thomas **More**, the king was smitten by the attractive widow, whom he agreed to help in return for sex, but when his advances were rebuffed (in some versions at dagger-point), he could only attain his desire by marrying Elizabeth secretly at her father's house at Grafton on May Day 1464. The newlyweds then went straight to bed before the king left only to return a few days later for an official visit. While this story is possible, the king being in the vicinity of Grafton at this time, the association of May Day with romantic love and the lack of any other evidence confirming the story suggest that it is largely fiction.

Modern historians, arguing that the king was in the habit of promising marriage to women to draw them into bed, suggest that, to achieve his purpose, he acquiesced in a hasty, clandestine ceremony that he believed invalid, but then later found himself trapped once the marriage proved legal. But however the union occurred, its consequences were clear. When revealed at a great council in the following September,



Queen Elizabeth Woodville was the wife of Edward IV and the maternal grandmother of Henry VIII. (iStockphoto)

the marriage, which was the first royal match with an Englishwoman since the thirteenth century, was immediately unpopular and considered highly dishonorable to the king; it brought England no diplomatic advantages and saddled Edward with numerous in-laws seeking political influence and economic preferment.

Besides her parents, Elizabeth had five brothers, seven sisters, and two sons by her first husband. Because the king felt bound to find titles, lands, or marriages for these relatives, the Woodvilles soon claimed the bulk of royal **patronage**. Feeling shut out from the royal bounty, and angered by the growing influence of the queen's father and brothers, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Edward's chief advisor, and George, Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother and heir, launched a rebellion in 1469 and eventually over-

threw Edward with French and Lancastrian assistance in the autumn of 1470. The queen, who eventually bore three sons and eight daughters, was delivered of her first son, the future **Edward V**, while in sanctuary at Westminster in November 1470. After Edward IV's restoration in 1471, the Woodville family became the center of an increasingly powerful political faction, which was led by Elizabeth and her eldest brother, Anthony Woodville. The Woodvilles probably pressed for the destruction of Clarence in 1478 and, through Rivers's guardianship of the prince, positioned themselves to exercise a strong influence over the future king.

On Edward IV's death in April 1483, Elizabeth, with the assistance of her eldest son Thomas **Grey**, Marquis of Dorset, took charge in **London** while Rivers conveyed Edward V to the capital from Ludlow. Seeking to establish immediate Woodville dominance, the queen attempted to have the 12-year-old king declared of sufficient age to rule. This device aroused strong opposition and gave Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the king's surviving paternal uncle, the initial support he needed to establish a protectorate and eventually usurp the throne. Gloucester seized custody of the king; executed Rivers and the queen's son Richard Grey; and forced Elizabeth to seek sanctuary at Westminster with her remaining children. Although convinced (or compelled) to yield her younger son, Richard, Duke of

York, to Gloucester's custody in June 1483, Elizabeth was soon persuaded that Gloucester (now ruling as **Richard III**) had slain both her sons, for in the following autumn she helped plan Buckingham's Rebellion, which aimed at replacing Richard with Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Elizabeth joined the uprising on the understanding that Richmond would marry her eldest daughter, **Elizabeth of York**, once he had secured the Crown for the House of **Tudor**.

In March 1484, several months after the rebellion failed, Elizabeth accepted a pension and her daughters' reception at court as the price for leaving sanctuary and abandoning Richmond. Although Richmond (now Henry VII) married Elizabeth of York in January 1486, five months after winning the Crown at the Battle of **Bosworth Field**, he showed little favor to his mother-in-law. In 1487, the ex-queen fell under suspicion of supporting a Yorkist plot then forming around Lambert **Simnel**. Henry deprived Elizabeth of her property and dispatched her to Bermondsey Abbey, where she died in June 1492.

John A. Wagner

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Wriothesley, Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton (1573–1655)

While serving at **court**, Elizabeth Vernon, the future Countess of Southampton, incurred the wrath of **Elizabeth I** by becoming pregnant by her lover, Henry **Wriothesley**, Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth Vernon was born into a Shropshire **gentry** family, the first cousin of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex, the queen's **favorite** in the 1590s. She was introduced at court by Essex and taken into the queen's service as a maid of honor. In 1595, she attracted the attention of Southampton, a literary patron of William **Shakespeare** and a friend and confidant of Essex. When she became pregnant by Southampton in 1598, the couple married secretly for fear of the queen, who always reacted furiously to any court dalliance on the part of her maids and ladies. When the new countess's condition became apparent, Elizabeth imprisoned Southampton and so roundly abused his wife that she fled to the home of Essex's sister Penelope **Rich**, Lady Rich. The countess gave birth to a daughter, Penelope, in November 1598.

Released in 1599, Southampton accompanied Essex to **Ireland**, while the countess and her daughter remained with Lady Rich. The Earl and Countess of

Southampton were separated again in 1601, when the earl was imprisoned in the **Tower of London** for his involvement in **Essex's Rebellion**. Although spared the fate of the executed Essex, in part because of his wife and young child, Southampton was not allowed to see his wife for almost a year. On the accession of **James I** in 1603, the Earl and Countess of Southampton were again received at court, and the king stood as godfather for the couple's first son, James, in 1605. The countess outlived her husband, who died in 1624, by more than 30 years, dying in 1655. During the civil war, the aged countess sheltered Charles I in her home at Titchfield when he fled to the Isle of Wight.

See also Ladies-in-Waiting

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Wriothesley, Henry, Earl of Southampton (1573–1624)

Born into a wealthy family with Catholic sympathies, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, became a prominent patron of Elizabethan literature, and the only known patron of William **Shakespeare**. On his father's death in 1581, the young earl became a ward of William **Cecil**, Lord Burghley. While a student at Cambridge in the 1580s, Southampton developed a strong interest in the theater. In 1588, admission to the **Inns of Court** in **London** allowed the earl to frequent the city's playhouses, a popular pastime of young gentlemen. Presented at **court** in the early 1590s, Southampton became a close friend and associate of Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex.

Anticipating that Southampton would come into a handsome fortune upon attaining his majority in 1594, various Elizabethan literary figures sought the earl's **patronage** by dedicating works to him. The first to do so was Shakespeare, who in 1593 and 1594 dedicated the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* to Southampton. Successful in attracting the earl's support, Shakespeare may also have addressed many of his **Sonnets** to Southampton. Although a **favorite** at court, Southampton was refused permission to accompany Essex on the **Cadiz Raid** in 1596. He did participate in the **Islands Voyage** of 1597 and won favorable notice for his capture of a Spanish frigate. In 1598, Southampton spent several weeks in prison for impregnating and secretly marrying Elizabeth Vernon, one of the queen's maids of honor. About the time of his marriage, Southampton abandoned his family's **Catholicism** and joined the **Anglican Church**.

In 1599, Southampton accompanied Essex to **Ireland** and by 1600 was deeply involved in planning **Essex's Rebellion**. To incite Londoners to support the uprising, Southampton persuaded the players at the **Globe Theatre** to perform Shakespeare's *Richard II*, which contained a scene depicting the deposition of the king. Arrested with Essex after the failure of the uprising, Southampton was condemned to death but had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment in the **Tower of London** on the intervention of Sir Robert **Cecil**. At his accession in 1603, **James I** pardoned the earl, who remained in high favor for most of the reign. After his release, Southampton was again in demand as a literary patron. The earl died in the **Netherlands** in November 1624.



See also Drama; Ladies-in-Waiting; Poetry; Shakespeare, Works of; Universities; Wriothesley, Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton

Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, was the only known patron of William Shakespeare. (Sir Sidney Lee. *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age . . .*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

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Wriothesley, Thomas, Earl of Southampton (1505–1550)

An ambitious politician and competent administrator, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was principal secretary of the Privy **Council** and lord chancellor of England. Born into a family of heralds (i.e., royal officers of arms), Wriothesley was educated at St. Paul's School, **London**, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge,

where he studied **civil law** under Stephen **Gardiner**, future bishop of Winchester. In 1524, Wriothesley followed Gardiner into the service of Cardinal Thomas **Wolsey** and soon became acquainted with Wolsey's agent, Thomas **Cromwell**. In the early 1530s, Wriothesley distinguished himself on various diplomatic missions to secure the royal **divorce**, and thereby survived Gardiner's fall from favor for opposing the king's religious proceedings. Wriothesley entered Cromwell's service in 1533 and in 1534 was admitted to Gray's Inn, one of the London **Inns of Court**, for training in the **common law**. By 1536, Wriothesley was chief clerk of both the Signet and Privy Seal offices and manager of Cromwell's extensive **patronage** network.

In the late 1530s, Wriothesley adopted the antipapal, anticlerical reformism of Cromwell, proposing that the ecclesiastical wealth released by the **dissolution of the monasteries** be used to fund hospitals, poor relief, and a standing army. Elected to **Parliament** in 1539, Wriothesley won joint appointment, with Ralph **Sadler**, to the principal secretaryship of the council in 1540. His competence as an administrator and his web of connections with various prominent courtiers and royal officers allowed Wriothesley to survive the fall of Cromwell in 1540. His legal training and his active role in uncovering Queen Katherine **Howard**'s adultery in 1541 prompted his elevation to the **peerage** in January 1544 and his appointment as lord chancellor four months later. Wriothesley's capable handling of war finances during the French campaign of 1545 won him the trust of **Henry VIII** and appointment as one of the executors of the king's will.

At Henry's death in January 1547, Wriothesley was one of the leading figures in the government. On 16 February, Wriothesley was created Earl of Southampton and received a gift of £500. On 6 March the council, acting under the direction of Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, now lord protector for his nephew **Edward VI**, deprived Southampton of the chancellorship and placed him under house arrest. The reasons for Southampton's sudden fall are uncertain. Somerset, a firm Protestant, may have believed the earl was a religious conservative, the former chancellor having become notorious for personally racking the Protestant martyr Anne **Askew** in 1546. A more likely cause is personal enmity between the two men, which grew out of disputes over land and policy and culminated in Southampton's opposition, alone among the council, to Somerset's assumption of the protectorship in contravention of Henry VIII's will.

Although soon released from confinement and restored to the council, Southampton did not regain his former influence, and in 1549 participated in the coup against Somerset led by John **Dudley**, Earl of Warwick. Although led to expect that his support would restore him to high office, Southampton went unrewarded. Disappointed and in ill health, the earl retired to his London home, where he died on 30 July 1550.

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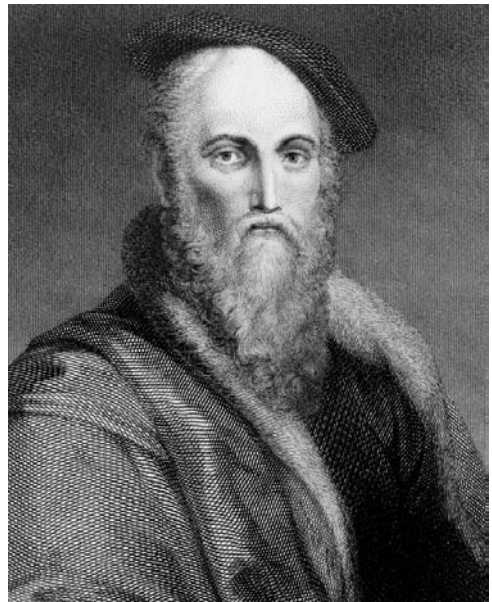
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Wyatt, Sir Thomas [the Elder] (c. 1503–1542)

Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder is considered one of the most important poets of early Tudor England. Wyatt is also famous for supposedly having a sexual relationship with Anne **Boleyn** prior to her marriage with **Henry VIII**. Born at Allington Castle in Kent, Wyatt was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, taking his MA in 1520. By 1524, he was esquire of the body and clerk of the king's jewels. In 1526, he served on a diplomatic mission to **France**, and in 1527, he accompanied Sir John **Russell** to the papal court. He was high marshal at **Calais** by 1529 and a member of the royal **council** by 1533. On 5 May 1536, he was conveyed to the **Tower of London**, ostensibly as part of the series of arrests of alleged lovers of Anne Boleyn. However, he was neither charged with nor tried for adultery with the queen, and was released and restored to favor on 14 June.

The traditional view of Wyatt's arrest is that it was the result of an affair conducted with Anne in about 1527, just as she was coming to the king's attention. Crafted mainly by later Catholic writers who were hostile to Anne, this tradition even has Wyatt informing Henry of the relationship and warning him not to marry Anne. Although a number of Wyatt's extant poems have been interpreted as containing evidence of the affair, few of them can be said with certainty to refer to Anne, and some are uncertain even as to Wyatt's authorship. Modern studies of the supposed Wyatt-Boleyn connection have concluded that, at most, Wyatt, like other gentlemen of the **court**, paid suit to Anne under the stylized and intricate conventions of courtly dalliance. While Wyatt may have come to feel something more, no evidence exists to



Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder was an accomplished Tudor poet who introduced the Italian sonnet to England. (Library of Congress)

indicate that Anne ever reciprocated such feelings. Wyatt's arrest is therefore somewhat mysterious, and has been ascribed either to the hostility of Charles **Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, who hated Wyatt and sought to exploit his courtly wooing of the queen to secure his destruction, or to Wyatt's reputation as a sexual libertine, which would have made an adulterous relationship with Anne more believable.

After his release, Wyatt was befriended by Thomas **Cromwell**, who secured Wyatt's appointment as ambassador to **Charles V** in 1537. Recalled to England in 1540 after Cromwell's fall, Wyatt was again imprisoned in the Tower, this time for allegedly corresponding with the exiled Reginald **Pole** and for speaking disrespectfully of the king. Supposedly brought by Edmund **Bonner**, who served with Wyatt at the Imperial court, the charges may have represented Bonner's personal hostility or actual indiscretions on the part of Wyatt, who seems to have been a bold and reckless personality. In any event, Wyatt was released and restored to favor in 1541. He was on the king's service, conveying Imperial ambassadors to **London**, when he died unexpectedly of a fever on 11 October 1542. Wyatt's passing and his standing as a poet were commemorated in a famous elegy written by fellow poet Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey.

Wyatt is often considered the most able and innovative poet of the Henrician court. He is credited with introducing the Italian **sonnet** into England and with reinvigorating fifteenth-century English verse through his experimentation with other Italian verse forms and traditions. He wrote elegies, epigrams, and satire, as well as much fine lyric **poetry** on both secular and religious themes. With Surrey, he laid the groundwork for the explosive development of English poetry in the Elizabethan period.

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Wyatt, Sir Thomas [the Younger] (c. 1521–1554)

Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, son of the Henrician courtier and poet Sir Thomas **Wyatt** the Elder, gave his name to **Wyatt's Rebellion**, a 1554 uprising against **Mary I's** marriage to Prince **Philip** of **Spain**. Little is known of Wyatt's early life. He is said to have accompanied his father on embassy to Spain in the 1530s, but this is uncertain. He inherited Allington Castle and his father's other Kentish estates upon the elder Wyatt's death in 1542. In April 1543, Wyatt was part of a group of young men, led by Henry **Howard**, Earl of Surrey, who were accused of

vandalizing homes and churches in **London**. Although Wyatt denied the charges, he was arrested and imprisoned in the **Tower of London** until 3 May. In 1543, Wyatt fought in **Henry VIII's** French campaign and in the following year participated in the capture of Boulogne. In 1545, he joined the Council of **Calais** under Surrey's governorship. After Surrey's execution in 1547, Wyatt seems to have served for a time in English-held Boulogne. By 1549, he was an adherent of Lord Protector Edward **Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, and a man of wealth and standing in Kent.

Outraged by announcement of the Spanish marriage, Wyatt soon joined a conspiracy to overthrow Mary and replace her with Princess Elizabeth. Led by Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, the queen's leading English suitor, and such other supporters of an English match as Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, the uprising was planned for March 1554, with Wyatt given responsibility for raising Kent. When Devon defected and revealed the plot in January, most of the conspirators fled or were taken. However, Wyatt moved quickly to raise his tenantry and the county commons, issuing a proclamation against the marriage at Maidstone on 25 January 1554. He had a substantial force in the field at Rochester by 29 January, when he was confronted by a contingent of London militia commanded by Thomas **Howard**, the aged third Duke of Norfolk. Outnumbered and in sympathy with the rebels' aims, many of the Londoners deserted the duke and came over to Wyatt. Thus reinforced, Wyatt marched on the capital on 30 January.

Although refused entry to London, Wyatt occupied Southwark on 3 February. His men burned the palace of Bishop Stephen **Gardiner** of Winchester, Mary's chancellor, but were soon forced to withdraw by fire from the Tower batteries. On 7 February, Wyatt attacked Ludgate, but his forces, which had been much diminished by desertion over the previous three days, were repelled, and he surrendered shortly thereafter. Conveyed to the Tower, Wyatt was tried and convicted of **treason** on 15 March. At his execution on 11 April, Wyatt absolved both Devon and Elizabeth of complicity in the plot.

See also Elizabeth I

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Wyatt's Rebellion

Occurring in January and February 1554, Wyatt's Rebellion, an uprising centered in Kent and led by Sir Thomas **Wyatt** the Younger, was part of a larger conspiracy

of English gentlemen who opposed **Mary I's** decision to wed Prince **Philip** of **Spain**. Angered by the queen's rejection of a November 1553 parliamentary petition requesting her to marry within the realm, the conspirators' goal was to replace Mary with her sister, Princess Elizabeth, and then to marry Elizabeth to Edward **Courtenay**, Earl of Devon, an English noble of Yorkist blood.

In July 1553, the accession of a reigning queen, a virtually unprecedented event in English history, raised the problem of the royal marriage. Everyone agreed that the queen had to marry, and that her husband should have some share in the government, but few wanted a foreign husband (especially a Spaniard or Frenchman) who might make England subservient to the interests and policies of his country. In late 1553, after Mary irrevocably committed herself to the Spanish match, a group of gentlemen opposed to any foreign marriage met secretly to plan Mary's forcible deposition. The leaders of the group included Sir Nicholas **Throckmorton**; Sir Peter **Carew**; and Henry **Grey**, Duke of Suffolk, father of the imprisoned Jane **Grey**. The conspirators planned a fourfold rising to take place in Kent, Devon, Herefordshire, and Leicestershire on Palm Sunday, 18 March 1554. When the government learned of plans for the rising in January, the conspirators were forced to act before they were ready. As a result, only the Kentish phase of the rising, organized by Wyatt, was able to take the field.

Leading a force of about 3,000 men composed largely of his own Kentish tenants, Wyatt marched to Gravesend, where he encountered a force of Londoners led by Thomas **Howard**, the aging third Duke of Norfolk. On 29 January, most of Norfolk's men deserted to the rebels. On 31 January, Mary offered a pardon to every man who returned home within 24 hours, but Wyatt responded by demanding custody of the queen and the **Tower of London**. Mary, showing great courage, refused to flee and went instead to the Guildhall, where she gave a brave speech that was well received in the capital. While William **Paget**, Lord Paget, rallied a nervous **council**, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Lord William Howard took command of the royalist forces. Whether out of loyalty to the queen or fear of plunder, **London** stood for Mary, and though Wyatt entered Southwark, he could not force the capital. On 7 February, Howard repelled the rebel assault on Ludgate, and Pembroke harried the retreating survivors. Wyatt was captured, and most of his men fled or surrendered.

Of the 480 rebels in custody, fewer than 100 were eventually executed. Convicted of **treason**, Suffolk died on 23 February and Wyatt on 11 April. Because of Suffolk's involvement, his daughter Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, were beheaded on 12 February. Simon **Renard**, the Imperial ambassador, urged the execution of Elizabeth, and for a time this seemed likely, but the government could not prove her involvement and the princess was eventually released from the Tower.

See also Elizabeth I; Northumberland's Coup

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Yellow Ford, Battle of

The Battle of Yellow Ford was the worst single defeat suffered by English forces in **Ireland** in the sixteenth century. Occurring on 14 August 1598, in the midst of the **Nine Years War**, the Battle of Yellow Ford was fought in northern Ireland about nine miles north of the south-central Ulster town of Armagh. Hugh **O'Neill**, Earl of Tyrone, the leader of rebel forces in northern Ireland, ambushed an English army under Henry Bagenal that was carrying supplies to the beleaguered garrison in the fort on the river Blackwater. Bagenal's army of 4,200 contained over 1,800 untrained and ill-disciplined recruits who straggled well behind the vanguard as the army struggled through the rough terrain north of Armagh.

Attacked suddenly by a force of over 5,000 men under Tyrone and his son-in-law Red Hugh **O'Donnell**, the English vanguard was routed, with over 800 men, including Bagenal, killed. Over 300 of the Irish soldiers in Bagenal's army deserted to Tyrone, and some 2,000 survivors fled into Armagh, having lost most of their weapons and supplies. The defeat forced the abandonment of the Blackwater and Armagh garrisons, and the whole of Ulster fell under Tyrone's control. **Dublin** and the **Pale** lay unprotected, and the government feared Tyrone was about to descend on the capital.

Fears of an English landing at his rear prevented Tyrone from menacing Dublin, but O'Donnell invaded northwestern Ireland, overthrowing all government authority there; Tyrone sent a force of 700 into central and southern Ireland to destroy the English plantations in Leix-Offaly and Munster. The victory at Yellow Ford was the high point of Irish military fortunes during the Nine Years War and served to awaken the **London** and Dublin governments to the serious threat Tyrone and his allies presented to continued English rule in Ireland.

See also Plantations, Irish

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York, House of

With a brief interruption in 1470–1471, the House of York was the ruling dynasty of England from 1461 to 1485. A branch of the royal House of Plantagenet, which had ruled England since 1154, the Yorkists in the fifteenth century contended for the throne with their kinsmen of the House of **Lancaster**, the ruling branch of the royal family from 1399 to 1461. The struggle between York and Lancaster, known as the **Wars of the Roses**, resulted in the Crown passing in 1485 to the House of **Tudor**, the remaining heirs of Lancaster. Although **Richard III**, the last Yorkist king, died childless at **Bosworth Field**, the remaining descendants of the House of York continued to pose threats, real and imagined, to the Tudor dynasty.

The Yorkist claim to the Crown derived from Richard, Duke of York (1411–1460), who descended through his mother from the second son of Edward III (r. 1327–1377). Although it came through the female line, York's right to the throne rivaled that of his Lancastrian cousins, who descended from the third son of Edward III. In 1460, after years of mental illness had rendered the Lancastrian king **Henry VI** unfit to rule, York laid his claim before **Parliament**. The Lords forced a compromise whereby Henry continued to rule but York replaced Henry's son as heir to the throne. This agreement led to open warfare. York died in battle in December 1460, and his eldest son seized the throne as **Edward IV** in March 1461. After a brief restoration, the Lancastrians were finally overthrown in 1471, when Henry VI was murdered in the **Tower of London** only weeks after his son's death in battle. These deaths left Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the last male descendent of Henry VI's Beaufort cousins, the remaining Lancastrian heir. Tudor had little chance to make good his claim until Richard III, Edward IV's brother, usurped the throne of his nephew **Edward V**, in 1483. The unpopularity of this act won Tudor the support he needed to invade the kingdom and win the Crown as **Henry VII** in August 1485.

Because Richard's son had died in 1484 and Edward IV's two sons had presumably been murdered in the Tower by their uncle, the remaining Yorkists were mainly the sons of Edward IV's sisters and daughters. Although the mystery surrounding the fate of Edward IV's sons encouraged impostures like those of Lambert **Simmel**

and Perkin **Warbeck**, the only true Yorkist heir in the direct male line was Edward **Plantagenet**, Earl of Warwick, whom Henry VII confined in the Tower until 1499, when the earl was eliminated by an act of judicial murder. Beyond Warwick, the most serious Yorkist threat came from the sons of Edward IV's sister Elizabeth de la Pole. John de la **Pole**, Earl of Lincoln; Edmund de la **Pole**, Earl of Suffolk; and Richard de la **Pole** all openly and unsuccessfully challenged the Tudor dynasty. Lincoln died at the Battle of **Stoke** in 1487; Suffolk was executed by **Henry VIII** in 1513; and Richard de la Pole, after years of exile, was slain in 1525 at the Battle of Pavia while fighting for **Francis I**.

The suppression of the **Exeter Conspiracy** in 1538 resulted in the execution of several other Yorkists, including Henry **Pole**, Lord Montague, eldest son of Warwick's sister Margaret **Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, and Henry **Courtenay**, Marquis of Exeter, son of Edward IV's daughter Katherine Courtenay. Exeter's son, Edward **Courtenay**, future Earl of Devon, was committed to the Tower, where he remained until released by **Mary I** in 1553. These later executions were not occasioned by open rebellion, but by Henry VIII's suspicion of his Yorkist relatives, whom he vowed openly to eliminate, and by the dislike the remaining Yorkist nobility evinced for the king's **divorce** and religious proceedings. With the Countess of Salisbury's execution in 1541, Henry VIII had largely destroyed his Yorkist kin.

See also Beaufort Family; Princes in the Tower

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Yorkshire Rebellion

The chief consequence of the Yorkshire Rebellion, an armed protest against **Henry VII's** war taxation, was the assassination of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland. Ironically, the murder, by eliminating the head of the north's leading magnate family, allowed Henry to strengthen royal authority in the region.

On 20 April 1489, a group of discontented Yorkshire taxpayers met at Ayton to protest collection of the high taxation voted to the king by **Parliament** in the previous January. Henry needed funds to pay for his military invention in **Brittany**, which **Charles VIII** was attempting to incorporate into **France**. The Ayton meeting

led to an organized resistance movement that threatened to disrupt tax collection across eastern Yorkshire. On 28 April, Northumberland rode to Topcliffe to meet with about 700 protestors, who had, until that point, behaved in an orderly manner. When discussions over the tax payments faltered, Northumberland's retinue apparently abandoned him, leaving the earl to be set upon and murdered by some of the rebels. Why Northumberland's retainers failed him is unclear. Most likely, their actions were dictated partly by opposition to the tax and the earl's role in its collection, and partly by personal animosity toward Northumberland. Some historians have argued that the entire insurrection was directed more against the earl and his family's traditional dominance of the region than against the Crown and its taxes.

In any event, Northumberland's death allowed the uprising to spread. On 11 May, leadership of the movement fell to Sir John Egremont, a local gentleman. After advancing to Doncaster, about 5,000 rebels retreated to York, which they entered on 15 May after sympathizers within the city opened the gates. Five days later, Thomas **Howard**, Earl of Surrey (later second Duke of Norfolk), encountered no opposition as he led royal troops into York. Having become entangled with local rivalries in York and with opposition to royal limitations on clerical privilege and the right of sanctuary, the tax protest had dissolved. Only 44 people were indicted for rebellion, and only 5 were condemned for **treason**, the latter including Egremont, who fled to the **court** of **Margaret of York**, Duchess of Burgundy, and John à Chambre, who was executed for involvement in the murder of Northumberland.

Although the killing of a royal official—the earl was sheriff of Northumberland and warden of the East and Middle Marches (i.e., borders) toward **Scotland**—had to be punished, the death of Northumberland, who had played such an equivocal role at the Battle of **Bosworth Field** in 1485, proved to be a boon for royal policy. Because the earl's heir was a minor, Henry replaced him as king's lieutenant in the north with Surrey. The new lieutenant, who was himself seeking to atone for backing **Richard III** at Bosworth, worked to replace the Percy interest with royal authority.

Further Reading

Fletcher, Anthony, and Diarmaid MacCulloch. *Tudor Rebellions*. 5th ed. London: Pearson/Longman, 2004.

Hicks, Michael. "The Yorkshire Rebellion of 1489 Reconsidered." *Northern History* 22 (1986): 39–62.

Young, Thomas (1507–1568)

Thomas Young (or Yonge) served as **Elizabeth I**'s first archbishop of York. Born in Pembrokeshire in **Wales**, he was educated at Oxford, earning his bachelor's degree in 1529 and his master's in 1533. Beginning in the early 1540s, Young held a series of church positions in Wales, including precentor (choir leader) at St.

David's Cathedral. On the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Young was one of a half dozen clerics who stood up in **Convocation** to resign their offices and affirm their adherence to Protestant principles. Young then fled to Europe, spending the rest of Mary's reign in exile in Germany. He returned to England on Elizabeth's accession and was restored to his former offices in 1559.

On the removal of the Marian incumbent in December 1559, Young became the first Elizabethan bishop of St. David's in Wales. Supported by Robert **Dudley**, the royal **favorite**, and recommended by Matthew **Parker**, the archbishop of Canterbury, Young became archbishop of York early in 1561. He worked to bring the archdiocese into conformity with the **Anglican Settlement** of 1559 and also undertook the political pacification of his province as president of the **Council of the North**, the Crown's chief administrative organ in the north of England.

In the early 1560s, the queen placed Charles Stuart, the younger son of Elizabeth's cousin Margaret **Douglas**, Countess of Lennox, in Young's custody. Because Stuart and his elder brother, Henry **Stuart**, Lord Darnley (the second husband of Mary **Stuart**, Queen of Scots), had a claim to the English throne, Young's charge was to overturn the Catholic tendencies instilled in Stuart by his mother. Young was a strong foe of political corruption and was even known to have rebuked the queen for some of her actions. Young died in June 1568 and was buried in York Minster.

See also Marian Exiles; Universities

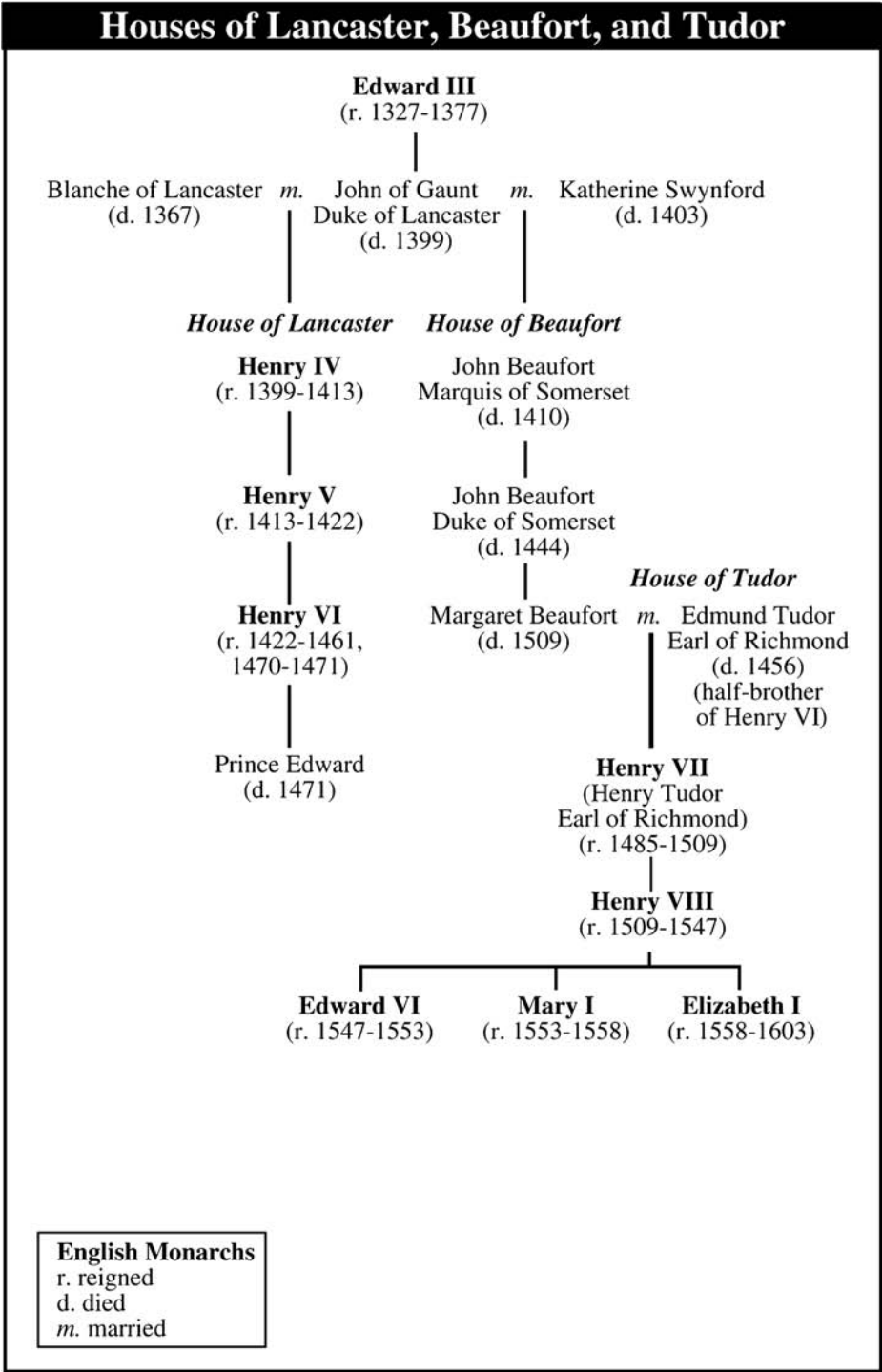
Further Reading

Collinson, Patrick. *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.

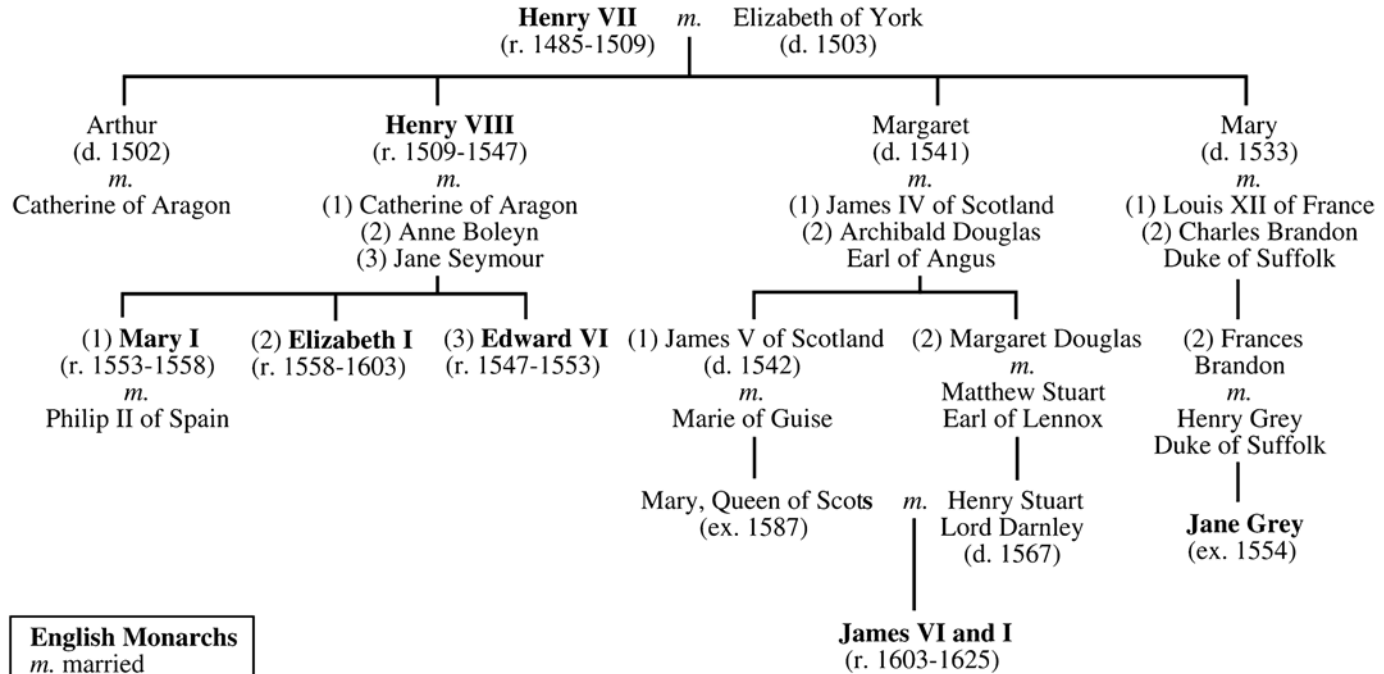
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APPENDIX I

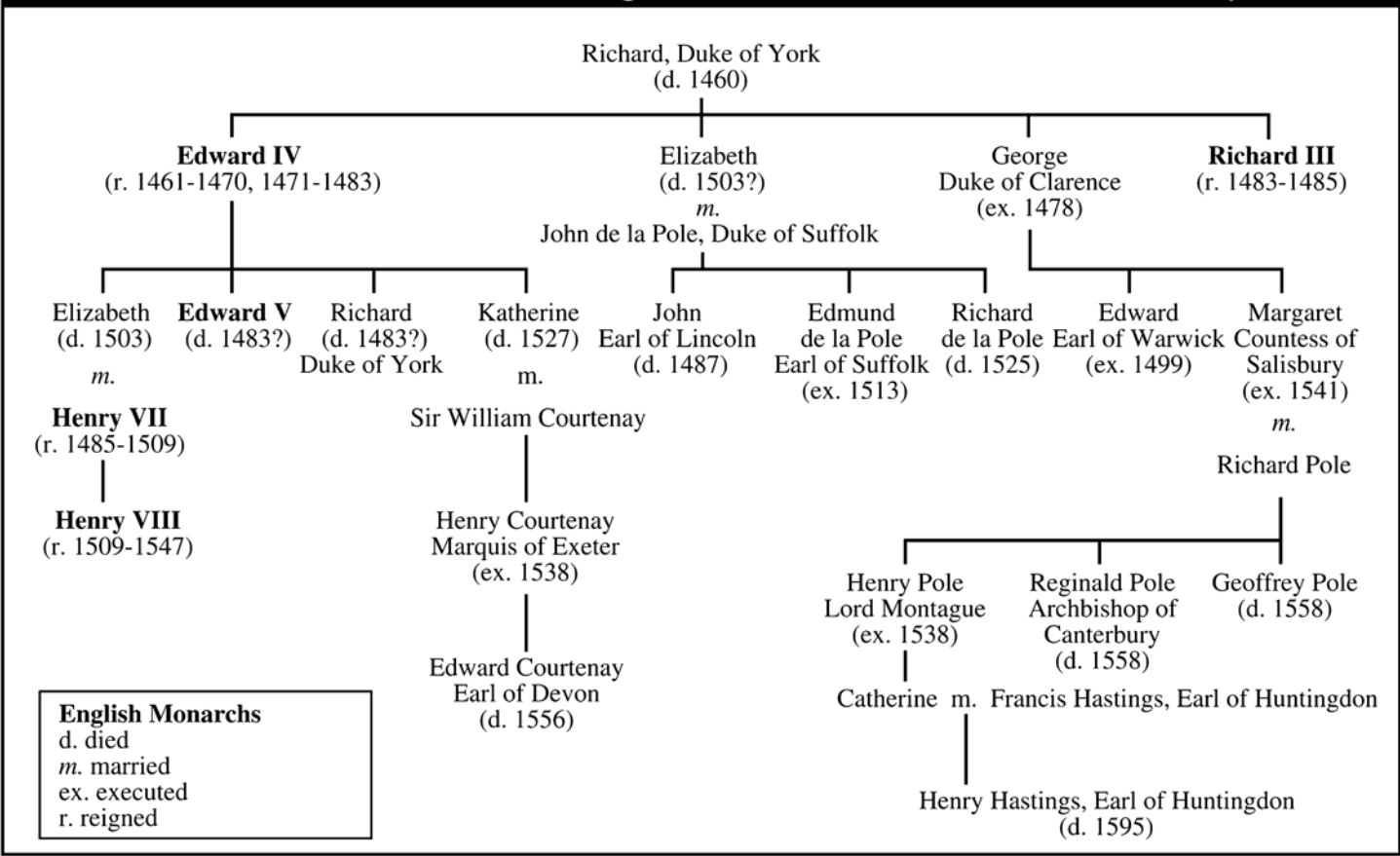
Genealogies



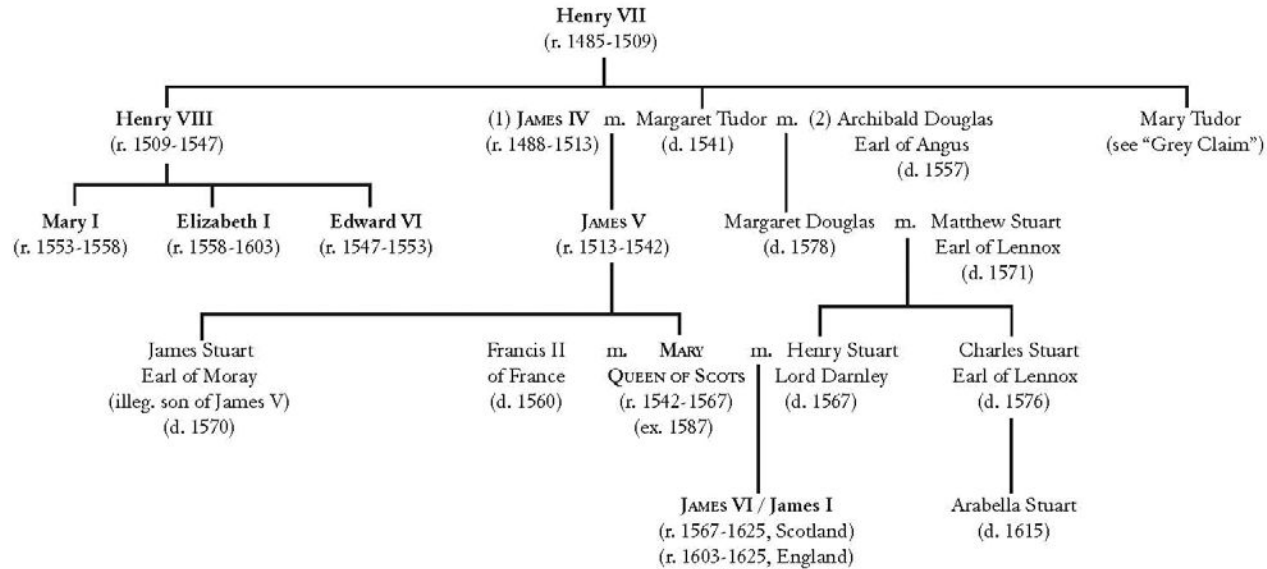
House of Tudor, 1485-1603



Yorkist Claimants to the English Throne in the Sixteenth Century

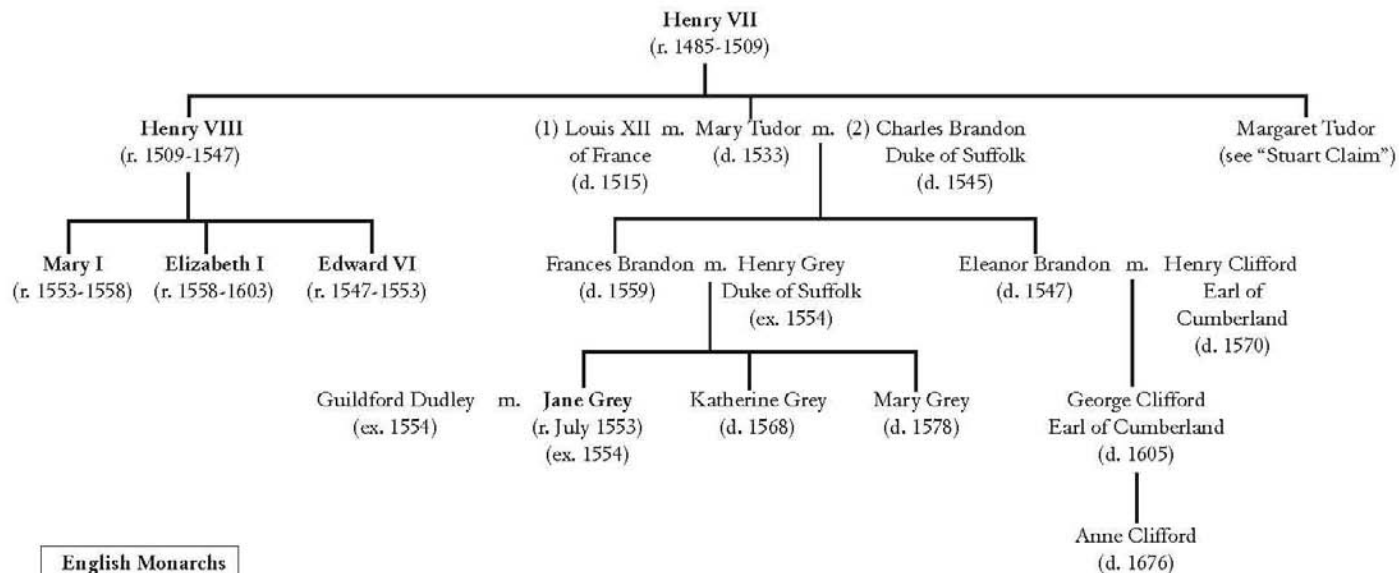


Stuart Claim to the English Throne

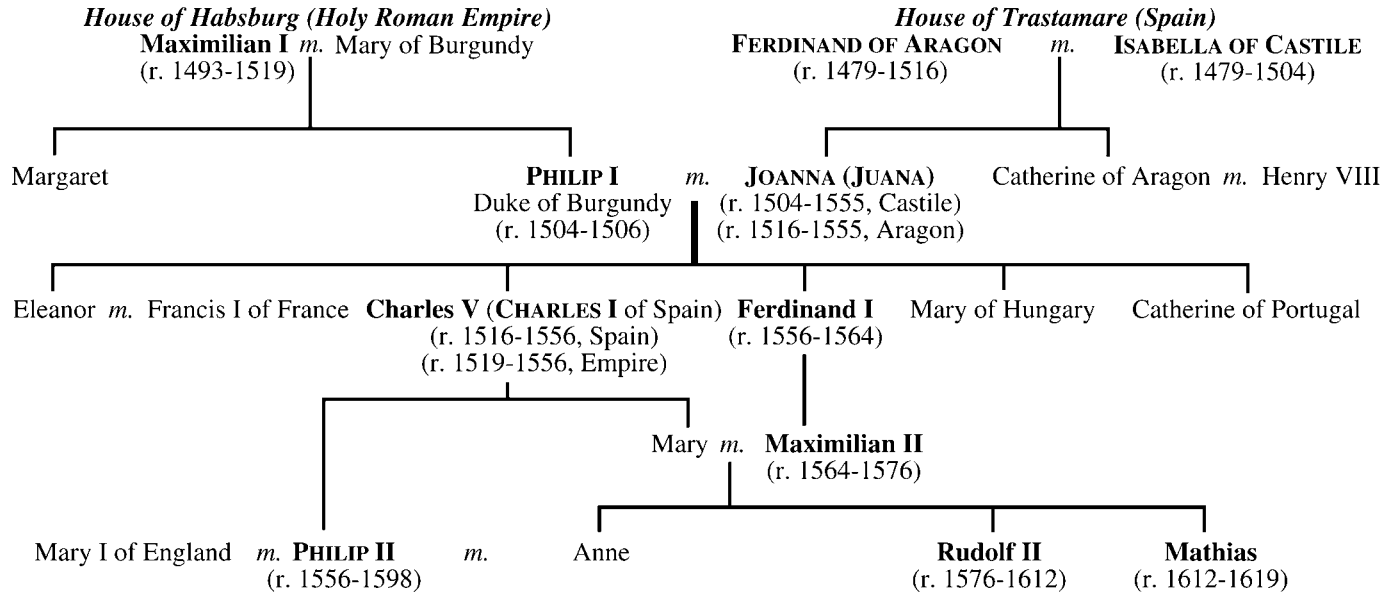


English Monarchs
SCOTTISH MONARCHS
d. died
r. reigned
ex. executed
m. married

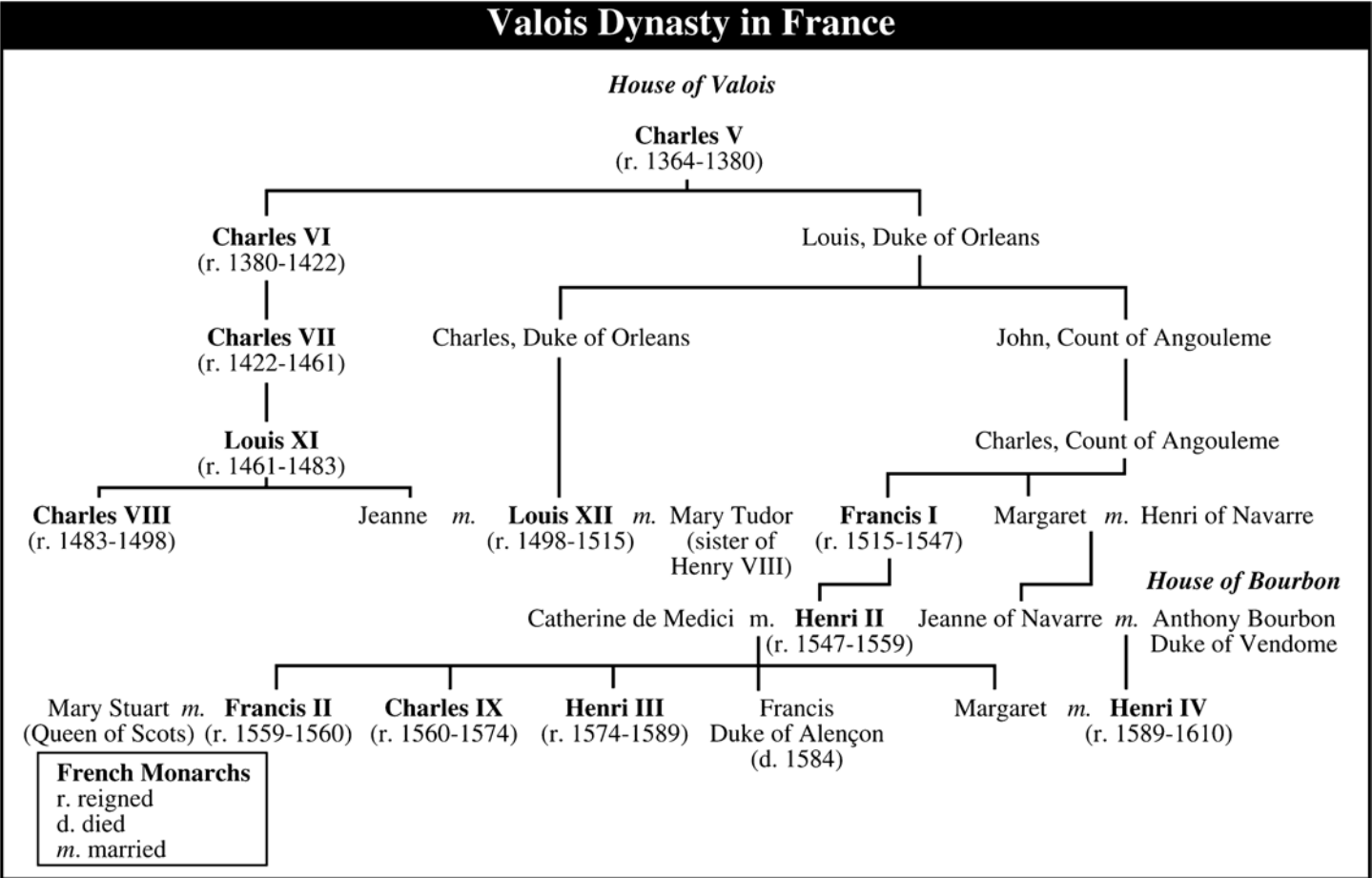
Grey Claim to the English Throne



Habsburg Dynasty in Spain and the Holy Roman Empire



Holy Roman Emperors
 r. reigned
 m. married
SPANISH MONARCHS



APPENDIX 2

European Monarchs, 1485–1603

ENGLISH MONARCHS

House of Tudor

Henry VII (1485–1509)

Henry VIII (1509–1547)

Edward VI (1547–1553)

Mary I (1553–1558)

Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

House of Stuart

James I (James VI of Scotland from
1567) (1603–1625)

FRENCH MONARCHS

House of Valois

Charles VIII (1483–1498)

Louis XII (1498–1515)

Francis I (1515–1547)

Henri II (1547–1559)

Francis II (1559–1560)

Charles IX (1560–1574)

Henri III (1574–1589)

House of Bourbon

Henri IV (1589–1610)

SCOTTISH MONARCHS

House of Stuart

James III (1460–1488)

James IV (1488–1513)

James V (1513–1542)

Mary, Queen of Scots
(1542–1567)

James VI (James I of England from
1603) (1567–1625)

SPANISH MONARCHS

House of Trastamare

Ferdinand of Aragon/Isabella of
Castile (joint monarchs of Spain)
(1479–1504)

Ferdinand of Aragon/Juana of Castile*/
Philip I (Habsburg) of Castile (joint
monarchs of Spain) (1504–1506)
Ferdinand of Aragon/Juana of
Castile (joint monarchs of Spain)
(1506–1516)

House of Habsburg
Charles I (also Holy Roman
Emperor as Charles V after 1519)
(1516–1556)
Philip II (1556–1598)
Philip III (1598–1621)

*Although Juana of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella and mother of Charles I, succeeded her mother as queen of Castile in 1504 and remained queen until her death in 1555, mental illness prevented her from ever ruling. Spain was thus effectively ruled only by her father, King Ferdinand, between 1504 and 1516, and only by her son Charles I between 1516 and 1556.

APPENDIX 3

Bishops of the English Church, 1485–1603

The English Church was divided into the Province of Canterbury, headed by the archbishop of Canterbury and covering southern England and Wales, and the Province of York, headed by the archbishop of York and covering northern England. Except for the decade 1540–1550, when the bishopric of Westminster existed, Canterbury comprised 21 bishoprics: Bangor, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, Llandaff, London, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Asaph, St. David's, Salisbury, Winchester, and Worcester. Of these, London and Winchester were among the most important—the former because its incumbent was responsible for the capital, and the latter because of its great wealth.

After 1542, when Parliament appended the ancient diocese of Sodor and Man to it, the Province of York comprised the four bishoprics of Carlisle, Chester, Durham, and Sodor and Man.

Between 1539 and 1542, former monastic revenues were used to endow six new bishoprics. Of these six—Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oseney, Peterborough, and Westminster—Oseney was suppressed in 1545, its incumbent transferred to the new see at Oxford, and Westminster was suppressed in 1550.

Below is a listing, with dates in office, of all holders of English and Welsh bishoprics in the Tudor period. An asterisk (*) denotes bishops who were deprived of office. Gaps in the sequence indicate periods in which the office was vacant.

**SOUTHERN PROVINCE
OF CANTERBURY****Archbishops of Canterbury**

John Morton 1486–1500
 Thomas Langton 1501
 Henry Deane 1501–1503
 William Warham 1504–1532
 Thomas Cranmer 1533–1556*
 Reginald Pole 1556–1558
 Matthew Parker 1559–1575
 Edmund Grindal 1575–1583
 John Whitgift 1583–1604

Bishops of Bangor (Welsh diocese)

Richard Edenham 1465–1494
 Henry Deane 1494–1500
 Thomas Pigot 1500–1504
 Thomas Penny 1505–1508
 Thomas Skevington 1509–1533
 John Salcot 1534–1539
 John Bird 1539–1541
 Arthur Bulkeley 1541–1553
 William Glynn 1555–1558
 Maurice Clenock 1558 (elected but
 never consecrated)
 Rowland Meyrick 1559–1566
 Nicholas Robinson 1566–1585
 Hugh Bellat 1586–1595
 Richard Vaughan 1596–1597
 Henry Rowlands 1598–1616

Bishops of Bath and Wells

Robert Stillington 1466–1491
 Richard Foxe 1492–1494
 Oliver King 1496–1503
 Adrian de Castello 1504–1518*
 Thomas Wolsey 1518–1523
 John Clerk 1523–1541
 William Knight 1541–1547
 William Barlow 1548–1553
 Gilbert Bourne 1554–1559*

Gilbert Berkeley 1560–1581
 Thomas Godwin 1584–1590
 John Stil 1593–1608

Bishops of Bristol

Paul Bush 1542–1554
 John Holyman 1554–1558
 Richard Cheyney 1562–1579
 John Bullingham 1581–1589
 Richard Fletcher 1589–1593
 John Thornborough 1603–1617

Bishops of Chichester

Edward Story 1478–1503
 Richard Fitzjames 1503–1506
 Robert Sherburne 1508–1536
 Richard Sampson 1536–1543
 George Day 1543–1551*
 John Scory 1552–1553
 George Day 1553–1556
 John Christopherson 1557–1559*
 William Barlow 1559–1568
 Richard Curtis 1570–1582
 Thomas Bickley 1586–1596
 Anthony Watson 1596–1605

Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield

John Hales 1459–1490
 William Smith 1493–1496
 John Arundel 1496–1502
 Geoffrey Blyth 1503–1530
 Rowland Lee 1533–1543
 Richard Sampson 1543–1554
 Ralph Baynes 1554–1559*
 Thomas Bentham 1560–1579
 William Overton 1580–1609

Bishops of Ely

John Alcock 1486–1500
 Richard Redman 1501–1505
 James Stanley 1505–1515
 Nicholas West 1515–1533
 Thomas Goodrich 1534–1554

Thomas Thirlby 1554–1559*
 Richard Cox 1559–1581
 Martin Heton 1600–1609

Bishops of Exeter

Peter Courtenay 1478–1487
 Richard Foxe 1487–1492
 Oliver King 1492–1495
 Richard Redman 1495–1501
 John Arundel 1502–1504
 Hugh Oldham 1504–1519
 John Veysey 1519–1551
 Miles Coverdale 1551–1553*
 John Veysey 1553–1554
 James Turberville 1555–1559*
 William Alleyn 1560–1571
 William Bradbridge 1571–1578
 John Woolton 1579–1594
 Gervase Babington 1595–1597
 William Cotton 1598–1621

Bishops of Gloucester

John Wakeman 1541–1549
 John Hooper 1550–1552
 James Brooks 1554–1558*
 Richard Cheyney 1562–1579
 John Bullingham 1581–1598
 Godfrey Goldsborough 1598–1604

Bishops of Hereford

Thomas Milling 1474–1492
 Edmund Audley 1492–1502
 Adrian de Castello 1502–1504
 Richard Mayeu 1504–1516
 Charles Booth 1516–1535
 Edward Fox 1535–1538
 Edmund Bonner 1538–1539
 John Skip 1539–1552
 John Harley 1553–1554*
 Robert Warton 1554–1557
 Thomas Reynolds 1557–1558 (nominated but never consecrated)

John Scory 1559–1585
 Herbert Westphaling 1585–1602
 Robert Bennet 1602–1617

Bishops of Lincoln

John Russell 1480–1494
 William Smith 1496–1514
 Thomas Wolsey 1514
 William Atwater 1514–1521
 John Longland 1521–1547
 Henry Holbeach 1547–1551
 John Taylor 1552–1554*
 John White 1554–1556
 Thomas Watson 1556–1559*
 Nicholas Bullingham 1560–1571
 Thomas Cooper 1571–1584
 William Wickham 1584–1595
 William Chadderton 1595–1608

Bishops of Llandaff (Welsh diocese)

John Marshall 1478–1496
 John Ingleby 1496–1499
 Miles Salley 1500–1517
 George Athequa 1517–1537
 Robert Holgate 1537–1545
 Anthony Kitchin 1545–1566
 Hugh Jones 1567–1575
 William Blethyn 1575–1591
 Gervase Babington 1591–1594
 William Morgan 1594–1601
 Fraser Godwin 1601–1618

Bishops of London

Thomas Kempe 1450–1489
 Richard Hill 1489–1496
 Thomas Savage 1496–1501
 William Warham 1502–1503
 William Barons 1504–1505
 Richard Fitzjames 1506–1522
 Cuthbert Tunstall 1522–1530
 John Stokesley 1530–1539

Edmund Bonner 1539–1549*
 Nicholas Ridley 1550–1553*
 Edmund Bonner 1553–1559*
 Edmund Grindal 1559–1570
 Edwin Sandys 1570–1577
 John Aylmer 1577–1594
 Richard Fletcher 1594–1596
 Richard Bancroft 1597–1604

Bishops of Norwich

James Goldwell 1473–1499
 Thomas Jane 1499–1500
 Richard Nykke 1501–1535
 William Repps 1536–1550
 Thomas Thirlby 1550–1554
 John Hopton 1554–1558
 John Parkhurst 1560–1575
 Edmund Freke 1575–1584
 Edmund Scrambler 1585–1594
 William Redman 1594–1602
 John Jegon 1603–1618

Bishop of Oseney

Robert King 1542–1545

Bishops of Oxford

Robert King 1545–1557
 Thomas Goldwell 1558–1559*
 Hugh Coren 1567–1568
 John Underhill 1589–1592
 John Bridges 1604–1618

Bishops of Peterborough

John Chambers 1541–1556
 David Pole 1557–1559*
 Edmund Scrambler 1560–1584
 Richard Howland 1585–1600
 Thomas Dove 1601–1630

Bishops of Rochester

Edmund Audley 1480–1492
 Thomas Savage 1492–1496
 Richard Fitzjames 1497–1503

John Fisher 1504–1534*
 John Hilsey 1535–1539
 Nicholas Heath 1540–1543
 Henry Holbeach 1544–1547
 Nicholas Ridley 1547–1550
 John Ponet 1550–1551
 John Scory 1551–1552
 Maurice Griffith 1554–1558
 Edmund Allen 1559
 Edmund Guest 1560–1572
 Edmund Freke 1572–1576
 John Piers 1576–1578
 John Young 1578–1605

Bishops of St. Asaph (Welsh diocese)

Richard Redman 1471–1495
 Michael Deacon 1496–1500
 Dafydd ab Iorwerth 1500–1503
 Dafydd ab Owain 1503–1513
 Edmund Birkhead 1513–1518
 Henry Standish 1518–1535
 William Barlow 1536
 Robert Warton 1536–1554
 Thomas Goldwell 1555–1559
 Richard Davies 1559–1561
 Thomas Davies 1561–1573
 William Hughes 1573–1601
 William Morgan 1601–1603

Bishops of St. David's (Welsh diocese)

Hugh Pavy 1485–1496
 John Morgan 1496–1504
 Robert Sherborn 1505–1508
 Edward Vaughan 1509–1523
 Richard Rawlings 1523–1536
 William Barlow 1536–1548
 Robert Ferrar 1548–1554*
 Henry Morgan 1554–1559*
 Thomas Young 1560–1561
 Richard Davies 1561–1581

Marmaduke Middleton 1582–1592
 Anthony Rudd 1594–1615

Bishops of Salisbury

Thomas Langton 1485–1493
 John Blythe 1493–1499
 Henry Deane 1500–1501
 Edmund Audley 1502–1524
 Lorenzo Campeggio 1524–1534*
 Nicholas Shaxton 1535–1539
 John Salcot 1539–1557
 William Peto 1557–1558
 Francis Mallet 1558 (nominated but
 never consecrated)
 John Jewel 1559–1571
 Edmund Guest 1571–1577
 John Piers 1577–1589
 John Coldwell 1591–1598
 Henry Cotton 1598–1614

Bishop of Westminster

Thomas Thirlby 1540–1550

Bishops of Winchester

William Waynflete 1447–1486
 Peter Courtenay 1487–1492
 Thomas Langton 1493–1501
 Richard Foxe 1501–1528
 Thomas Wolsey 1529–1530
 Stephen Gardiner 1531–1551*
 John Ponet 1551–1553*
 Stephen Gardiner 1553–1555
 John White 1556–1559*
 Robert Horne 1560–1580
 John Watson 1580–1584
 Thomas Cooper 1584–1594
 William Wickham 1594–1595
 William Day 1595–1596
 Thomas Bilson 1597–1616

Bishops of Worcester

John Alcock 1476–1486
 Robert Morton 1486–1497

Giovanni de'Gigli 1497–1498
 Silvestro de'Gigli 1498–1521
 Geronimo de'Ghinucci 1523–1535*
 Hugh Latimer 1535–1539
 John Bell 1539–1543
 Nicholas Heath 1543–1551*
 John Hooper 1552–1554*
 Nicholas Heath 1554–1555
 Richard Pate 1555–1559*
 Edwin Sandys 1559–1570
 Nicholas Bullingham 1571–1576
 John Whitgift 1577–1583
 Edmund Freke 1584–1591
 Richard Fletcher 1593–1595
 Thomas Bilson 1596–1597
 Gervase Babington 1597–1610

NORTHERN PROVINCE OF YORK

Archbishops of York

Thomas Rotherham 1480–1500
 Thomas Savage 1501–1507
 Christopher Bainbridge 1508–1514
 Thomas Wolsey 1514–1530
 Edward Lee 1531–1544
 Robert Holgate 1545–1554*
 Nicholas Heath 1555–1559*
 Thomas Young 1561–1568
 Edmund Grindal 1570–1576
 Edwin Sandys 1577–1588
 John Piers 1589–1594
 Matthew Hutton 1595–1606

Bishops of Carlisle

Richard Bell 1478–1495
 William Sever 1496–1502
 Roger Layburne 1503–1508
 John Penny 1508–1520
 John Kite 1521–1537
 Robert Aldrich 1537–1556
 Owen Oglethorpe 1556–1559*

John Best 1560–1570
Richard Barnes 1570–1577
John May 1577–1598
Henry Robinson 1598–1616

Bishops of Chester

John Bird 1541–1554*
George Cotes 1554–1555
Cuthbert Scott 1556–1559*
William Downham 1561–1577
William Chadderton 1579–1595
Hugh Bellot 1595–1596
Richard Vaughan 1597–1604

Bishops of Durham

John Shirwood 1485–1494
Richard Foxe 1494–1501

William Sever 1502–1505
Christopher Bainbridge 1507–1508
Thomas Ruthall 1509–1523
Thomas Wolsey 1523–1529
Cuthbert Tunstall 1530–1559*
James Pilkington 1561–1576
Richard Barnes 1577–1587
Matthew Hutton 1589–1595
Tobias Matthew 1595–1606

Bishops of Sodor and Man

Henry Man 1546–1556
Thomas Stanley 1558–1568
John Salisbury 1571–1573
James Stanley 1573–1576
John Meyrick 1576–1599
George Lloyd 1599–1604

APPENDIX 4

Popes, 1485–1603

Below are the popes of the Roman Catholic Church who served during the Tudor period. Each pope selects a papal name upon election.

Papal Name	Birth Name	Papacy
Innocent VIII	Giambattista Cibo	1484–1492
Alexander VI	Roderigo Borgia	1492–1503
Pius III	Francesco Todeschini	1503
Julius II	Giulio della Rovere	1503–1513
Leo X	Giovanni de Medici	1513–1521
Adrian VI	Adrian of Utrecht	1522–1523
Clement VII	Giulio de Medici	1523–1534
Paul III	Alessandro Farnese	1534–1549
Julius III	Giovanni del Monte	1550–1555
Marcellus II	Marcello Cervini	1555
Paul IV	Pietro Caraffa	1556–1559
Pius IV	Gian-Angelo de Medici	1559–1565
Pius V	Michele Ghislieri	1565–1572
Gregory XIII	Ugo Buoncompagni	1572–1585
Sixtus V	Felix Peretti	1586–1590
Urban VIII	Giambattista Castagna	1590
Gregory XIV	Niccolo Sfondrato	1590–1591
Innocent IX	Gian-Antonio Fachinetto	1591
Clement VIII	Ippolito Aldobrandini	1592–1605

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APPENDIX 5

Parliament: Speakers and Sessions, 1485–1603

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Session	Speaker	<i>Edward VI</i>	
<i>Henry VII</i>		1547–1552	Sir John Baker
1485–1486	Sir Thomas Lovell	1553	Sir James Dyer
1487	Sir John Mordaunt		
1489–1490	Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam	<i>Mary I</i>	
1491–1492	Sir Richard Empson	1553	Sir John Pollard
1495	Sir Robert Drury	1554	Sir Robert Brooke
1497	Sir Thomas Englefield	1554–1555	Sir Clement Heigham
1504	Edmund Dudley	1555	Sir John Pollard
		1558	Sir William Cordell
<i>Henry VIII</i>		<i>Elizabeth I</i>	
1510	Sir Thomas Englefield	1559	Sir Thomas Gargrave
1512–1514	Sir Robert Sheffield	1563	Thomas Williams
1515	Sir Thomas Neville	1566–1567	Richard Onslow
1523	Sir Thomas More	1571	Sir Christopher Wray
1529–1533	Sir Thomas Audley	1572–1576	Sir Robert Bell
1533–1536	Sir Humphrey Wingfield	1581–1583	Sir John Popham
1536	Sir Richard Rich	1584–1587	Sir John Puckering
1539–1540	Sir Nicholas Hare	1588–1589	Sir Thomas Snagge
1542–1544	Sir Thomas Moyle	1592–1593	Sir Edward Coke
1545–1547	Sir John Baker	1597–1598	Sir Christopher Yelverton
		1601	Sir John Croke

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT—HENRY VII

Parliament	Dates in Session
First Parliament	7 November 1485–c. 4 March 1486
Prorogued	10 December 1485–23 January 1486
Second Parliament	9 November 1487–c. 18 December 1487
Third Parliament	13 January 1489–27 February 1490
Prorogued	23 February 1489–14 October 1489
Prorogued	4 December 1489–25 January 1490
Fourth Parliament	17 October 1491–5 March 1492
Prorogued	4 November 1491–26 January 1492
Fifth Parliament	14 October 1495–c. 21 December 1495
Sixth Parliament	16 January 1497–13 March 1497
Seventh Parliament	25 January 1504–c. 1 April 1504

All Parliaments met at Westminster.

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT—HENRY VIII

Parliament	Dates in Session
First Parliament	21 January 1510–23 February 1510
Second Parliament	4 February 1512–4 March 1514
First Session	4 February–30 March 1512
Second Session	4 November–20 December 1512
Third Session	23 January–4 March 1514
Third Parliament	5 February 1515–22 December 1515
First Session	5 February–5 April 1515
Second Session	12 November–22 December 1515
Fourth Parliament ¹	15 April 1523–13 August 1523
First Session	15 April–21 May 1523
Second Session	10 June–29 July 1523
Third Session	31 July–13 August 1523
Fifth Parliament ²	3 November 1529–14 April 1536
First Session	4 November–17 December 1529
Second Session	16 January–31 March 1531
Third Session	15 January–14 May 1532
Fourth Session	4 February–7 April 1533
Fifth Session	15 January–30 March 1534
Sixth Session	3 November–18 December 1534
Seventh Session	4 February–14 April 1536
Sixth Parliament	8 June 1536–18 July 1536

Seventh Parliament	28 April 1539–24 July 1540
First Session	28 April–23 May 1539
Second Session	30 May–28 June 1539
Third Session	12 April–11 May 1540
Fourth Session	25 May–24 July 1540
Eighth Parliament	16 January 1542–28 March 1544
First Session	16 January–1 April 1542
Second Session	22 January–12 May 1543
Third Session	14 January–28 March 1544
Ninth Parliament ³	23 November 1545–31 January 1547
First Session ⁴	23 November–24 December 1545
Second Session	14 January–31 January 1547

All Parliaments met at Westminster, unless otherwise noted.

¹ Summoned to Blackfriars.

² Reformation Parliament; summoned to Blackfriars but prorogued to Westminster 4 November.

³ Parliament dissolved by the king's death.

⁴ This session met at Windsor.

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT—EDWARD VI

Parliament	Dates in Session
First Parliament	4 November 1547–15 April 1552
First Session	4 November–24 December 1547
Second Session	24 November 1548–14 March 1549
Third Session	4 November 1549–1 February 1550
Fourth Session	23 January–15 April 1552
Second Parliament	1 March 1553–31 March 1553

All Parliaments met at Westminster.

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT—MARY I

Parliament	Dates in Session
First Parliament	5 October 1553–5 December 1553
First Session	5 October–21 October 1553
Second Session	5 December 1553
Second Parliament ¹	2 April 1554–5 May 1554
Third Parliament	12 November 1554–16 January 1555
Fourth Parliament	21 October 1555–9 December 1555

Fifth Parliament ²	20 January 1558–17 November 1558
First Session	20 January–7 March 1558
Second Session	5 November–17 November 1558

All Parliaments met at Westminster.

¹ Summoned originally to Oxford; meeting changed to Westminster 15 March 1554.

² Parliament dissolved by the queen’s death.

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT— ELIZABETH I

Parliament	Dates in Session
First Parliament	23 January–8 May 1559
Second Parliament	11 January 1563–2 January 1567
First Session	11 January–10 April 1563
Second Session	30 September 1566–2 January 1567
Third Parliament	2 April–29 May 1571
Fourth Parliament	8 May 1572–19 April 1583
First Session	8 May–30 June 1572
Second Session	8 February–15 March 1576
Third Session	16 January–18 March 1581
Fifth Parliament	23 November 1584–14 September 1585
Session	23 November 1584–29 March 1585
Sixth Parliament	15 October 1586–23 March 1587
Seventh Parliament	4 February–29 March 1589
Eighth Parliament	19 February–10 April 1593
Ninth Parliament	24 October 1597–9 February 1598
Tenth Parliament	27 October–19 December 1601

All Parliaments met at Westminster.

APPENDIX 6

Rebellions, Battles, and Uprisings, 1485–1603

Listed below are the major rebellions, uprisings, and battles of the Tudor period.

Battle/Rebellion/Uprising	Date	Outcome
Amicable Grant uprisings	1525	Widespread riots and disorders force Henry VIII to withdraw a demand for a nonparliamentary tax known as the Amicable Grant.
Ancrum Moor, Battle of	27 February 1545	Scots defeat the English; one of the battles resulting from the English policy of Rough Wooing.
Blackheath, Battle of	17 June 1497	Royal forces led by Giles Daubeney, Lord Daubeney, crush Cornish Rebellion of 1497.
Bosworth Field, Battle of	22 August 1485	Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, defeats and kills Richard III to become Henry VII, first monarch of the House of Tudor.
Boulogne, Siege of	July–September 1544	In the major action of the Anglo-French War of 1543–1546, Henry VIII personally leads a three-month siege that results in the capture of the French town of Boulogne on 14 September.
Butler Wars	Summer 1569	Brothers of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, harass the lands and tenants of Sir Peter Carew; Carew captures Clogrennan Castle and defeats Butler forces near Kilkenny.

(Continued)

Battle/Rebellion/Uprising	Date	Outcome
Calais	January 1558	Town of Calais, last English possession in France, surrenders to French after brief siege.
Carberry, Battle of	15 June 1567	Armed negotiation between forces of Queen Mary and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and those of the Scottish Confederate Lords; both armies dissolve after Bothwell agrees to exile and Mary is taken into the Lords’ custody.
Chaseabout Raid	August–October 1565	Forces of Queen Mary “chase” rebels led by her brother, James Stuart, Earl of Moray, about southern Scotland until Moray flees the realm.
Cornish Rebellion	Spring 1497	Fifteen thousand rebels from Cornwall and West Country march on London to protest taxes for Henry VII’s war in Scotland; uprising crushed at Battle of Blackheath.
Desmond Rebellion	July 1579–November 1583	Begun by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald but later led by Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, this rebellion sought unsuccessfully to overthrow English rule in Ireland.
Dussindale, Battle of	27 August 1549	Mercenary force led by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, crushes Kett’s Rebellion in Norfolk.
Essex’s Rebellion	6–8 February 1601	Brief, unsuccessful attempt by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to seize control of the queen and the government; failure of the rising leads to Essex’s execution.
Fitzmaurice’s Rebellion	June 1569–1573	Unsuccessful uprising led by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald to halt the imposition of centralized English administration and Protestantism in Ireland.
Flodden, Battle of	9 September 1513	English army under Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, defeats Scottish army under James IV, who is slain in the battle.
Kett’s Rebellion	Summer 1549	East Anglian rebels protesting enclosures and other social and economic grievances establish camp on Mousehold Heath; uprising crushed at Battle of Dussindale.
Kildare Rebellion	June 1534–August 1535	Uprising led by Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly, in an unsuccessful attempt to compel Henry VIII to restore his father, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, to the Irish deputyship.
Kinsale, Battle of	24 December 1601	Decisive battle of the Nine Years War, in which English forces defeated an attempt by the Irish rebel Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, to relieve his besieged Spanish allies.

(Continued)

Battle/Rebellion/Uprising	Date	Outcome
Langside, Battle of	13 May 1568	James Stuart, Earl of Moray, defeats the army of his sister, Mary of Scotland, forcing her to flee into England.
Lovell-Stafford Uprising	April 1486	Launched by former adherents of Richard III, the first major rebellion against Henry VII and the House of Tudor collapses from lack of support.
Nine Years War	April 1593– March 1603	The most serious Irish rebellion of the Elizabethan period; led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the Irish won battles and won Spanish allies but were ultimately crushed by English forces.
Northern Rebellion	November 1569– January 1570	The conservative northern earls of Northumberland and Westmorland lead a brief, unsuccessful uprising that seeks to restore Catholic worship, free Mary of Scotland, and halt the centralizing policies of the royal government.
Northumberland's Coup	July 1553	John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, tries unsuccessfully to enthrone Jane Grey in place of Princess Mary.
Pilgrimage of Grace	October 1536– January 1537	Uprising in northern counties against dissolution of monasteries and other religious innovations is eventually crushed by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Robert Aske and other rebel leaders are executed.
Pinkie, Battle of	10 September 1547	English army under Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, defeats Scottish army outside Edinburgh; English victory drives Scots into closer alliance with France.
Prayer Book Rebellion. <i>See</i> Western Rebellion		
Ruthven Raid	August 1582– June 1583	Protestant noblemen led by William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, seize control of James VI and his government, thereby forcing the flight of his Catholic cousin and favorite, the Seigneur d'Aubigny; James later escapes their custody and eventually arrests and executes Gowrie.
Saint-Quentin, Battle of	10 August 1557	English forces fighting with the armies of Philip II of Spain, husband and ally of Mary I, assist in defeat of French army outside besieged French town of Saint-Quentin.
Sampford Courtenay, Battle of	17 August 1549	Royal force under John Russell, Earl of Bedford, crushes Western Rebellion in Devonshire.

(Continued)

Battle/Rebellion/Uprising	Date	Outcome
Smerwick, Siege of	November 1580	Papal forces sent to support the Desmond Rebellion are besieged, captured, and executed by the English at Smerwick in southern Ireland.
Solway Moss, Battle of	24 November 1542	English force under Sir Thomas Wharton defeats Scots raiding force, capturing many prisoners.
Spurs, Battle of	16 August 1513	English win running battle with French cavalry; French city of Th�rouanne surrenders to Henry VIII’s invasion force on 22 August.
Stafford’s Raid	18–28 April 1557	Attempting to overthrow Queen Mary, Thomas Stafford and a small band of followers briefly hold Scarborough Castle before being defeated and captured by local militia forces.
Stoke, Battle of	16 June 1487	Henry VII defeats forces of Yorkist pretender Lambert Simnel near Nottinghamshire village of East Stoke.
Western Rebellion	June–August 1549	West Country rebels protesting new <i>Book of Common Prayer</i> and other Protestant innovations besiege Exeter; uprising crushed at Battle of Sampford Courtenay.
Wyatt’s Rebellion	January–February 1554	Motivated by opposition to Queen Mary’s Spanish marriage and a desire to replace the queen with her sister, Elizabeth, rebels led by Sir Thomas Wyatt fail to take London and are eventually dispersed by forces loyal to the queen.
Yellow Ford, Battle of	14 August 1598	Irish rebel Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, ambushes and destroys an English army under Henry Bagenal near the Ulster town of Armagh.
Yorkshire Rebellion	Spring 1489	Armed tax protestors in Yorkshire murder Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and win control of York; rebellion disintegrates on arrival of troops under Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.
Zutphen, Battle of	22 September 1586	Spanish forces under the Duke of Parma defeat English expeditionary force under Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, near Dutch town of Zutphen; Sir Philip Sidney is mortally wounded.

APPENDIX 7

Selected Historical Fiction with Tudor Characters and Settings

- Barnes, Margaret Campbell. *Brief Gaudy Hour: A Novel of Anne Boleyn*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks Landmark, 2008.
- Barnes, Margaret Campbell. *King's Fool: A Notorious King, His Six Wives, and the One Man Who Knew All Their Secrets*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks Landmark, [1959] 2009.
- Barnes, Margaret Campbell. *My Lady of Cleves: Novel of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks Landmark, 2008.
- Barnes, Margaret Campbell. *The Tudor Rose: The Story of the Queen Who United a Kingdom and Birthed a Dynasty*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks Landmark, 2009.
- Cato, Anne. *An Unchaste Life: Memoir of a Tudor Queen*. London: Lyon-Rampant Publishing, 2006.
- Clynes, Michael. *The White Rose Murders*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.
- Cook, Judith. *Death of a Lady's Maid: The Casebook of Dr. Simon Forman*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 1998.
- Cook, Judith. *Murder at the Rose: The Casebook of Dr. Simon Forman*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 1998.
- Cook, Judith. *Kill the Witch: The Casebook of Dr. Simon Forman*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 2000.
- Cook, Judith. *School of Night: The Casebook of Dr. Simon Forman*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 2000.
- Cook, Judith. *Blood on the Borders: The Casebook of Dr. Simon Forman*. Edinburgh, UK: Tuckwell, 2004.
- Erickson, Carolly. *The Last Wife of Henry VIII: A Novel*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2006.

- Erickson, Carolly. *Rival to the Queen*. New York: St. Martin's, 2010.
- Finney, Patricia. *Firedrake's Eye*. New York: Picador, 1998.
- Finney, Patricia. *Gloriana's Torch*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2003.
- Finney, Patricia. *Unicorn's Blood*. New York: Picador, 1998.
- Garrett, George. *Death of the Fox: A Novel of Elizabeth and Raleigh*. New York: Mariner Books, 1991.
- Garrett, George. *Entered from the Sun: The Murder of Marlowe*. New York: Mariner Books, 1991.
- Garrett, George. *The Succession: A Novel of Elizabeth and James*. New York: Mariner Books, 1991.
- George, Margaret. *The Autobiography of Henry VIII: With Notes by His Fool, Will Somers*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998.
- George, Margaret. *Elizabeth I: A Novel*. New York: Viking Adult, 2011.
- George, Margaret. *Mary Queen of Scotland & The Isles: A Novel*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Boleyn Inheritance*. New York: Touchstone, 2006.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Constant Princess*. New York: Touchstone, 2005.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Other Boleyn Girl*. New York: Touchstone, 2003.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Other Queen*. New York: Touchstone, 2008.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Queen's Fool*. New York: Touchstone, 2004.
- Gregory, Philippa. *The Virgin's Lover*. New York: Touchstone, 2005.
- Harper, Karen. *The Last Boleyn: A Novel*. New York: Three Rivers, 2006.
- Harper, Karen. *The Queen's Governess*. New York: Putnam Adult, 2010.
- Irwin, Margaret. *Elizabeth and the Prince of Spain*. London: Allison and Busby, 1999.
- Irwin, Margaret. *Elizabeth, Captive Princess*. London: Allison and Busby, 1999.
- Irwin, Margaret. *Young Bess*. London: Allison and Busby, 1999.
- Mantel, Hilary. *Wolf Hall*. New York: Picador, 2009.
- Maxwell, Robin. *Mademoiselle Boleyn*. New York: NAL Trade, 2007.
- Maxwell, Robin. *The Queen's Bastard*. New York: Scribner, 2000.
- Maxwell, Robin. *The Secret Diary of Anne Boleyn*. New York: Touchstone, 1998.
- Maxwell, Robin. *To the Tower Born*. New York: Harper Paperbacks, 2006.
- Maxwell, Robin. *Virgin: Prelude to the Throne*. New York: Touchstone, 2002.
- Maxwell, Robin. *The Wild Irish: A Novel of Elizabeth I and the Pirate O'Malley*. New York: Harper Paperbacks, 2004.
- Miles, Rosalind. *I, Elizabeth: A Novel*. New York: Broadway, 2003.
- Sansom, C. J. *Dissolution*. New York: Penguin, 2004.
- Sansom, C. J. *Dark Fire*. New York: Penguin, 2005.
- Sansom, C. J. *Heartstone*. New York: Viking Adult, 2011.
- Sansom, C. J. *Revelation*. New York: Penguin, 2010.
- Sansom, C. J. *Sovereign*. New York: Viking Adult, 2007.

Seton, Anya. *Green Darkness*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2005.

Weir, Alison. *Innocent Traitor: A Novel of Lady Jane Grey*. New York: Ballantine, 2007.

Weir, Alison. *The Lady Elizabeth: A Novel*. New York: Ballantine, 2008.

Worth, Sandra. *The King's Daughter: A Novel of the First Tudor Queen*. New York: Berkley Trade, 2008.

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APPENDIX 8

Selected Films and Television Programs with Tudor Characters and Settings

All films and programs listed below are available in DVD.

A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS (1966)

Paul Scofield, Robert Shaw, Orson Welles, Leo McKern, Susannah York, John Hurt, Vanessa Redgrave

Directed by Fred Zinnemann

This film version of Robert Bolt's play tells the story of Sir Thomas More (Scofield), the most famous victim of Henry VIII's (Shaw) royal supremacy. Although sympathetic to More, the film is not hagiography, and offers a generally accurate portrayal of More's refusal to support the royal divorce and his subsequent arrest, imprisonment, and trial. The movie, like the play it is based on, largely follows William Roper's account of his father-in-law's life. Unlike current thinking among Tudor historians, who give Henry full responsibility for the excesses of the break with Rome, this film takes an older view by placing a great deal of responsibility on the shoulders of Thomas Cromwell (McKern), Henry's chief minister, who is here made to seem a sinister power behind the throne. Scofield's outstanding performance won him the Best Actor Oscar for 1966.

ANNE OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1969)

Richard Burton, Genevieve Bujold

Directed by Charles Jarrott

This retelling of the story of Henry VIII (Burton) and Anne Boleyn (Bujold) is lavishly staged entertainment but poor history. The movie is full of scenes that

increase the dramatic effect of the story but have no basis in historical fact, such as Henry's sudden appearance at Anne's trial or his secret visit to Anne in the Tower. The film's strength lies in Burton's powerful portrayal of Henry, a performance that earned the actor an Oscar nomination. Burton's Henry is both cruel and charming, both commanding and easily manipulated, displaying the same paradoxical nature that Tudor historians have long sought to understand in the real Henry VIII. The film closes with another contrived image—while walking alone in the palace gardens, two-year-old Princess Elizabeth is startled by the cannon fire from the Tower of London announcing her mother's execution.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS (1971)

Vanessa Redgrave, Glenda Jackson, Patrick McGoochan, Timothy Dalton,
Nigel Davenport

Directed by Charles Jarrott

Although generally accurate, this portrayal of the life of Mary of Scotland (Redgrave) could not resist staging several dramatic—though fictional—meetings between Mary and Elizabeth (Jackson). In real life, so far as we know, the two cousins never met. The film is highly sympathetic to Mary, whose unfortunate personal and political choices are made to seem sensible by the way the men in her life are portrayed—her Guise uncles are calculating; her half brother, Moray (McGoochan), is stern and cold; her second husband, Darnley (Dalton), is treacherous, cruel, and dissolute; and her last husband, Bothwell (Davenport), is strong, brave, and loyal. Mary's complicity with Bothwell in the murder of Darnley is left ambiguous, and the queen's brief, disastrous marriage to Bothwell is portrayed as tragic romance. However, both Jackson and Redgrave give powerful and realistic performances.

THE SIX WIVES OF HENRY VIII (1971)

Keith Michell, Annette Crosbie, Dorothy Tutin, Anne Stallybrass, Elvi Hale,
Angela Pleasence, Rosalie Crutchley

Directed by John Glenister and Naomi Capon

Keith Michell became the definitive Henry VIII with his work in this six-part series first broadcast on PBS. Each episode focuses on one of Henry's six wives. The series offers a high degree of historical accuracy and provides generally well-rounded portraits of each queen—Catherine of Aragon (Crosbie) and Anne Boleyn (Tutin) are determined and strong-willed, Jane Seymour (Stallybrass) is plain and submissive, Anne of Cleves is politically adept (Hale), Katherine Howard (Pleasence) is flirtatious and selfish, and Katherine Parr (Crutchley) is solid and nurturing. Michell takes Henry from handsome, sheltered prince to gross, aging monarch in a portrayal that leaves no doubt that the king was always absolute master of his ministers, wives, and kingdom.

ELIZABETH R (1972)

Glenda Jackson, Robert Hardy, Ronald Hines, Robin Ellis, Vivian Pickles

Directed by Roderick Graham, Richard Martin, Claude Whatham, Donald Whatham, and Herbert Wise

This series is a well-acted and generally accurate retelling of the life of Elizabeth I from the death of her father in 1547, when she was 13, to her own death in 1603 at age 69. Jackson is outstanding as Elizabeth, a role the actress first played in the 1971 film *Mary, Queen of Scots*. The six episodes of this series, which was first broadcast in the United States on PBS, focus on the following events of the queen's life: Elizabeth's trials during the reigns of her half brother and half sister; her romantic relationship with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (Hardy), and political partnership with Sir William Cecil (Hines); her marriage flirtation with the French Duke of Alençon; her relationship with Mary, Queen of Scots (Pickles); the Armada Crisis; and the career of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (Ellis).

THE SHADOW OF THE TOWER: THE RISE OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY (1972)

James Maxwell, Norma West, Marigold Sharman, James Laurenson, Richard Warwick, Elizabeth MacLennan, David Horovitch, Rachel Kempson, Denis Carey, John Castle

Directed by Anthea Browne-Wilkenson, Prudence Fitzgerald, Moira Armstrong, Keith Williams, Darrol Blake, Joan Kemp Welch, and Peter Moffatt

Covering the reign of Henry VII, from the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485 to the period after the death of Queen Elizabeth of York in 1503–1504, *The Shadow of the Tower* is a prequel to *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* and *Elizabeth R*. James Maxwell is very good as Henry VII, who is portrayed as clever, cautious, and increasingly avaricious, a stark contrast to the bold, flamboyant king we know his son will become. The 13 episodes portray all the most important events of the reign, including the Lovell-Stafford Uprising; the Lambert Simnel rebellion and the Battle of Stoke; the Perkin Warbeck imposture of the Duke of York; the Cornish Rebellion; the executions of Warbeck and Edward, Earl of Warwick; and the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. For the student of Tudor history, it is fascinating to see accurate portrayals of such figures as Elizabeth of York (West), Margaret Beaufort (Sharman), Margaret of York (Kempson), and Perkin Warbeck (Warwick). For those not well versed in the history of the Wars of the Roses, the first four episodes can be confusing, especially in regard to which characters were on which side. Overall, however, the series is an interesting and generally accurate introduction to the first years of the Tudor dynasty.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE: HIS LIFE AND TIMES (1977)

Tim Curry, Nicholas Clay, Ian McShane, Paul Freeman, Ron Cook,
Janet Spencer-Turner, Patience Collier

Directed by Peter Wood, Mark Cullingham, and Robert Knights

Adapted from the television program *Life of Shakespeare*, this six-part series traces the life of William Shakespeare from 1590 to 1603, the last years of Elizabeth I. The episodes are interesting, if occasionally muddled, attempts to explain some of the great mysteries of Shakespeare's life and career: What was his relationship with his patron, the Earl of Southampton? Who was the "dark lady"? Why are no Shakespeare manuscripts in existence today? How could a man with a grammar school education from a provincial English town write so accurately of the court and other worlds seemingly beyond his experience? The series' answers to these questions are educated and usually entertaining fiction. Shakespeare as played by Tim Curry (yes, Dr. Frank N. Furter from the *Rocky Horror Picture Show*) is passionate, talented, and slightly disreputable. The series is strongest when it portrays the Chamberlain's Men performing Shakespeare's plays at the Globe and at court—an excellent visualization of the London theater scene in the 1590s.

LADY JANE (1985)

Helena Bonham Carter, Cary Elwes

Directed by Trevor Nunn

This interpretation of the story of Lady Jane Grey (Bonham Carter) emphasizes her developing relationship with her husband, Guildford Dudley (Elwes), in a brief marriage arranged by her parents and Dudley's father, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Although the film gives Jane and Guildford a twentieth-century sense of social justice, the relationship as depicted (loathing becomes love) is otherwise hard to criticize because we know little about it in real life, and almost nothing about the personality of the real Guildford Dudley. Still, the love story at the center of the movie is almost surely inaccurate; there is no evidence that the real Jane and Guildford displayed any true affection for one another. The depictions of the last years of Edward VI and of the plan to prevent Mary Tudor's accession by placing Lady Jane on the throne are generally accurate, except that the film clearly portrays Northumberland as the amoral and ambitious author of the plan to crown Jane. Historians now consider Edward VI to have been the true author of the plan. The film's depiction of Queen Mary is strong and realistic, and the last months of Jane and her husband, who were beheaded for treason in 1554, are dramatically portrayed.

ELIZABETH (1998)

Cate Blanchett, Joseph Fiennes, Geoffrey Rush, Christopher Eccleston,
Fanny Ardent

Directed by Shekhar Kapur

Nominated for the Academy Award for best film of 1998, *Elizabeth* is a wonderfully entertaining costume drama but absolutely wretched history. The heart of the film is the increasingly violent power struggle between Catholic and Protestant factions at the English court. As a Protestant, Elizabeth (Blanchett) is the target of Catholic intrigues, both before and after she ascends the throne. The young queen gains confidence in herself as she survives several rather dramatically contrived attempts on her life by the Catholic Duke of Norfolk (Eccleston) and several plots hatched by her own disloyal councillors, including her lover, Robert Dudley (Fiennes). She also wisely sidesteps a marriage proposal from a hilariously manic Duke of Alençon, who ruins his chances for the queen's hand by displaying a fondness for wearing the queen's clothes.

The one man the queen can trust is the sinister Francis Walsingham (Rush), a master spy willing to do whatever is necessary to secure Elizabeth on her throne. All these characters were actual Elizabethan figures, but none of them behaved in this way—the depiction of Walsingham (a stern and moralistic Puritan) as the cold-blooded seducer and murderer of the Queen Regent of Scotland (Ardent) is particularly outrageous. Most of the events portrayed in the film (except the more far-fetched attempts on Elizabeth's life) happened, but they are drawn from throughout Elizabeth's 44 years on the throne and telescoped into the first five years of the reign. Blanchett gives a strong performance, and the film is a good, if somewhat dark, evocation of life at the Elizabethan court, but if you want something approaching accurate Elizabethan history, view *Elizabeth R* instead.

SHAKESPEARE IN LOVE (1998)

Joseph Fiennes, Gwyneth Paltrow, Geoffrey Rush, Colin Firth,
Ben Affleck, Judi Dench

Directed by John Madden

This wonderful film, which won the 1998 Best Picture Oscar, far surpasses *William Shakespeare: His Life and Times* in devising creative and entertaining ways to explain the mysteries surrounding Shakespeare's life and career. In 1590s London, young playwright William Shakespeare (Fiennes) is struggling through a severe case of writer's block, trying to write a comedy tentatively titled *Romeo and Ethel, the Pirate's Daughter*. This dubious comedy is transformed into the great tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* through the power of Shakespeare's passionate relationship with Viola de Lesseps (Paltrow), a noblewoman who disguises herself as a young man to act the part of Romeo (women being prevented from appearing on the stage even in women's roles).

Filled with mistaken identities, misunderstood motives, and an impossible romance, the film is itself a Shakespearean play. The story of how the playwright juggles the financial concerns of theater owner Philip Henslowe (Rush), the ego of actors like Edward Alleyn (Affleck), and the ire of the Duke of Wessex (Firth), Viola's noble husband-to-be, is told with humor, wit, and energy. Filled with actual Elizabethan figures (except for Wessex), the film fills the gaps in our knowledge about their lives with fun and believable explanations that are true to the spirit of the period. Fiennes and Paltrow (who won the Best Actress Oscar) give strong performances, and Dench (who won the Best Supporting Actress Oscar) is outstanding in her few brief appearances as Queen Elizabeth. The scenes of rehearsal and performance are excellent depictions of the look and feel of the Elizabethan theater.

ELIZABETH: THE ACCLAIMED SAGA OF ENGLAND'S VIRGIN QUEEN (2002)

Hosted by David Starkey

This four-part documentary covering the life and reign of Elizabeth I is hosted by prominent British historian and media personality David Starkey. Starkey is a controversial figure due to his acerbic television persona, his recent criticism of Elizabeth II as an uneducated housewife, and his denunciation of what he sees as the feminization of Tudor history by women historians who tend to overemphasize the importance of their female subjects, especially Henry VIII's wives. *Elizabeth* includes narration, expert interviews, and reenactments. Because the latter tend to consist largely of costumed actors walking down candle-lit halls or sitting and staring intently at the camera, they are the weakest aspect of the documentary. Although Starkey, in the best imperious style of British historians, can be very dogmatic in his opinions, his narration is often entertaining and rarely dull, making the documentary an accurate and interesting introduction to the reign of Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH I: THE VIRGIN QUEEN (2005)

Anne-Marie Duff, Tom Hardy, Hans Matheson, Ian Hart, Sienna Guillory,
Dexter Fletcher, Kevin McKidd, Daniel Evans, Joanne Whalley

Directed by Coky Giedroyc

This four-part mini-series was first broadcast in the United States in 2005 on PBS's *Masterpiece Theatre*. The series focuses on the personal life of Elizabeth I (Duff) rather than on the politics of her reign. Particular emphasis is placed on the queen's relationship with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (Hardy), which is highly romanticized, including a scene in which the queen fantasizes about making love to Dudley. The series begins with Elizabeth's imprisonment in the Tower of London during the reign of Mary I (Whalley) and ends with her death in 1603. The series makes great play with several themes of dubious historicity, such as the queen's fixation on her mother's fate. For instance, at the queen's death, Sir Robert

Cecil (Evans) opens her ring to discover within a portrait of Anne Boleyn. Duff's Elizabeth seems rather angry and petulant, but this is probably more a function of the emotional scenes that are highlighted—e.g., the discovery of Leicester's secret marriage to Lettice Knollys (Guillory)—than any reflection on Duff's acting. Knollys, as the wife of Leicester and the mother of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (Matheson), is an important character in the series, serving as Elizabeth's main rival. Although reasonably accurate, the series does contain several invented scenes included for dramatic impact, such as Cardinal Pole leading the Catholics out of court after Elizabeth's accession and a fictional meeting between Knollys and the queen before the latter's death.

ELIZABETH I (2006)

Helen Mirren, Jeremy Irons, Hugh Dancy, Toby Jones, Ian McDiarmid,
Patrick Malahide, Barbara Flynn, Ewen Bremner, Simon Woods

Directed by Tom Hooper

First shown on Channel 4 in the United Kingdom and then on HBO in the United States, *Elizabeth I* is a wonderfully acted two-part series that depicts the second half of Elizabeth's reign. Helen Mirren is outstanding as Elizabeth, rivaling Glenda Jackson's performance in *Elizabeth R*. Jeremy Irons is also excellent as Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as are Toby Jones as Sir Robert Cecil and Patrick Malahide as Sir Francis Walsingham. And, in a somewhat over-the-top attempt to depict the king's supposed homosexuality, Ewen Bremner is wonderful as a shockingly misogynistic James VI of Scotland. Less successful is Hugh Dancy, whose Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, pales in comparison to the performances of Mirren, Irons, and the others. There are numerous inaccuracies in the dating of events, but these are minor, although, like almost every other film depiction of the period, *Elizabeth I* cannot resist staging an entirely fictional meeting between Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots (Flynn).

ELIZABETH: THE GOLDEN AGE (2007)

Cate Blanchett, Clive Owen, Geoffrey Rush, Abbie Cornish,
Samantha Morton, Eddie Redmayne

Directed by Shekhar Kapur

Elizabeth: The Golden Age is a sequel to Kapur's 1998 film *Elizabeth*, which also starred Blanchett as the queen. This film focuses on the latter part of the reign and particularly on Elizabeth's relationship with Sir Walter Raleigh (Owen), whose role in such events as the defeat of the Spanish Armada is depicted as far more significant than it really was. For instance, Raleigh is shown as the queen's captain-general at Tilbury camp during the Armada Crisis, a position actually held by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who, along with William Cecil, Lord Burghley, does not appear in the film. Like its predecessor, *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* is a

series of gorgeous historical tableaux, but poor history. Among the many inaccuracies it contains is an absurd scene in which Sir Anthony Babington (Redmayne) confronts the queen with a drawn gun in St. Paul's.

THE TUDORS (2007–2010)

Jonathan Rhys Meyers, Henry Cavill, Natalie Dormer, James Frain, Nick Dunning, Maria Doyle Kennedy, Guy Carleton, Sarah Bolger, Henry Czerny, Alan van Sprang, Tamzin Merchant, Annabelle Wallis, Sam Neill, Max Brown, Simon Ward, Joss Stone, Peter O'Toole, Jeremy Northam, Joely Richardson

Created by Michael Hirst

Depicting the reign of Henry VIII, this Showtime series ran for 38 episodes over four seasons. According to series creator Michael Hirst, Showtime “commissioned me to write an entertainment, a soap opera, and not history,” and that is exactly what Hirst did. While it is often fascinating to see actual depictions of such events as the Field of Cloth of Gold or the siege of Bologne, the series is so aggressively salacious (e.g., see the image on the Season 3 DVD of Henry seated on a throne of naked human bodies) and so full of intentional inaccuracies designed merely to shock or raise the sexual temperature that it is, in the end, really little more than soft-core porn employing Tudor characters and settings. As the king, Jonathan Rhys Meyers fully justifies Showtime's promotional description of Henry as “the rock star of his age,” but the actor is far too small a figure and too slight a presence to capture any real part of the historical monarch, especially in his later years. The boxed set of the complete series contains, among the additional features, an interesting interview with historian Retha Warnicke discussing her research on Tudor women.

APPENDIX 9

The Tudors on the Web

Information about the Tudors on the Web can be loosely divided into two categories. First, there are uncounted dozens of websites created expressly to provide information and discussion of the people, institutions, and events of the Tudor era. Especially numerous are sites devoted to monarchs and their spouses. Some sites are offshoots of popular historical fiction—books, movies, and television shows—while others reflect a wide range of purposes and perspectives. These sites offer a great variety of material, including essays, chronologies, genealogies, live discussions, links to other sites, images, and even musical clips and videos.

The second type of information about the Tudors on the Web falls into a category we might refer to as discrete resources. These are websites or access portals that allow you to read or view primary or secondary sources online. These sites usually cover more than just the Tudor period, but they often have significant resources for those interested in the sixteenth century. Most of these sites feature printed materials, but some include paintings, sculpture, clothing and jewelry, household furnishings, coins, maps, and other artifacts.

We include here addresses for some established, stable, and reliable sites where you can get started reading for pleasure or for research; however, we think it is more important to offer some guidelines for evaluating the many other websites you will locate for yourself. Knowing how to determine a site's purpose, point of view, accuracy, and usefulness will stand you in good stead because, no matter what we tell you here, websites—good and bad—will appear and disappear with regularity long after this book is published.

The first thing to do is decide what *your* purpose is for visiting a site. Do you want to

- be entertained
- join a conversation or debate—share and discuss your opinions and speculations
- follow up on a specific article, book, movie, or television show
- verify or obtain basic information, such as life dates, genealogy, or geography
- do quick, basic research on a topic
- get started on an in-depth research project
- find images, documents, costumes, or other material objects

Knowing what you want to get from a website will help you focus your evaluation of the site to determine if it will meet your needs. Once you have decided on the purpose for your visit, look over the website and try to answer the following questions:

- Who is doing the website?
- What is their purpose?
- Is there an obvious bias? If so, what is it?
- What are the creators' credentials? Are they qualified to do what they are doing?
- How is material obtained and verified, and how current is it?
- Is the material well organized and presented in a way that is easy to use?
- What reviews and recommendations has the site received?

Bias is an important consideration when using any information resource, regardless of its format. Bias—political, religious, national, personal—may be present in the choice of material offered or in the presentation and discussion of that material. It is not necessarily bad, but it is important to understand what it is and how it affects the material and its treatment. Bias sometimes occurs simply because a topic is not presented in a broad-based manner. The material offered may be high quality yet still not provide a full or balanced view of a topic, so you will need to find other sources to fill out your understanding of the subject matter. Common sense is always a useful tool when looking at material on the Internet; if something seems wrong or biased, it probably is, so check it out more carefully.

Ease of access to the Internet means that lots of websites are not as good as they could be and the user must always beware. Support from a university or other respected institution usually signals a quality product, but just because a site is the work of a nonspecialist does not mean it is poorly done or inaccurate. And be sure to keep in mind that on sites where participants are discussing books (or movies), it can be difficult to differentiate between the commenter's personal

understanding of the book and what the author actually said. Sometimes the most useful thing a website does is point you to a good book so you can find out for yourself!

Let's consider some of the general resource sites available on the Web and how to use them to find information on Tudor-era people, places, and events. If you are a student, your school or university library probably provides access to online journals databases such as JSTOR or *Project Muse*. Some public libraries are beginning to provide access to these portal sites as well. These sites allow you to search for full-text articles and book reviews in dozens of scholarly journals, including *Albion*, *English Historical Review*, *Journal of British Studies*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, and *Sixteenth Century Journal*, to name just a few relevant titles. Advanced search capabilities can help you narrow your search to specific journals, topics, and people, or to find material written by a particular scholar. An important and growing resource for book reviews open to anyone can be found on the H-Net (Humanities and Social Sciences Online) Reviews website at <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/home.php>.

Book reviews in scholarly journals can be especially useful if you are trying to plan an in-depth research project. Reviews usually run 500 to 600 words. Some are better written and more helpful than others, but because editors request reviews from people who are particularly knowledgeable about a book's topic, they can give you an idea of who other scholars in the field are and what they think is most important, controversial, or useful in a book. Not only can you learn more about a specific book, but by looking at who writes the reviews, you may be able to gather a list of scholars of a particular topic and then search online and in libraries for information about their work.

Another form of resource more and more available on the Web is primary source collections. Primary sources are those that were created at the time an event took place. They can be documentary materials, such as government treaties, charters, statutes, and decrees; maps; pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers; speeches; works of literature (manuscript or book); and letters and diaries. Primary sources also include documents created after the fact but by people involved in the events, such as memoirs and oral histories. Primary sources also encompass items of material culture such as artwork, clothing and jewelry, household furnishings, and many other objects. Websites that provide access to documents usually offer either scanned images of the actual item or a transcription of the contents (sometimes both). Either format can be useful depending on how carefully and accurately an item was prepared and how well it fits your needs.

A few examples of the wide variety of primary source sites with material relevant to the Tudor period include the following:

- Primary Sources on Copyright (1450–1900)
<http://www.copyrighthistory.org/>
- Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online
<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk/>
- British Library—Treasures in Full
<http://www.bl.uk/treasures/treasuresinfull.html>

There are also aggregator sites that collect and organize links to many such collections, allowing a user to access one main site, enter search criteria such as dates or countries, and be taken to a targeted list of links to relevant primary resource sites. To see how this might work, let's start with the aggregator site at:

- Euro Docs: Online Sources for European History
http://eudocs.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Main_Page

Choose “United Kingdom” and then “Britain 1486–1688” and you will retrieve a long list of primary resources with links. Choose the first item on the list, click the link, and you are taken to “Treasures of the National Archives: Tudors and Stuarts,” which is a page on the website of the British National Archives that links to a dozen different categories of documents and artifacts held by the archives that are related to the Tudor and Stuart periods.

Or let's try the aggregator site at:

- The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy
<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp>

Choose “16th Century Documents: 1500–1599” and the first link in the list is to a transcription of Elizabeth I's charter to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584.

An excellent resource to help you learn how to systematically locate and evaluate primary source websites is provided by the American Library Association's Reference and User Services Association (RUSA) and you can access it here:

- <http://www.ala.org/ala/mgrps/divs/rusa/sections/history/resources/pubs/usingprimarysources/index.cfm>

Many different types of organizations and individuals sponsor and produce websites that are either solely devoted to the Tudors and the Tudor period or else have a significant collection of relevant material. Here we offer a selection of useful sites grouped by categories. The links for the larger national sites are often to the home pages because they are most likely to remain stable. All these sites have search functions with guides to help you quickly find material relevant to the specific

Tudor person or topic you are interested in. Many of these also provide downloadable lesson plans and other resources suitable for teachers or those studying at home.

Government or Quasi-Government/National Museum, Library, Archive

- The British Monarchy/History of the Monarchy, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/HistoryoftheMonarchy/HistoryoftheMonarchy.aspx>
- English Heritage, <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>
- The British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/>
- The British Museum, <http://www.britishmuseum.org/>
- The (UK) National Archives, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>
- The National Portrait Gallery/Digital Resources, <http://www.npg.org.uk/>, <http://www.npg.org.uk/learning/digital.php>
- National Library of Ireland—Digital Library, <http://www.nli.ie/en/intro/digital-library-printed-resources.aspx>
- National Library of Scotland—Digital Library, <http://www.nls.uk/digital-gallery>
- National Library of Wales: Digital Mirror, <http://www.llgc.org.uk/digital-mirror>
- Bibliothèque Nationale de France/Gallica Digital Library, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>
- Vatican Museums, http://mv.vatican.va/3_EN/pages/MV_Home.html
- Italian Museums in Rome (links to many with Renaissance art), <http://www.roma2000.it/zmusei.htm>

Private Museum, Library, Archive, Gallery

- Folger Shakespeare Library, <http://www.folger.edu>, <http://www.folger.edu/Content/Collection/Digital-Image-Collection/>
- The Walters Art Museum, <http://art.thewalters.org/browsecollections.aspx>; choose Manuscripts & Rare Books or Renaissance Europe
- Museum of Science Boston/Leonardo da Vinci, <http://www.mos.org/leonardo/>
- The Mary Rose, <http://maryrose.org/>; Tudor navy and sixteenth-century ship construction

Universities and Other Academic Centers/Consortiums

- British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>; provides access to the *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*, but some other materials require a subscription
- DIGMAP (digitized maps 1400–present), <http://portal.digmap.eu/>
- Novus Orbis: Images of the New World, http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/lewis_clark/novus_orbis.html

- Institute for British and Irish Studies (IBIS), <http://dornsife.usc.edu/history/ibis/links/reference.html>
- Perseus Collection/Renaissance Materials, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Renaissance>
- Renaissance Editions, <http://www.luminarium.org/renascence-editions/ren.htm>
- Internet Shakespeare Editions/The Library, <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/index.html>
- Printing: Renaissance and Reformation, <http://library.sc.edu/spcoll/sccoll/renprint/renprint.html>

Academic Scholars/Independent Scholars/Private Companies

- Internet Modern History Sourcebook (Paul Halsall), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>
- Tudors.org (John Guy), <http://www.tudors.org>
- Tudor Historian (Charles Beem), <http://www.tudorhistorian.com/>
- The Reformation in England (Skip Knox), <http://www.boisestate.edu/courses/westciv/reformat/england/>; part of Professor Knox's complete Western Civilization course open to the public
- Britannia—History, <http://www.britannia.com/history/>; follow links for Scotland, Wales, Reformation & Restoration, Church History, Monarchs, and many more
- Mr. William Shakespeare and the Internet, <http://shakespeare.palomar.edu/>; no longer being updated but still an excellent starting point

Individuals with a Particular Interest in the Period

- Luminarium: Anthology of English Literature/Renaissance, <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/>; subsets of this website cover Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, Shakespeare, and three dozen other important figures of the Tudor era. Be sure to follow the link to "Renaissance Resources," which provides a lengthy and excellent assortment of additional information sources.
- Tudorhistory.org, <http://tudorhistory.org/>
- Tudor England 1485 to 1603, <http://englishhistory.net/tudor.html>

Book/Movie/TV Tie-ins

- Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Sixteenth Century, <http://www.wnorton.com/college/english/nael/16century/welcome.htm>
- Showtime—Tudors, <http://www.sho.com/site/tudors/home.do>; there is a Tudors Wiki linked to this with an interesting page entitled "Historians of the Tudors" where you can see a brief write-up for most of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century authors and scholars of the Tudors and Tudor period, <http://tudorswiki.sho.com/page/HISTORIANS+of+the+Tudors>

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